



Farewell vain world! As thou hast been to me
Dust & a Shadow; those I leave with thee :
The unseen Vitall Substance I committ
To him that's Substance, Light & Life to it .
The Leaves & Fruit here dropt are holy seed,
Heaven's heirs to generate; to heale & feed :
Them also thou wilt flatter & molest
But shalt not keep from Everlasting Rest .



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THE 11. 88. C.
REASONS
OF THE
Christian Religion.

The FIRST PART,
OF
GODLINESS:

Proving by *NATURAL EVIDENCE* the Being of *GOD*,
the Necessity of *HOLINESS*, and a future Life of *Retribution*;
the Sinfulness of the World; the Desert of Hell; and what
hope of Recovery Mercies intimate.

The SECOND PART,
OF
CHRISTIANITY:

Proving by *Evidence Supernatural* and *Natural*, the certain Truth of the
CHRISTIAN Belief; and answering the *Objections* of *Unbelievers*.

*First meditated for the well-setting of his own Belief, and now published for the benefit
of others,*

By *RICHARD BAXTER.*

It openeth also the true Resolution of the Christian Faith.

Also an *APPENDIX*, defending the *Soul's Immortality* against the *Somatists* or *Epicureans*,
and other *Pseudo-philosophers*.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *R. White*, for *Fran. Tison*, at the three Daggers in *Fleet-street*. 1667.



92i

TO THE
CHRISTIAN READER.

BEcause there are some, who judging of others by themselves, will say what need this labour among Christians, to prove a God; a Life to come, and the Truth of the Gospel? Or at least what need is there of it, after so much already written? I take my self obliged to give you an account of this attempt: For my own Reason is much against over-doing, and wasting our little time in things superfluous; which is but enough for necessary things: But it hath recorded this among the indubitata; Boni raro nimis; optimi nunquam; indifferentes sapissime; mali semper.

The true Reasons of this work, are no fewer than these following. 1. Quod cogitamus, loquimur: That which is most and deepest in my thoughts, is aptest to break forth to others. Man is a communicative Creature. Though it be to my shame, I must confesse, that necessity, through perplexed thoughts, hath made this Subject much of my Meditations: It is the Subject which I have found most necessary and most usefull to my self. And I have reason enough to think, that many others may be as weak as I. And I

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would fain have those partake of my satisfaction, who have partaked of my difficulties.

2. I perceive, that because it is taken for a shame, to doubt of our Christianity and the Life to come, it hindereth many from uttering their doubts, who never get them well resolved, but remain half Infidels within, whilst the Ensigns of Christ are hanged without; and need much help, though they are ashamed to tell their needs: And prudent Charity will relieve those who are ashamed to beg.

3. As the true knowledge of God, is the beginning and maintainer of all holiness and honesty of Heart and Life; so latent Atheisme and Infidelity in the mindes of Hypocrites in the Church, is the root of their prophanes, dishonesty and wickednesse. Did they seriously Believe as Christians, they would not live as the Enemies of Christianity! I take it therefore to be the surest and most expeditious Cure of the security, presumption, pride, perfidiousnesse, sensuality, and wickednesse of these Hypocrites, to convince them that there is a God, and a Life to come, and that the Gospel is true.

4. And this prophanes and sensuality tendeth to greater Infidelity. They that will not live as they profess to Believe, may most easily be drawn to Believe and profess, as they are willing to live. And therefore this Prognostick commandeth me to endeavour, to prevent mens open profession of Infidelity, lest the present torrent of ungodlinesse, selfishnesse, malice, uncharitablenesse, perjury, treachery, faction, whoredome, and other sensuallities, should fall into this gulf, or one that is not much unlike it.

5. The best complain of the imperfection of their Faith: And too many good Christians, especially if
Atelancholy

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Melancholy surprise them, are haunted with such temptations, to Atheisme, blasphemy and unbelief, as make their lives a burden to them! And one that hath heard so many of their complaints as I have done, is excusable for desiring to relieve them. It hath many a time been matter of wonder to me to observe, that there is scarce one deep melancholy person among ten (religious or not-religious before) but is followed with violent suggestions to doubt of the God-head, and of the truth of the Gospel, or to utter some word of Blasphemy against God. And he that must pray, [Lord increase my Faith, and help my Unbelief,] must use other means as well as pray.

6. The imperfection of our Faith (even about the Gospel, and the Life to come) is the secret root of all our faults ; of the weaknesse of every other grace, of our yielding to temptations ; and of the carelesnesse, badnesse, and barrennesse of our Lives. So Transcendent are the Concernments of the Life to come, that a certain, clear, and firm belief of them, would even deride temptations, and bear down all the trifles of this World, by what names or titles soever dignified, as things not worthy of a look or thought! What manner of person will that man be, in all holy Conversation and Godliness, who believing that all these things must be dissolved, doth look for the coming of Christ, and for the Blessed Consequents? 2 Pet. 3. 11, 12, 14. 2 Thess. 1. 10. O what a life would that man live! what Prayers, what Prayses! what holy discourse would employ his tongue! with what abhorrence would he reject the baits of sin! who did but see; but once see, those unseen and future things, which every Christian professeth to believe? How contemptibly would he think and speak both of the pleasures

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tures and the sufferings of this dreaming life, in comparison of the everlasting things? What serious desires, and labours, and joyes, and patience, would such a sight procure? How much more holy and Heavenly would it make even those that by the purblind World are thought to exceed herein already? And if we took our Belief to be as certain as our sight, Believing would do greater matters than it doth. I oft think what one told me, that an Infidel answered him, when he asked him, How he could quiet his Conscience in such a desperate state? saith he, [I rather wonder how you can quiet your Conscience in such a common careless course of life, believing as you do? If I believed such things as you do, I should think no care, and diligence, and holiness could be enough.]

7. The Soul in flesh is so much defrauded of a sensitive way of apprehension, and sensible things being still before us, do so increase this Malady, and divert the minde from spiritual things, that we have all great need of the clearest evidence, and the most suitable, and frequent, and taking explication of them, that possibly can be given us, not only to make us Believe things unseen, but to make us serious, and practical, and affectionate about the things which in a sort we do believe; to keep drowse hearts awaken.

8. The way of taking Religion upon trust, without rising up to make it our own, hath filled the Church so full of Hypocrites who have no better than an humane Faith, that thereby the complexion of it is much changed, from its primitive beauty: And thousands do perish by self-deceit: And though some of their Gifts be serviceable to the Gospel, others of them

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them do more effectually serve the Devil, against the Cause and Servants of Christ, than they could have done if they were professed Infidels.

9. *It makes me blush, and stirs my Indignation, to read and hear abundance of hot and vehement Disputes, and tedious or Critical discourses about many small lesse needfull things, by those men that never studyed the Foundation, nor can with Sense and Reason defend their Christianity against an Infidel. Such preposterous methods are perverse and nauseous.*

10. *I am much afraid lest many of those ignorant zealous Christians, who now turn to that Sectary whom they cannot answer, would turn to the Infidel at last, when they finde themselves unable to confute them, through their own insufficiency and ungroundedness in the Truth.*

11. *But if they do not Apostatize, what a shame will it be to the Church of God, to have our Religion thus betrayed, by such as are not able to defend it? And how many others may it tempt to Infidelity, to hear an Ignorant Christian baffled.*

12. *I am too sure, that too many Teachers, that should be Champions for the Truth, are lamentably unfurnished for such a Conflict, by neglecting the study of the Foundation, and bestowing all their thoughts on the Superstructure.*

13. *I know that it is Gods method, to cause the growth of Faith at the root, in proportion to its growth in tallness and in fruit: It is his mercifull Providence, to keep those whose Faith hath weaker roots, from the strong temptations which others undergoe. As the Plant that is little, doth*

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bear but little of the stroke of the windes; which else would quickly overturn it: but the root growing downward, as the top groweth upward, the radication and the assaults are still proportioned: So Faith must grow equally in its Roots and Branches while we live. Had I felt as strong assaults against my Faith while I was young, as I have done since, I am not sure it would have scap'd an overthrow.

14. I have in the anatomizing of the Controversies which most hazard the Church of Christ, found so much latent Atheisme and Infidelity, that I think among many (that do not observe it) the true root of all the difference is, Whether there be a God, and a Life to come? And whether the Scriptures be true. And I think that A sound agreement in these, would do more to the ending of such Controversies, and to the healing of our Wounds, than any disputing of the Controverted points.

15. We have had hot and scandalous Disputes among Christians, de Resolutione Fidei; each Party invalidating the others Foundations, as if it had been our work to perswade the Infidel World, that they are in the right. And I thought it the only way to end that Controversie, to open all the Causes of our Faith. The Roman Party may here perceive our Grounds, and better know into what we resolve our Faith, than if we named only one sort of Cause, and said, I resolve it into this: As if all the Frame had but one Wheel? Faith hath variety of Causes and Objects, into which respectively it may be said to be resolved: (by those that will not use an insignificant Word, to make People believe

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believe there is a difference, where there is none; and to keep men from understanding the matter it self.) Augustine saith of his Friend Nebudius (Ep. 23. Bonif.) That he exceedingly hated a short Answer to a great Question, and took it ill where he might be free, of any that did expect it from him: [Answer me in a word] is the Command of an ignorant or a slothfull person, or of a Deceiver, when a Word is not capable of the necessary Answer.

16. There is no more desireable work in the World, than the converting of Idolaters and Infidels to God and to the Christian Faith. And it is a work which requireth the greatest judgement and zeal in them that must perform it. It is a dolefull thought, that five parts of the World are still Heathens and Mahometans; And that Christian Princes and Preachers do no more to their Recovery; but are taken up with sad Contentions among themselves: And that the few that have attempted it, have hitherto had so small success. The opening of the true method for such a Work, is the highest part of my design: In which though many others have excellently laboured, [especially Savonarola, Campanella, Ficinus, Vives, Micrælius, Duplessis, Grotius, and our Stillingfleet,] my Zeal for the saving of Mens Souls hath provoked me to try, whether I might adde any thing to their more worthy Labours, in point of Method and perspicuity of Proof.

17. Lastly, I have long agoe written much on this Subject, which is dispersed and buried in the midst of other Subjects, (except my Book of the Unreasonableness of Infidelity): And I thought

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it more Edifying to set it in order together by it
self. If these Reasons justifie not my undertaking,
I have no better. The Lord have mercy on this
dark, distracted, sensual World. Christians, watch,
pray, love, live, hope, rejoyce, and patiently
suffer, according to this Holy Faith which you
professe, and you shall be blessed in despite of Earth
and Hell.

Octob. 31.
1666.

Your Brother in this Life of Faith,

Richard Baxter.

Virtus Fidei in Periculis secura est; securitate periclitatur.

Chrysost. in Mat. 20.

To the Doubting and the Unbelieving
READERS.



HE natural love to knowledge and to my self, which belong to me as I am a Man, have commanded me to look beyond *this life*, and diligently to enquire, whether there be any certainty of a *better*?

and which is the *way* to it, and to whom it doth of right belong. And what I have certainly discovered in this search, the love of Mankind, and of Truth, and of God, oblige me to communicate. But it was not a cursory glance at Truth, nor a look towards it afar off, in my state of ignorance and diversion, which brought the satisfying light into my mind: nor can you reasonably expect it should do so by you. I saw that in one *Sagonarola*, *Campanella*, *Flecius*, *Vives*, *Mornay*, *Grosius*, *Cameron*, *Micralius*, which I now see might satisfy all the world, if it were duly received. But it was not a bare reading of one or all of these and others, which was a due reception: I found that truth must be so long retained, and faithfully elaborated by a diligent and willing mind, till it be concocted into a clear methodical understanding, and the Scheme or Analysis of it have left upon the soul its proper image,

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image, by an orderly and deep impression; yea, till the *Goodness* of the matter become as nutriment, bloud and spirits to the Will, before it is truly made our own. It expecteth (I say not greater courtship, but) more cordial friendship, than a transient salute, before it will unveil its glory, and illustrate, beautifie and bless the soul. It is food and Physick: it will nourish and heal: but not by a bare look or hear-say, nor by the reading of the pre-script. Could I procure the Reader to do *his part*, I doubt not but this Treatise will suffice on *its part*, to bring in that light, which the *Sage*, the *Lemures* and *Damones* of *Atheism*, *Infidelity* and *Un-godliness* will not be able to endure.

But I am far from expecting universal success, no not if I brought a Book from Heaven. The far greatest part have unprepared minds, and will not come up to the price of truth. And nothing is more sure than that *recipitur ad modum recipientis, & Pro capto lectoris habent sua fata libelli*. These drones imagine, that they are fit to judge of a Scripture-difficulty, or of an argument concerning the mysteries of Religion, before they know what it is to be a Man, or understand the Alphabet of Nature, even those points which supernatural Revelations presuppose: such uncapableness in the Reader is as a great hinderance, as the want of solid proof and evidence in the Writer. Most men are drowned in filthy sensuality, or worldly cares, and their relish is vitiated by luscious vanities; their reason is debased by subjection to the flesh, and darkned and debilitated by long alienation from its proper work: and yet they are so constituted of *ignorance* and *pride*, that they can neither understand

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understand plain truth, nor perceive that it is long of themselves that they understand it not. And bothfulness and sensuality have so far conquered humanity it self, even the *natural love of truth* and of themselves, that they will take up with what their play-fellows have taught them, and venture their souls and their everlasting concernments, unless they can secure them by an idle, gamesome, fleshly life, or grow wise by the short superficial studies of an alienated, unwilling, tired mind. Unless the great things of God and Immortality, will be savingly known by a few distracted thoughts of a discomposed mind, or the rambling talk of their companions, whose heads are as unfurnished and giddy as their own; or by the cursory perusal of a few Books, which cross not their carnal interest and humour in the midst of their more beloved employments and delights, they will neither be solid Christians, nor wise and honest men. If God will be conversed with in the midst of their feasting, cups and oaths, in their pride, and revelling, and with their whores; if he will be found of them that hate his holiness, and all that love it, and seriously obey him, then God shall be their God, and Christ shall be their Saviour, and if this be the way, they may become good Christians: But if retired serious thoughts be necessary, and an honest faithfulness to what they know, they must be excused: They that know that it is not an hours perusal of a book of Astronomy, Geometry, Musick, Physick, &c. which will serve to make them skilful in these Arts, do expect to attain far higher wisdom, by inconsiderable industry and search; and will not be wise unless they can be taught by vision in their dreams,

or

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or in the crowd and noise of worldly business, and of fleshly lusts.

I find that it is a difficult task which I have undertaken, to be the instructor of such men: if I be large and copious, their laziness will not suffer them to read it: if I be concise, I cannot satisfy their expectations; for they think nothing well proved, if every objection be not answered, which idle cavilling brains can bring: Neither have they sufficient *attentiveness* for *brevity*, nor will their ignorance allow them to understand it. The contradicting vices of their minds, do call for impossibilities for the cure. Their *Incapacity* saith, It must be a full explication, or I cannot apprehend the sense or truth. Their *averseness* and *lothfulness* saith, It must be short, or I shall be tired with it, or cannot have while to read it. I cannot answer both these expectations to the full: but though the greatness of the matter have made the Book bigger than I intended, the nauseating stomach of most Readers hath perswaded me to avoid unnecessary words: and as big as the Book is, I must tell the Reader, that the style is so far from redundancies (though some things be oft repeated) that if he will not chew the *particular words*, but swallow them whole, and bestow his labour only on the Sentences, I shall suppose that he hath not read the Book.

Ficino very truly noteth, that while children and youth are sufficiently conscious of their ignorance, to keep in a learning course, they may do well; but when they first grow to a confidence of their own understandings, and at ripeness of age imagine, that their wits are ripe, and think that their unfurnished minds

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minds (because they have a natural quickness) are competent judges of all that they read; then they are most in danger of infidelity, and of being undone forever; (from 18 to 28 being the most perilous age.) But if God keep them as humble diligent learners, till they have orderly gone through their course of studies, and sanctifie their greener youthful knowledge; they then grow up to be confirmed Christians. *Ficin. de Verit. Rel. cap. 3.* It is therefore the *diligence* and *patience* of the Reader which I still intreat, and not his belief: for I will beg nothing of his *understanding*, but *justice* to the *truth*; but (supposing God's help) do trust to the cogencie of evidence.

Yet I must tell you, that I expect the Reader, by the truths which he learneth, should be able himself to answer an hundred trivial objections, which are here passed by: and that in particular *textual difficulties*, he have recourse to Commentaries and Tractates on those subjects: for this Book is long enough already. He that will diligently consider the connection of the consequent Propositions to the Antecedent, and will understand what he readeth as he goeth along, will see that I give him sufficient proof of all which I desire him to assent to. But I make no doubt but a hasty and half-witted Reader can find objections and words enough against the plainest truth here written; and such as he thinks do need a particular answer. When an understanding Reader would be offended with me, if I should recite them. I had more compassion on the sober Reader, than for the humouring of every brainfick Sceptick, to stand proving that two and two are four. I write for such as are *willing* to

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be wise and happy, and that at dearer rates than jesting: For others, I must leave them, whether I will or no, to be wise too late.

And for those capricious brains who deride our ordinary preaching, as begging and supposing that which we do not prove, when they have here, and in other such writings, found our *fundamentals proved*, let them hereafter excuse our superstructure, and not think that every Sermon must be spent in proving our Christianity and Creed.

In the first part of this Book, I give you testimonies from the Christian writings or authorities, because I suppose the Reader to be one that doth not believe them; and my business is only to prove Natural Verities by their proper evidence: But lest any should think that there is not so much legible in *Nature*, because the wisest Heathens saw it not, I have cited in the margin their attestations to most particulars, to shew that indeed they did confess the same, though less distinctly and clearly than they might have done, (as I have plainly proved.) But, being many years separated from my Books, I was forced to do this part less exactly than I would have done, had I been near my own or any other Library. Again, I seriously profess, that I am so confident of the just proofs and evidences of truth here given, that I fear nothing as to frustrate the success, but the Reader's *Incapacity*, (through *half-wittedness* or *wickedness*) or his *Laziness* in a cursory and negligent perusal of what is concisely but evidently proposed. It's true that *Seneca* saith, [*Magna debet esse eloquentia, qua invidis placet.*] I may adde, *Et Veritatis evidentia qua cecis, malignis vel ignavis prodest.* And who seeleth not the truth.

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truth of Hierom's words, (*ad Paul.*) *Nunquam benefis, quod fit praecipuo animo.* Be true and faithful to your selves, and to the Truth, and you shall see its Glory, and feel its Power, and be directed by it to everlasting Blessedness. This is his End, who is

Octob. 31.
1666.

An earnest desirer of Mankind's Felicity,

RICHARD BAXTER.

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TO

TO THE
HYPOCRITE READERS;

Who have the Name of *Christians*,
and the Hearts and Lives of *Atheists*
and *Unbelievers*.

IT is the great Mercy of God to you, that
you were born of Christian Parents,
and in a Land where Christianity is
the professed Religion, and under Go-
vernours and Laws which countenance
it: But this which should have helped
you to the intelligent and serious entertainment of
Religion, hath been abused by you to detain you from
it: You have contented your selves to have Religion
in your Princes, and your Parents Precepts, in Li-
braries and Laws, and to say over some of these by
rote; whilst you banished it from your Hearts and
Lives, if not also from your sober thoughts and un-
derstanding! And having indeed no Religion of your
own (because the labour of understanding and obey-
ing it, seemed too dear a price to purchase it) you
have thought it most serviceable to your quietness
(b 3) and

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and your reputation to seem to be of the Religion of your Parents or your King, be it what it will. This is indeed the common course of the rude and irreligious Rabble, in all Nations of the World. O that I might be your effectual Monitor, to awaken you to consider what you have been doing? and yet if you are Men, to suffer your Reason to look behinde you, within you, and before you, and seriously think what it is to be in Heaven or Hell for ever, and prudently to manage your own Concernments! Can you think that that man hath any Religion who hath no God? Or hath he indeed a God, who preferreth his lust, or wealth, or honour, or any thing in the World before him? Or that is not devoted to his Obedience and his Love? Is he a God that is not better than the Pleasures of the Flesh and World? Or that is not greater than a mortal man? or is not fully sufficient for you? Did you know what you did when you owned your Baptismal Vow and Covenant? which is when you usurp the name of Christians, and joyn in visible communion in the Church? Do you know what it is to believe that there is a God, and a Life to come, and to renounce the Flesh, the World, and the Devil, and give up your selves to a Saviour and a Sanctifier? Or can you think while you are awake and sober, that Perfidiousness will save you, and be taken by God instead of Christianity? will God accept you for a perjured Profession? to be that and do that which never came into your hearts? Is Hypocrisie a Virtue? And will Lying bring a man to Heaven? Christianity is such a Believing in Christ, to bring us unto God and everlasting Glory, as maketh the Love of God the very Nature of the Soul,
and

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and thankfull obedience its Employment, and a Heavenly Minde and Life to be its Constitution and its Trade; and the Mercies of this Life to be but our Travelling-helps and Provisions for a better; and the Interest of fleshly lust to be esteemed but as dross and dung. Is this the Life which you live, or which you hate? I beseech you Sirs, as you regard the reputation of your Reason, tell us why you will professe a Religion, which you abhorre? or why will you abhorre a Religion which you professe? why will you Glory in the part of a Parrot, or an Ape, to say over a few words, or move your Bodies, while you detest the humane part, to know and love and live to God? Do you live only to treasure up wrath against the day of wrath, and the revelation of the righteous judgement of God, who will render to every one according to his deeds? Rom. 2. 5, 6. Do you professe your selves Christians only for self-condemnation; to be Witnesses against your selves in Judgement, that you wilfully lived unchristian lives? What is there in the World that you are so averse to, as to be seriously that which you professe your selves to be? Who hate you more than those that are that in heart and life, which you call your selves in customary words? or that are serious in the Religion which you say your selves you hope to be saved by? Read Matth. 23. 29, 30, 31. why do you honour the dead Saints, and abhorre the living? and would make more Martyrs, while you keep Festivals of Commemoration of those that others made? Quæ est illa Justitia sanctos colere, & sanctitatem contemnere? Primus gradus Pietatis est Sanctitatem diligere. Chrysost. in Matth. 24. Christ hath not more bitter Enemies in the World, than
some.

To the Hypocrite Readers.

some of you who wear his Livery: Turks and Heathens are more gentle to true Christians; and have shed lesse of their blood than Hypocrite Christians have done. The Zeal of the Pharisees consumed many, whom the Clemency of the Romans would else have spared. Be it known to all the Infidel World, who detest Christianity because of your wickedness, that you are none of us; Christ renounceth you, Matth. 7. 22, 23. and we renounce you. They may as well hate Philosophy because some vagrant Souls have called themselves Philosophers, or have sailed with Aristotle or Plato in the same Ship: They may as well hate Physick, because many ignorant Women and Mountebanks have profess'd it? They may as well reproach us for Loyalty to our King, because there are secret Traytors, that call themselves his Subjects? What are you to Christians, that we should be reproached for your Villanies? O you Turks and Heathens, rather reproach us because there are wicked persons of your selves; for you are not so cruel Enemies to Christians, as many of these Hypocrites are. Nullus enim Christianus malus est, nisi hanc professionem simulaverit. *Athenagor. Leg. pro Christ. pag. 3.* Nemo illic (in Carcere) Christianus, nisi plane tantum Christianus: aut si aliud, jam non Christianus. *Tertull. Apol. c. 43.* sed dicet aliquis etiam de nostris excedere quosdam à regulâ disciplinæ. Desunt tum Christiani haberi apud nos: *Id. ib. c. 46. Leg. Twiss. Vind. Grat. l. 3. E. 8. v. 6. p. 75. and my 5th Disp. of Sacraments.* If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his, *Rom. 8. 9. Luk. 14. 26, 33.* They are Spies in his Army: They are Absaloms, Chans and Judas's in his Family. Try them by the Character

To the Hypocrite Readers.

rather that Christ hath given of his true Disciples : and if they be such, then tell us of their Lives and spare not. They are not of us, while they are among us. 1 John 2. 19. They are more of your party than of ours. If the Minde, Heart, and Life, be more of the Man, than the tongue and knee. What if a Celsus, or Porphiry, or Epicurus had called himself a Christian? Must Christ be answerable for him? Is it not enough that they abuse him by their hypocrisie, and living contrary to his Laws, but he must be accused for their Crimes, which he so strictly forbiddeth, and for which he will cast them into Hell for ever? would you have him do more than this is to disclaim them? Were they indeed Christian Princes, Barons, Priests and People, of whom Abbas Urspergensis speaketh, Chron. pag. 33, Ut omnis homo jam sit perjurus & prædictis facinoribus implicatus; ut vix excusari possit, quin sit in his sicut populus, sic & Sacerdos. — Et p. 321. Principes terrarum & Barones, arte Diabolicâ edocti, nec curabant Juramenta infringere, nec Fidem violare, & jus omne confundere? were they Christian Knights that Erasmus speaketh of, Colloqui Pap. 485. Ni sis bonus aleator, probus Chartarius, Scortator improbus, potator strenuus, profusor audax, decoctor & conflator æris alieni, deinde scabie ornatus Gallicâ, vix quisquam te credet equitem. It was Cotta's proof, that there are Atheists, in Cicer. de natur. Deor. li. i. [What shall we say of the Sacrilegious, Perjured, and Ungodly? If Carbo, &c. had thought, that there are Gods, he had not been so **PERJURED** and **UNGODLY**.] What more necessary to ungodly men (whatever they call themselves)

(c)

than

To the Hypocrite Readers.

than to convince them that there is a God, and Life to come? Christ will not care for their Image of Religion, or deceitfull Promises and Professions: All wise men are of Solon's minde [Probitatem jurejurando certiore habere] Laert. in Sol.

Believe it, Hypocrites, your fornications, gluttony, drunkenness, idleness, covetousness, selfishness, a pride, will finde no Cloak in the day of Judgement, from the Christian name. You might better chuse have been sensual and wicked at a further distance, than in the Family or Church of God. Nihil prodest æstimari, quod non sis: Et duplicis peccati reus es; non habere quod crederis; & quod non habuit simulare: Hieron. Ep. ad fil. Maur. Or suppose your Lives are more civilly and smoothly carnall? To do no harm, is too little to prove you Christians: Much more to do evil with some bounds. Nullum est aliud latronum beneficium, nisi ut commemorare possint, iis se vitam dedisse quibus non ademerint. Cicer. Phil. 2. Non est bonitas pessimis esse meliorem. Senec. My reasonable demand is, that you will be what you call your selves, or call your selves as you are. I am not inviting you to a new Religion, nor to a Self; but to be really and seriously what you are nominally, and what you have vowed and professe to be: Jest not with God, and Heaven and Hell. You may mock your selves, but God will not be mocked. At last turn back, and study what that Religion is which you professe: Review your Baptismal Covenant; and be true to that, and I have done. And cast out of your way the common block of hating those whom you should imitate. Ita comparatum est, ut virtutem non suspiciamus, neq; ejus imitandæ studio corripimur,

To the Hypocrite Readers.

corripimur, nisi eum in quo ea conspicitur, summo honore & amore prosequamur. *Plutar. in Cat. Utic.* It was one of the Roman Lawes of the 12 Tables, [Impius ne audeto placare donis iram Deorum.] Repent and pray, was Peters Counsel to one of your Predecessors, *Act. 8. 22.* Judas hath a Kifs for Christ; but it is hearty love, and a sober, righteous, godly life, which must be your evidence. I have faithfully warned you; The Lord have mercy on you, and convert you.

Octob. 31.
1666.

R. B.

Cujus aures clausæ Veritati sunt, ut ab amico verum audire nequeat, hujus salus desperanda est. Cic. Rhet. 1.

Prov. 28. 9. He that turneth away his ear from hearing the Law, even his Prayer shall be abomination.

Antisthenes civitates tunc interire aiebat, cum bonos discernere nequeunt à malis. Laert. in Antisth.

1 John 3. 8. He that committeth sin, is of the Devil: For the Devil sinneth from the beginning: For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the Devil.

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Take notice also, that many of the marginal Citations, are not put just over against the words which they refer to.

(c b)

Pars



PART I.

Of Natural Religion, or GODLINESS.

CHAP. I.

Of the Nearest Truths, viz. of Humane Nature.



RESOLVING on a faithful search into the Nature and certainty of Religion, as being the business which my own and all mens happiness is most concerned in, being conscious of my weakness, and knowing that truths have their certain order, in which they give much light to one another. I found it meet to begin at the most evident, from whence I ascended in the order following.

tibi dicens hoc CORPORI tuo dico. Cum igitur NOSCE TE, dicit, hoc dicit, NOSCE ANIMUM TUUM. Nam corpus quidem quasi vas est, aut aliquod animi receptaculum: ab ANIMO tuo quicquid agitur id agitur à te. Hunc igitur nosce nisi Divinum esset, non esset hoc acrioris cujusdam animi præceptum, sic ut tributum Deo sit, hoc est, SE IPSUM posse cognoscere, sed si qualis sit animus, ipse animus nesciat, dic quæso, ne esse quidem se sciet? *Cicero Tuscul. Quæst. 1. 2. pag. (mibi) 226, 227.*

Paret æternum id esse quod seipsum movet: & quis est qui hanc naturam animis tributam neget. Inanimatum est enim omne quod pulsū agitur externo. — Sentit igitur animus se moveri: Quod cum sentit, illud una sentit, se vi suā, non alienā moveri; nec accidere posse ut ipse unquam à se deferatur, ex quo efficiatur æternitas. *Id. ibid.*

Non tam auctoritatis in disputando, quàm Rationis momenta querenda sunt. *Cicero de Nat. Deor. 1. p. 6.*

Animo ipso animus videtur, & nimirum, hanc habet vim præceptum Apollinis, quo monet UT SE quisque NOSCAT: Non enim credo id præcipit ut membra nostra, aut staturam figuramve noscamus: Neque nos corpora sumus, neque ego

Obj. Age ostende mihi Deum tuum. *Resp.* Age ostende mihi hominem tuum: fac te hominem esse cognoscam, & quis meus sit Deus demonstrare non morabor. *Theophyl. Antioch. ad Autolyicum. lib. 1. iutio.*

Cum despiciere cœperimus & sentire, quid simus, & quid ab animantibus cœteris differamus, tum ea insequi incipimus, ad quæ nati sumus. *Cicer. 5. de fin.*

Qui seipsum cognoverit cognoscat in se omnia: Deum, ad cuius imaginem factus est: Mundum, cuius simulachrum gerit. Creaturas omnes cum quibus symbolum habet. *Paulus Rom. de Scala Ibesf. pag. 722.*

Ut Deum noris, & si ignores & locum & faciem; sic animi tibi tuum notum esse oportet, etiam si ignores locum & formam. *Cicer. 1. Tuscul.*

§. 1. *I am past all doubt that I have sense, cogitation, understanding and will, with executive operation.*

Though I could not exactly define what these are, yet I am satisfied that I have them: and I discern, that a simple term doth better express one of these to me, than a definition doth: because they are known so immediately in and of themselves, partly by internal sensation, and partly by intuition. And words are but to *make known* my mind about them to another, and another to me; but the things themselves are otherwise to be known. What it is to see, to hear, to smell, to taste, I know better by seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, than by any definitions of them: and the bare denomination, when I understand the term, is my best expression. And if I could not answer a Sceptick, who denied the certainty of my judgment by sensation and reflexive intuition, yet nature would not suffer me to doubt. Or if any such should really make me doubt, whether I may not possibly live in a continual delusory dream, and all my senses and understanding be deceived; yet would it satisfy me in the main, that I must judge by such powers as I have, and can do no better, and therefore should be no further solicitous. If any would persuade me that I *feel not* when I am sick or wounded, or *see not* when I see, or *taste not* when or what I taste; yet must I be persuaded, that fallible or infallible, this sense must be used, and serve for the ends to which it is given me. And that I have no better faculties to use.

§. 2. *By my actions I know that I am; and that I am a sentient, intelligent, thinking, willing, and operative being; or a being that hath these powers.*

For ab operari ad posse & esse, the consequence is undoubted. Nothing is no agent; and none doth that which he cannot do.

§. 3. *This mind, or foresaid power, is found in, or conjoined with an organized body.*

He that doubteth not of his sense and intellection, need not doubt of his body, which is the object of both.

§. 4. *This body is a quantitative or extensive, nutritive, changeable, corruptible matter.*

Of which my senses and experience will not suffer me to doubt.

§. 5. *This mind is fitted to the use of KNOWING, and is desirous*

desirous of it, delighted in it, and the more it knoweth, the more it is able and disposed to know.

All this our actions and experience testifie. *Knowing* is to the mind as *seeing* is to the eye. One act of knowledge promoteth and facilitateth another.

§. 6. *Being and verity are its direct objects.*

As light and colours are the objects of our sight. To these it hath power and inclination.

§. 7. *When I know the effects, I have an inclination to know the cause; not onely the lower, but the very first.*

Though it be possible that some sensual sluggish person, may be so taken up with present earthly things, as to drown these desires, and scarce to think of any first cause, or take any pleasure in the exercise of his higher faculties; yet, as I feel it otherwise in my self, so I find it otherwise in multitudes of others, and in all that have free minds, and in the worst at certain times; so that I perceive it is natural to man, to desire to know even the first Cause, and highest excellencie.

§. 8. *Tis do I find that my mind is not satisfied in knowing, nor is Entity and Verity the ultimate object which my mind looketh after; but Goodness.*

Entity and Verity may be unwelcome loathed things, if against my good. The thief could wish, that neither Law, nor Judge, nor Gallows had a being, and that his sentence were not true. Knowledge is but a mediate motion of the Soul, directive to the following volitions and prosecution.

§. 9. *I find I have a Will, inclined to apprehended Good; that is, both to that which hath a simple excellency in it self, and which maketh for the happiness of the world, or for my own.*

This maketh it self as well known to me, as my natural appetite. For my apprehensions do but subserve it, and my life is moved or ruled by it.

§. 10. *It is usef. avoide to apprehended evil as such, as contrary to the foresaid good.*

Though real evil may possibly be chosen, when it is a seeming good, & also that which appeareth proximately evil, for a higher good to which it seemeth a means, yet ultimately and for it self, no rational will desireth or chooseth Evil.

§. 11. *While sensitive pleasure is apprehended as good by the senses, Reason may discern a further good, which may cross at least the present sense.*

Non ii sumus quibus nihil verum esse videatur, sed ii qui omnibus veris falsa quædam adjuncta esse dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut, &c. *Cicer. de Nat. Dcor.*

p. 7. *Lege Pisonis dicta de mente & corpore, in Cicer. de finib. l. 5. p. 189.*

Omnes ad id quod Bonum videtur, omnes suas actiones referunt. *Aristot. de Republ. l. c. 1.*

In homine optimum quidem Ratio, Hæc antecedit animalia, Deos sequitur. *Sen. ep. 77.*

Malitia præmiis exercetur: ubi ea dempseris, nemo omnium gratuito malus est. *Salust.*

Of Man as related to the things below him.

To take bitter Physick, to corrode or cut off ulcerated parts, to use hard dyet and Exercise, &c. may be ungrateful in themselves to sense, and yet commended by Reason, and commanded by the will (I yet forbear all higher instances.)

§. 12. *My sense and bodily faculties, are naturally to be subjected to the guidance of my Reason, and the command of my Will, as the superior faculties.*

Animi imperio, corporis servitio magis utimur: Alterum nobis cum Diis, alterum cum belluis commune est. *Salust. Cat.*

Est homini cum Deo Rationis Societas, *Cic. 1. de leg.*

For one is common to Brutes, and the other proper to Rational creatures: And rational Agents are more excellent than Brutes: and the most excellent should rule. Reason can see further than Sense: And the wisest is most fit to govern. They that deny this, should claim no government or power over their beasts, their dogs, or sheep. If Reason ruled not Sensuality, most persons would presently destroy their lives: Even as swine would kill themselves with eating, if the reason of man did not restrain them.

Deus animal unum spectabile hominem, in quo omnia animalia continentur effecit. *Cic. de univers.*

§. 13. *The sum is, that Man is A living Wight, having an active and executive POWER, with an UNDERSTANDING to guide it, and a WILL to command it: And that there is a certain difference between Truth and Falshood, Natural Good, and Evil.*

All this is quite beyond dispute.

CHAP. II.

Of Man as Related to the things below him.

Aliorum causâ omnia generata sunt, ut effruges atq; fructus: quos terra gignit animantium causâ; animantes autem hominum; ut equum vehendi causâ, &c. Ipse autem homo ortus est ad mundum contemplandum, &c. *Cic. 2. de Nat. Deor.*

§. 1. **T**Here are other things, called Inanimates and Brutes, in being, besides Man.

My understanding by the help of all my senses, telleth me, that there are Beasts and Birds, Trees and Herbs, and that I live among a multitude of Beings, inferior to Man. Though I may be ignorant of their Principles, and many things in their Natures, yet can I no more doubt of their being than of mine own, nor of the inferiority of their natures, when I see their inferior operations.

§. 2. *Man hath a certain Sub-propriety in them for his use.*
They

They that deny this, will not say their Lands, their Fruits, their Money, their Goods, and Cattle are *their own*: nor question any one for stealing them, or depriving them of the *Propriety*: Nor may they possess and use them as their own.

*Bestiis homines uti
ad utilitatem suam
possint sine injuriâ.*

§. 3. *Man hath the Right of governing the Brutes, so far as they are capable of government.*

Which is not by proper moral Government, by Laws and Judgement; but such an Image of it, as is suitable to their several kinds. This is in order to their own preservation; but especially for our use and ends: He that denyeth this, must not Rule his Dog, his Horse, or Oxe, or Sheep; but leave them every one to themselves.

§. 4. *Man is also (subordinately) their Benefactor, and their End: and they are more for Him than for themselves.*

He is their *End* as he is *better* than they, and hath the fore-said *Propriety* in them; The cause will further appear anon. The beauty and sweetness of my Flowers, is more for me than for themselves: and I do more enjoy them. My trees and herbs, and fruits, and mettals; my Horse and Oxe that labour for me; and all the creatures on whom I feed, I finde are for my use; even their life and labour: Mankind accuseth not himself as wronging them, when for his own advantage he maketh use of both. And his care is necessary to their preservation; planting, dressing, watering, feeding, defending, providing for them: without which the usefullest would perish.

§. 5. *The sum is, that MAN is the OWNER, the GOVERNOUR, and the END and BENEFACTOR of the Inferiour beings; and so is LORD among them in the World.*

CHAP. III.

Of Men as mutually Related to each other.

Nullum est unum
uni tam simile, tam
par, quam omnes in-
ter nos ipsos sumus.
Quod si depravatio
consuetudinum, si o-
pinionum varietas,
non imbecillitatem
animorum torqueret,
& flecteret, quocun-
que capisset, sui
nemo ipse tam similis
esset, quam omnes
essent omnium. *Cic.
1. de leg*

Homines hominum
causâ sunt generati,
ut ipsi inter se, alii
aliis prodesse possint.
Cic 1. Offic.

Sic nos nati videmur,
ut inter omnes esset
societas quædam. *Cic.
de Amicit.*

Homo naturaliter est
animal politicum &
civile. *Arist 1.1. Po-
lit.*

§. 1. **I** See that there are more men besides me upon earth.

§. 2. The natural dignity of man, and their likeness to each other, maketh them all confess that it is their duty to love one another.

He that denyeth this, will not expect to be loved himself by others; nor will he pretend to any virtue, nor to merit the benefit of humane converse.

§. 3. Individual persons are commonly conscious of self-insufficiency, and of their need of others, and inclined to a sociable life.

If Birds and Beasts will go together in flights and herds, with those of their own kinde, no wonder if man also have a naturall inclination to society, besides the knowledge of the necessity and benefits of it.

§. 4. Each Individual in these societies must contribute his endeavours to the common good.

For this is the end of the Association: He that will be for none but himself, cannot justly expect that any should be for him: And he that would have all the society be helpfull to him, must to his power be helpfull to all.

§. 5. The distinction of persons, and their interests and actions, foundeth a distinction of Propriety and Rights.

For natural Individuation maketh it necessary that every man have his own food, and his own clothing, at least for the time: and therefore it is usually needfull to the good of the whole and the parts, that each one have also their provisional Proprieties: And the difference of men in wit and folly, industry and sloth, virtue and vice, good or ill deserts, will also cause a difference of Propriety and Rights: Though these may be in part subjected to the common good.

§. 6. Parents also may upon the merits of Children (if not arbitrarily) make an inequality in propriety: And so may other Donors and Benefactors.

As all Children need not the same proportion, so all deserve not the same: And those Parents that have great Estates, may leave more to their own children than to others: so that many

many ways both Propriety and disproportion may certainly come to pass, and be allowed in the World.

§. 7. *Therefore there is such a thing as Justice due from man to man, for the preservation of these Rights and Order: and it's injustice to violate them.*

This is confessed by all the World, that look for Justice from others: And if it be not maintained, the world will be as in a continual Warre or Robbery: But better grounds and proofs of it, will be mentioned anon.

§. 8. *Therefore there is a difference between good and evil, as respecting the benefit or hurt of others, beside that which respecteth men as to themselves.*

Those that think they are bound to avoid hurting no man but themselves or for themselves, nor to do good to any but themselves or for themselves, have so far obliterated the Laws of Humanity, and so openly renounce the benefits of Society, and bid defiance to Mankind, that I suppose them so few that I need not dispute against them: Nor have I ever met with any defender of so inhumane a Cause, whatever may be in their hearts and practice.

§. 9. *Nature teacheth Parents to educate their children in sobriety, obedience, justice and charity, and to restrain their contraries.*

Did Parents make no difference between their Childrens temperance and gluttony, drunkenness and unchastity, between their obedience and disobedience, and contempt of their own authority; between actions of Justice and Charity, and actions of falshood, robbery, cruelty, and inhumanity, what a degenerate thing would Mankind prove? even Cannibals exercise some government over their Children.

§. 10. *The means which Nature teacheth all the World, to suppress iniquity, and promote well-doing, is by Punishments and Benefits, that it may turn to the hurt of the evil-doer himself, and to the benefit of the Well-doer.*

Thus Parents do by Children, yea Men by Beasts, on the account of Prudence, though not of Justice. Without Punishments and Rewards or Benefits, Laws are ridiculous or deceits, and Government is nothing.

§. 11. *For the just and effectual performance of this, nature teacheth the World to set up Governments, that by sealed Laws and righteous Judgement, it may be rightly done.*

Inter nos naturā ad civilem communīatē conjuncti & consociati sumus. Quod ni ita se haberet, nec justitiæ ullus esset, nec bonitati locus; & quomodo hominum inter homines juris esse vincula putant, sic homini nihil juris esse cum bestiis: Chrysippus ait cætera nata esse hominum causā & Deorum; eos autem societatis suæ, &c. Cato in Cicer. de finib. l. 3. p. 149.

Salus Civitatis in legibus est. Arist. 2. Rhet. c. 4.

Though

Quoniam ea natura esset hominis, ut ei cum genere humano quasi civile jus intercederet, qui id conservaret, cum justum, qui migraret injustum fore. *Chrysip. in Cato. in Cicer. ubi supra.*

Though better principles should acquaint men with the nature and necessity of Government, yet *these* are so obvious to all the world, that for their own preservation, together with some natural sense of justice, the most barbarous Nations, that are nearest unto bruits, are for some Civil Government, (besides Oeconomical Government, which none but mad-men ever question'd).

§. 12. By this Government, the Liberty, Estates and Lives of offenders are destroyed, for the ends of the Government, viz. for Justice and the common good.

That this is so, *de facto*, is so undeniable, that even those Heathens (the supposed relics of the Pythagoreans) who will not kill a harmless beast, will yet kill those men who deserve to die. And if Government had not the power over the Liberties, Estates and Lives of offenders, it could not preserve the Liberties, Estates and Lives of the innocent.

Est unum jus quod devincta est hominum societas, & quod lex constituit una: Quæ lex recta ratio est imperandi acque prohibendi. *Cicer. de leg. 3. p. 225.*

§. 13. The combination of the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of the Individuals, and the Eminency of these in the Governours, is the cause of the order, strength and safety of these humane societies.

All the parts are in the combination to contribute to the good of the whole, and that according to the nature of the parts: it is not a heap of stones, nor a forest of trees, nor a heard of cattle, which we are speaking of, but an association of men; which must be promoted and blessed by the *worth* and *duty* of the individuals: and this consisteth in the perfections and right exercise of their Power, Intellects and Wills. But as the place of the Governour requireth more of the exercise of these, than is requisite in any individual else, so doth it therefore require, that these be in him in *greater eminency* and *excellency* than in others; viz. that in himself he excel in *wisdom* and *goodness*; and by his interest in the people that he excel in *power* or *strength*. Take away *power*, and Societies are indefensible, exposed to the will of enemies, and unable to execute their Laws upon their own offenders, and so to attain the ends of their association and government. Take away *wisdom*, and they are a rout of Ideots or mad-men, and government can be none at all. Take away *goodness*, and they are as a company of Devils, or confederacy of Robbers or pernicious enemies, who can neither trust one another, nor promote the common good, but are fit to destroy and be destroyed.

§. 14. By

§ 14. By all this it is manifest, that MAN is not only a living Wight, having Power, Intellect, and Will, and Dominion over inferior things, as their Owner, Ruler and End, but also is a sociable Wight, or fitted for society where Government is exercised, by Power, Wisdom and Goodness, which are his perfections.

I have looked thus long at the things that are seen, as nearest me, and most discernable, before I proceed to the Cause, which is unseen.

Sinceritatem de anima cognoverimus, valde magnum nobis erit. introduktorium ad omnem veritatem, & ad omnes partes Philosophiz insignes dat occasiones. The-mist. sup. i. de Anim.

CHAP. IV.

Of Man, and other things, as produced by their first Cause.

§ 1. Was not always what I am.

It is not yet sixty years since I was no man: I had a late beginning, and though I now enquire not of what duration my soul is, my present composition is not from eternity: the same I see of others, that are born men, who were lately none: and so of all things that are here generated.

Read Galen's admirations of the Creator, l. de usu part. præcipue l. 3. cap. 10.

§ 2. I did not make myself, at least as an independent uncaused being.

I could not as I am, make my self what I am: for so my self as the cause should be before my self as the effect, which is a contradiction, unless the word [self] be used equivocally. When I was not I acted not. If it be said by any, that the Soul did fabricate a Body to it self, and so one part of me made the other, I answer, 1. My Soul did not make the matter of that Body: for if it did, it made it of something or of nothing; if of something, either it made that something or not; if not, then it made not the first matter of the Body. If it made it of nothing, it must be Omnipotent; but it is conscious of impotency. 2. My soul did not make it self, for then it must be before it self, which is impossible. And if I made neither form nor matter, I did not make my self. If it be said, that my Soul is an eternal uncaused being, and so did fabricate this Body as a dwelling for it self: I answer, 1. As to the supposed

Animorum nulla in terris origo est. Nil enim est in animis nostris mistum & concretum, aut quod ex terra natum, humidum, igneum, &c. His enim naturis nihil inest quod vim memoriz, mentis, cogitationis habeat, &c. Nec invenietur unquam unde ad hominem venire possint, nisi à Deo. Cicero.

Quis est tam vecor,
qui cum su pexerit
in cœlum, Deos esse
non sentiat? & ea
quæ tantâ mente ti-
unt, ut vix quisquam
arte ullâ, ordinem
rerum, atque vicissi-
tudinem persequi
possit, casu fieri pu-
ter. *Licet. de Resp.*
Arusp.

Placet Stoicis cor-
ruptibilem esse Mun-
dum, quippe geni-
tum eorum ratione
quæ per sensus in-
telliguntur. Cujus &
partes sunt corrupti-
biles & totum, partes
autem mundi corru-
ptibiles sunt, in se
invicem mutantur.
Est igitur corrupti-
bilis Mundus. Ac
quicquid mutari in
deterius potest, cor-
ruptibile est. Mun-
dus autem huic mu-
tationi & corruptio-
ni obnoxius est. *La-
ert. in Zenone.*

Mundum autem fieri
(dicunt Stoici) cum
ex igne substantia per
aërem versa in hu-
morem fuerit; deinde
crassior ipsius pars ef-
fecta fuerit terra:
porro subtilior in aë-
rem cesserit, eademq;
magis ac magis ex-
tenuata in ignem e-
vascerit. *Id. ibid.*

fabrication, it is conscious it self of no such thing. And if my Soul made my body, either it was as a *causa subministrans instrumentalis*, by the direction and power of a superiour cause, or else of and by it self as the prime cause. If the first, then it is a caused and dependent being it self, and so leadeth us to a higher cause. If the second be affirmed, and so my Soul an eternal, uncaused, independent being; then, 1. That which is without beginning, cause and dependency, must needs be self-sufficient, and be the highest excellency; it must have an infiniteness, and need no help from any other: But my Soul is conscious of imperfection in *knowledge*, its ignorance is its burden and dishonour, it knoweth not so much as is here asserted of it self, it knoweth no such perfections or operations, it knoweth little comparatively of the Universe, or of any particular thing in it. If it were an eternal, uncaused, independent Being, it need not all the helps of evidence and argument in this dispute. Moreover it is conscious of imperfection in Goodness, and defilement of Evil: it is defective in governing this flesh, which could never be able to make me a sinner or culpable, if it were animated with an uncaused independent being. Moreover I am conscious of impotency in every thing that I go about: a thousand difficulties pose and stall me! a thousand things I would *do* and cannot, and as many I would *have* and cannot: where- as an uncaused independent mind, should necessarily have an uncaused independent power, and wisdom, and goodness, and so should at least partake of infiniteness in all.

And if my Soul did thus fabricate my Body, then what needed it pre-existent *Matter* to make it of? And why did it not make it sooner, seeing it hath such an inclination to it? Can an independent Mind be ignorant what it was, and what it did it self from all eternity, before it entred into this flesh? And why doth it not amend the infirmities of this Body? or why did it not make it self a Body more excellent, more comely, more sound, more clean, and more durable? Could it choose no better? can it not heal and perfect this? can it not prevent the dissolution of it? Seeing I find it so much in love with it, and so unwilling to be separated from it, if it were an independent mind, and caused it at the first, it would not be unwillingly taken from it, and leave it to rottenness and dust? And

And if my Soul did thus independently make my Body, did all other Souls do so by their Bodies, or not? If they did not, then they had a superiour Cause; if they did, then it seems that every Worm, and Fly, and Toad hath a Soul, that is an eternal, uncaused, independent being. But why then have they no knowledge, no reason, no speech? why did they not choose a more honourable dwelling? why do they all stoop to the service of man, if they are equally excellent? And then it would follow that there are *as many eternal independent beings*, as there are Souls or living Wights in all the world. And so instead of one true perfect God, there would be innumerable demi-gods, which all had the perfection of *independencies*, and none of them had a perfection of being and sufficiency: which would put us upon the further enquiries, whether they *do all their business independently*, or by a general council and consent, and how they all do to agree, and not fall into perpetual wars; how the soul of an ideot, or a wicked man, or of a Toad or Serpent, came to be so self-denying as to be contented with that part, when the Soul of Aristotle, and Seneca, and Paul were so much better provided for.

And if all this were so, who made the things *inanimate*, that have no souls of their own to make them? For my part I made them not. And my Soul is conscious that it is a dependent being, that cannot illuminate it self, nor know what it would know, nor be what it would be, nor do what it would do, nor can support its body or it self an hour. It looketh dependently to something higher for help, and protection, and supply, and mercy, and is past all doubt that it is *no God*.

If it be said that all Souls are *but one*, even parts of the universal Soul of the World, and that individuation is by *Master only*, and that so though my Soul be not the whole *first cause and being*, it is a part of it: I answer, 1. I note by the way, that this hypothesis acknowledgeth that which I am searching after, *viz.* that there is a God: and it asserteth higher things of man than I am proving, *viz.* That he hath not only an immortal Soul, but a Soul that is part of God himself. 2. And according to this, the Soul of every *Helio-gabalus*, *Sardanapalus*, Ideot or Toad, should be part of God. 3. And then all souls should be alike, if all be God; the Soul of

Chrysippus & Possidonius aiunt Mundum regi & administrari secundum mentem & providentiam, Mentis per omnes illius partes pervigentes; sicut & in nostra anima contingit, sed per has magis, per illas minus. *Laert. in Zen.*

Anaxagoras docuit
Mentem, confusis pri-
mo rebus accessisse,
omniaque compegisse
simul & ordinasse.
Laert. in max. ex
Timone.

Ovid's description of
the Creation of the
world, is almost as if
he had taken it out of
Moses, Metaph. l. 1.

a murderer, and of him that is murdered, of a Nero and a Saint,
yea, of Caesar and of his Dog. And how then cometh there so
much enmity between them, and so great disparity? why is
one wise, and another foolish or brutish, and one the Ruler
of the other? The Soul of a Bird or Horse seemeth to be
lodged in as good a kind of matter as Mans; or at least, the
Soul of a Nero in as good a matter as the Soul of Paul; or at
least, the Soul of one that turneth to villany from virtue, hath
the same matter which it had before. And certainly it is not
matter that principally individuateth, but forms. Nor is the
difference between good men and bad, and between Men, and
Serpents or Beasts, so much in Matter as in the Soul.

Moreover Nature teacheth all men to seek felicity, and
fear infelicity and calamity: which they need not do, nor
could not do, if they were all parts of God: God cannot be
miserable, but Man can, as to his Soul as well as his Body,
and the misery of his Body is little to that of the Soul even in
this life. God cannot be evil, but the Soul may be vitiated and
evil, as experience teacheth. God may not be punished or
afflicted, but a wicked man may be punished and afflicted, even
in his mind or Soul; and a Magistrate will not think, when
he hangeth a thief, that he either punished bare flesh, or that
he punished God.

* The Pythagoreans
and Plato.
So Balbus in Cicer.
de Nat. Deor. l. 2.
and many more.

But Cicero in other
places speaketh of
God, not as the Soul
of the world formally
and constitutively, but
only efficiently, call-
ing him, The Parent
of the Universe, the
Maker of all things,
&c. So that it seems
that he took not God,
pro forma mundi, but
as we do, for More
than the Soul of it,
even the first Efficient.
And lib. de Univers.
he supposeth the Eter-
nal God to have cre-
ated that God who is
the Soul of the world.

Moreover God can wrong no man, but one man may
wrong another. God need not fear doing any thing amiss,
but the Soul of man must fear it. No part of God can be so
unhappy as to choose to be a Toad; or a wicked or miserable
man. God hath no Body, but so have these Souls; else when
men eat a plant, or bird, or any flesh, they eat part of the
Body of God.

Moreover I find, that it is Bodies only that are Quanti-
tative or Extensive, and so divisible into parts: many parts
of one Body may be animated by one Soul; but not by many
parts of that one Soul, (except the Soul be material it self.)

But why (may some object) may I not hold, that all the Orbs
being one world, or one Body of one informing Soul, which is God;
and so that really those which you call individuals, are but parts of
this one animated world. Answ. This is confuted by what is
said. Whether the world be animated by one universal Soul,
we are not now enquiring. But that God is not this informing
Soul.

Soul is before disproved. In point of efficiency we grant that he is *as* the *Soul of Souls*, effecting more than Souls do for their Bodies, but not in point of *Constitution*. He is *much more* than the *Soul of the world*, but is not *formally its Soul*. But, 2. Those men that will think so, must acknowledge, that as they take the Horse and the Rider to be both parts of God, and the Child and the Father, and the Subject and the Prince, and the Malefactor and the Judge, and the flagitious wretch and the best of men; so it is no other membership than what consisteth with the difference of moral good and evil, of wise and foolish, of Governours and Subjects, of Rewards and Punishments, of Happiness and Misery, which are the things that I am seeking after. But so few lay this claim to Deity, that I need no further mind them.

§. 3. *My Parents were not the first cause of my being what I am.*

As each Individual cannot be the first Cause of it self, so neither can their Parents; for they do not so much as *know* my frame and nature, nor the order and temperature of my parts; nor how or when they were set together; nor their use, or the reason of their location. And certainly he that made me, knew what he did, and why he did it in each particular. My Parents could not choose my sex, nor shape, nor strength, nor qualifications.

§. 4. *The world which I see, and live in, did not make it self.*

As Men, and Beasts, and Trees, and Stones did not make themselves, so neither did they joyn as concauses or assistants in the making of the whole; nor did any one of them make the rest: nor did any of the more simple substances, called Elements, make themselves; neither the passive Elements, or the active, the Earth, the Water, the Air or the Fire: For we know, past doubt, that *nothing hath no power or action*; and before they *were*, they *were not*, and therefore could not make themselves. Nor can they be the *first cause* of *mixt bodies*, because there is that exceeding *wisdom* most apparent in the generation, production, nature and operations of these Bodies, which these *Elements* have not.

God never wrought
Miracle to convince
Atheism, because his
ordinary works con-
vince it. Lord Bacon.
Essay 16. p. 87.

§. 5. *The visible world is not an uncaused independent Being.*

For all the *generated parts* we see, do *origi & interire*; they have a beginning, progress, decay and end. And the *inanimate*

parts having less of natural excellency than the living, cannot infinitely exceed them, in the excellency of Deity as uncaused and independent. And we see that they are all dependent in their operations. They shew in the order of their beings and action, that incomprehensible wisdom, which is not in themselves: the Earth, the Sea, the Air and Winds, are all ordered exactly by a Wisdom and a Will, which they themselves are void of. Besides, they are many and various, but their order and agreement sheweth, that it is some One universal Wisdom and Will which ruleth them all: and if they are dependent in operation, they are certainly dependent in being. And had they that excellency to be uncaused and independent, they would have had therewith all other perfections, which we see they want; and they would not have been many but one in that perfection.

§. 6. *The first universal Matter is not an uncaused independent being.*

If such there be, its inactivity and passiveness sheweth it to want the excellency of independency: and the ordination of it into its several beings, and the disposals of it there, is done by a principle of infinite power, activity and wisdom: on which having this dependence in its ordination and use, it must be dependent also in its being.

§. 7. *If it were doubtful whether the world were eternal, and whether it were the Body of God as the informing Soul, yet it would be past doubt that it is not uncaused or independent, but caused by God.*

That the world is not eternal we want not natural evidence: for, saith Lullius, then there would be two Eternals, the Cause and its Effects; and then all things would be caused by natural necessity, and not by free will, and consequently always alike: and then there hath been Evil eternally, and both the caused Good and the Evil would in all other aggravations be answerable to Eternity, and the Evil would be as soon, as great, as durable as the good. The same world which is finite in good and evil, and other respects, would be infinite in Eternity; and the evil would have an infiniteness in point of Eternity, and this necessitated by the eternity of the world: And seeing no individuals are eternal, the supposed eternity of the world must be but of some common matter,

or

The Platonists simile is, As the substance and shadow may be at one time, though one be the cause of the other; so here.

(Vid.) Raymond. Lullium Arte magna de tabul. cap. 2, 3, 4, 5. ad fin. 23.

And Alex. Gill on the Creed, pag. 88, 89, &c. & pag. 96, &c. Loge etiam Disputationem Zacharia Scholast. Episc. Militen. cum Ammonio contra mundi aternitatem, in Bib. Pa. Græcolat. To. 1. pag. 330, &c.

or only intentional and not real. The corporeal part having quantity, is finite as to extension, and therefore cannot be infinite in duration. In Eternity then there is no *time*, no *prius & posterius*; but in the world there is. Much more is said by many; but this is not my present task, I shall say more of it afterward.

But if it were doubtful whether the world were not eternally the Body of God, yet would it be undoubted still that *he caused it*. And that there were the difference of a *cause* and an *effect*, in order of nature, though not in duration. As if a Tree or a mans body were supposed eternal, yet the root and spirits of the Tree, and the principal parts and spirits in mans body would be the causal parts on which the rest depend.

§. 8. *It remaineth therefore most certain, that something is a first Cause to all things else, and that he is the Creator of all things.*

For if the world be not *uncaused* and *independent*, it hath a Cause; and if it have a Cause it hath a Creator: For when there was nothing but himself, he must make all things of *Himself*, or of *Nothing*: not of *Himself*, for *He* is not *Material*, and they are not parts of God (who is indivisible:) He that thinks otherwise, should not kill a Flea or a Toad, nor blame any man that beateth, or robbeth, or wrongeth him, nor eat any creature; because he doth kill, and blame, and eat a part of God, who is unblameable, and can injure none, and is to be more revered.

§. 9. *If there were any doubt whether the Sun, or Fire, or passive matter had a first Cause, there can be no doubt at all concerning M A N, which is the thing which I am enquiring into at the present.*

For every one seeth that *Man* hath his beginning, and confesseth that it is but as yesterday since he was not; and therefore hath a Cause which must be *uncaused*, or have a Cause it self: if the latter, then that Cause again is *uncaused*, or hath a Cause it self. And so we must needs come at last to some *uncaused cause*.

§. 10. *If any second Cause had made Man or the World, yet if it did it but as a caused Cause, it self would lead us up to an uncaused Cause, which is the first Cause of all, which we are seeking after.*

For:

Quid enim potest
esse tam apertum,
tamque perspicuum,
cum cœlum suspexi-
mus, cœlestiaque con-
templati sumus, quàm
esse aliquod numen,
præstantissimæ men-
tis, quo hæc regan-
tur. *Cicer. l. 2. de Nat.
Deor.*

Esse igitur Deos perspicuum est: ut id qui neget, vix cum sanæ mentis existimem.
Cicer. de Nat. Deor. 2.

What this Cause is, in it self. That it is God.

For what any Cause doth by a power received from a higher Cause, and consequently ordered by it, that is done principally by that first or highest Cause. And if God had made the world by an Angel or Intelligence, it would have been nevertheless his Creature, nor any thing the less to his honour than if he had made it by himself alone.

§. 11. *The summ of all is, that There is certainly a first uncaused independent Cause of Man, and all things else, besides that Cause.*

CHAP. V.

What this Cause is, in it self. That it is God.

Agnoscamus Deum ex operibus ejus. Cic. 1. Tuscul.

§. 1. **T**He first Cause is known to us imperfectly, and by its effects.

Man is so conscious of his ignorance herein, and of the perplexities and diversities of opinions which follow thereupon, and of the necessity of beginning downward at the effects, and rising upward in his enquiry, that I need not prove this Proposition to any man.

Commoda quibus utimur, lucem qua fruimur, Spiritum quem ducimus, à Deo nobis dari & impertiri videmus. Cic. pro Rosc.

§. 2. *Though God (or the first Cause) is to be searched after in all his works, yet chiefly in the chiefest of them within our reach, which is Man himself.*

Jovem dominatorem rerum & omnia nutu regentem, & præsentem & præpotentem, qui dubitat, haud sanè intelligo cur non idem, Sol sit, an nullus sit dubitare possit.
Cicer. de Nat. Deor. l. 2. pag. (mibi) 48.

If any shall say, that the Sun and other creatures are more excellent than Man, and therefore God (or the first Cause) is to be searched after rather in them, and his Attributes denominated from them: I answer, There is no doubt but *secundum quid*, the Sun is a nobler Creature than Man. But what it is *simpliciter* we cannot tell, unless we knew it better. The highest excellencies known to man in the Sun, is the *Potentia Motiva, Illuminativa & Calefactiva*; Motion, Light and Heat, with their effects, do tell us, what we know of it. That which we are conscious of in Man is, *Possè, Scire, Velle*; Power, Intelligence and Will, with their Perfections, which are an higher excellency than Motion, Light and Heat.

§. 3. *He that giveth Being to all else that is, must needs be the first Being formally or eminently Himself.*

Entity must needs be in the noblest sense or sort, in the *Primum Ens*, the original of Being, rather than in any derived Being whatsoever. For it cannot give better than it hath: so that *Ens*, or [*I am*] is his first Name.

§. 4. *He that hath made Substances more noble than Accidents, is Himself a Substance either formally or eminently; and a Living Substance, yea Life it self.*

Once for all, by [*Eminently*] I mean somewhat more excellent, or transcendent, which yet Man hath no better Name for, or fitter Notion of. God is thus a *Substance*, Life transcendently, if not formally.

§. 5. *He that hath made Intelligences, or Spirits, or Minds, more noble and excellent than Bodies, is himself a Mind, Intelligence or Spirit, either formally, or transcendently and eminently.*

We find that corporeal, gross and dense Beings are most dull and passive, and have least of excellency: The Body of it self in comparison of the Mind, is a dull and dirty clod. Though we have no adequate conception of a Spirit, we know not onely Negatively, that it containeth a freedom from the baseness and inconveniences of corporeity, but also we know by its *essential acts*, that *positively* it is a *pure active Life, Intelligence and Will*, and therefore a more excellent sort of Being, than things merely corporeal which have no such action. So that we have found, as to his Being, that the first Cause is *Ens, Substantia, Vita, Spiritus*.

§. 6. *There must needs be in the first Cause an Esse, Possé, & Operari.*

If there were no *Operation*, there were no *Causation*: If there were no *Power*, there could be no *Operation*: and if there were no *Being*, there could be no *Power*. Not that these are things so various as to make a composition in the first Cause; but they are transcendently in it without division and imperfection, by a formal or virtual distinction.

§. 7. *Seeing the noblest Creatures known to us are Minds that have a Possé, Scire, Velle, active, executive Power, with an Understanding to guide it, and a Will to command it, God hath either formally, or eminently and transcendently such a Power, Intellect and Will, which is his Essence.*

For nothing is more certain, than that no Cause can give more than it had to give: If the first Cause had not Power,

D

Under-

Tria sunt invisibilia Dei: h. e. Potentia, Sapientia, Benignitas; à quibus omnia procedunt, in quibus omnia subsistunt, per quæ omnia reguntur: Pater est Potentia, Filius sapientia, Spiritus sanctus Benignitas: Potentia creat, Sapientia Gubernat, Benignitas conservat (& perficit.) Potentia per benignitatem sapienter creat: Sapientia per potentiam benigne Gubernat: Benignitas per sapientiam potenter conservat: sicut imago in speculo cernitur, sic in natura animæ, &c. Huic similitudini Dei approximatur homo: Cui Potentia Dei dat bonum posse; sapientia tribuit scire, benignitas præstat velle: hæc triplex animæ rationalis vis est; scilicet. Possé, Scire, Velle: quæ supra dictis tribus fideli, spei & charitati cooperantur, &c. *Pocho Præmissis de statu Domus Dei, Lib. 1. in Biblioth. Pat. 7. 9.*

Deo nihil præstans, ab eo igitur necesse est mundum regi. Nulli igitur est naturæ obediens aut subiectus Deus: Omnem igitur regit ipse naturam. Etenim si concedimus intelligentes esse Deos, concedimus etiam providentes, & rerum quidem maximarum. *Cicer. de Nat. Deor.*

Dicitis nihil esse quod Deus efficere non possit, & quidem sine ullo labore: ut enim hominum membra sine ulla contentione mente ipsa ut movcantur, sic numine Deorum omnia fingi, moveri mutarique posse. Neque id dicitis superstitiose atque aniliter, sed Physicâ constantique ratione: inquit *Coſta de Stoicis in Cicer. de Nat. Deor. 3. p 110.*

Understanding and Will, either formally or eminently in a higher and nobler kind, he could not have endowed all mankind with what he had not.

1. That the first Cause is *most powerful* is evident by his works: he that gave Man his measure of power, and much more to many other creatures, hath himself much more than any of them: He that made this marvellous frame of all the Orbs, and causeth and continueth their being, and their constant rapid motion, is incomprehensibly potent. Whatsoever Power there is in all the Creatures visible and invisible set together, there must be more or as much in their first Cause alone, because nothing can give more Power than it hath.

2. His works also prove that the first Cause is an *Understanding*: for the admirable compofure, order, nature; motions, variety and usefulness of all his Creatures, do declare it. He that hath given *Understanding* to Man, hath formally or eminently more himself, than all men and all his creatures have. If Intellection were not an excellency above mere natural or brutish motion, Man were not better than the inanimates or brutes; but if it be, the Giver of it cannot want it. Not that his Intellection is univocally the same thing with ours. But it is something incomparably more noble, which expresseth it self in humane Intellection as its Image, and is seen by us in this Glafs, and can be expressed by us no better than by this name.

3. And as it is a nobler nature which acteth by *Volition*, or *Free-will*, than that which hath *no Will* at all, and so no voluntary choice and complacency; so the first Cause which hath given this noble faculty to Man, hath certainly himself, though not a Will univocally the same with ours, yet a Will of a transcendent excellency, which expresseth it self in ours as its Image, and must be something better and greater, but cannot be lower or less. And though such Indetermination as proceedeth from imperfection, and consequently such Liberty belongeth not to the first Cause, which hath no defects, yet all that Liberty which belongeth to perfection must undoubtedly belong to Him. He that did what we see, hath done it *willingly* and freely.

§. 8. *What ever the first Cause is, it must needs be in absolute Perfection.* It

It must needs have in it more than the whole world besides, because it giveth all that to the whole Creation, which it hath received, and is. An imperfect cause could never have made such a world as we behold, and partly know. And were the first Cause imperfect, there would be no perfection in being.

§. 9. The perfection of the first Cause in Being requireth that it be Eternal, without Beginning or End of duration.

Nothing in the world can be more evident to reason, than that *something* must be *Eternal*, without beginning; nothing being more evident, than that Nothing hath no power, no action, no effects, and so can make nothing. And therefore if ever there had been a time, when Nothing was, Nothing could ever have been: imagine that there were Nothing now, and it is certain there never would be any thing.

Obj. Something may oriri de novo without any Cause, as well as God be eternally without any Cause.

Ans. Its impossible: For he that is eternally, hath all perfection eternally in himself, and needeth no Cause, being still in being, and being the Cause of Causes. But *Nothing* hath no perfection or being, and therefore needeth an Omnipotent Cause to give it a being.

Obj. If the world may be created of nothing materially, it may be what it is without anything efficiently.

Ans. Impossible: Pre-existent matter is not necessary to the first created matter: for Matter may be caused of Nothing by an Omnipotent Efficient, as well as the wonderful frame of all things be made out of Matter. But without an Efficient, no Being can arise *de novo*.

So that it is most evident, seeing *anything* now is, there hath been *something* eternally. And if *something*, it must needs be the *first Cause*, which is chief in excellency, and first in order of production, and therefore of existence.

§. 10. The first Cause must needs be independent, in being, perfections, and operations; and so be absolutely self-sufficient.

For it were not the first, if there were any before it: and being caused by nothing else, it was eternally sufficient in and for it self: otherwise that which it were beholden to, would have the place of a Cause to it. And if it caused not all, or

Deus est Mens, soluta, libera & segregata ab omni concretionis mortali, omnia sentiens, movens, &c. Cicer. 1. Tuscul.

Velleius in Cicer. de
Nat. Deor. 1. Re-
citat the Opinions of
many of the Philoso-
phers, of God, p. 10.

Sed Deo (si Deus
est) longum nihil
omnino est, cui
punctum terra est,
& sub nunc omnia
constituta. *Arnob.*
l. 7. p. 63.

needed the help of any other, it is not absolutely the full Cause to all others, nor perfect in it self. That which could be eternally without a cause, and it self cause all things, is self sufficient and independent.

§. 11. *The first Cause must needs be free from all imperfection of Corporeity (or Materiality) Composition, Passibility, corruptibility, Mutability and Mortality, and all other imperfections of dependent beings.*

There is such a thing as a *Living Principle*, and a pure spiritual Nature in the created world : and the Maker of it must be life and Spirit in a higher purer sense than it, and therefore must be free from all its imperfections : and having no cause, hath no defect ; and having no beginning, can have no end. All this Reason doth certainly apprehend.

§. 12. *This perfect first Cause must be Immense or Infinite in Being.*

Not by corporeal extension ; as if God, as a Body, were in a place, and being more extensive than all place, were called Immense : But in the perfect Essence of an eternall Life, and Spirit, and Mind, he is every where without Locality, and all things live, and move, and be in him. The thought of space is but a Metaphorical help to our conception of his Imminity.

§. 13. *Therefore he must needs be Omnipresent.*

Not by extension quantitative, but in a sort transcendent and more excellent, according to the transcendent way of his Existence : For if we must have conceived of him as no better than a Body, and of Magnitude as an Excellency, we might well have concluded, that he hath made nothing greater than himself. *Nemo dat quod non habet* ; and therefore he must be more extensive than all the world, and consequently absent from no part of it. Much more when his Being, which surpasseth corporeity, directeth us to acknowledge a more noble kind of Omnipresence than Extensive.

§. 14. *Therefore he is Incomprehensible as to humane understanding, or any other created intellect.*

Of our own incomprehension experience sufficiently convinceth us here, and Reason evinceth the same of all created Intellects : for the less cannot comprehend the greater ; and between finite and infinite there is no proportion. *We know*

Plato in lib. leg.
Quid sit omnino
Deus, inquiri oportet
non censet. Cicer.
2. de Nat. Deor.

know nothing purely-intelligible so easily and certainly as that God is: But there is nothing that we are so far from comprehending: As we see nothing more easily and certainly than the Sun, which yet we see not with a comprehensive, but a partial and defective sight.

§. 15. *This Infinite Being can be but One.*

For if there were many, they could not be Infinite, and so indeed there would be none: nor would there be any one first Cause of all things: For if one caused one part of the World, and another another part, no one were the first Cause of all: And if they joyned in causing all together, they would all conjunctly make but one first cause, and each one several be but part of the Cause. If there be no one that is sufficient to make and govern all the World, there is no perfect Being, nor no God: but the effect sheweth the sufficiency and the unity of the World (the Orbs being one frame) the unity of the first cause. Perfection consisteth more in the unity of one allsufficient Being, than in a voluntary concurrence of many Beings. The most learned Heathens, who thought there were many to be named Gods, did mean but subordinate particular Gods, that were under the one universal God, whom the Stoicks and Academicks took to be the universal Soul, and the subordinate Gods the Souls of the particular Orbs and Planets.

§. 16. *The Power of this God must needs be Omnipotency.*

He that hath given so great Power to the creatures, as is exercised by them, especially the Sun and fixed Stars in their several Vortices or Orbs; and he that could make such a World of nothing, and uphold the being, and maintain the order, and cause, and continue the rapid motions of all the Vortices or Orbs, (which are to us innumerable, and each of incomprehensible excellency and magnitude) is certainly to be accounted no less than Omnipotent. By his Omnipotency I mean that, by which *in it self* considered *in primo instanti* he can do all things possible, that is, which belong not to Impotency, but to Power: And by which *in secundo instanti* he can do all things, which his Infinite Wisdom judgeth congruous and meet to be done: And *in tertio instanti*, can do all that he *will* do, and are pleasing to him.

stantiam materiam: Quod autem faciat VERBUM DEUM est quod in ipsa sit. Hunc enim quippe sempiternum per ipsum omnem singula creare. *Laert. in Zenone*, p. (mihi) 359, 360.

The wiser sort of the Heathens believed one only Parent of the universe, but durst not speak out what they knew, of his unity or perfections. Cicero saith, Illum quasi Parentem hujus Universitatis invenire difficile; & cum inveneris, indicare in vulgus, nefas, de Universis. pag. 2. And the same be saith, lib. 2. de nat. Deor.

Stoici dicunt unum Deum esse: Ipsumque & mentem, & fatum, & Jovem dicunt: Principio illum cum esset apud se, substantiam omnem per aërem in aquam convertisse. Erquemadmodum in særu semen continetur, ita & hanc ferendi rationem in humore talem residisse, materia ad operandum aptissimè parata, ex qua cætera post hæc gignerentur. Tum genuisse primum elementa quatuor, ignem, aquam, aërem, terram. Videntur autem illis duo esse rerum omnia principia, faciens videl. & patiens: Quod patitur sive qualitate esse sub-

What this Cause is, in it self. That it is God.

§. 17. *The understanding of the first Cause must needs be Omniscient, and infinite Wisdom.*

1. He that hath given so much wisdom to such a Worm as Man, must have more than all the men in the World! Whatever knowledge is in the whole Creation, being given by Him, doth prove that formally or eminently he hath more. Were it all contracted into one Intelligence, it must be less than His that caused it. He hath not given more wisdom than he had to give: nor so much as he had (or is) himself. For if he should make any thing equal to Himself, there would be two Infinites, and there would be a perfect self-sufficient being, which yet had lately no sufficiency or being, and there would be a being independent *in facto esse*, which was dependent *in fieri*: which are Contradictions.

2. The effects in the admirable frame and nature, and motions of the Creation, declare that the Creator is *infinitely wise*. The smallest insect is so curiously made, and so admirably fitted and instructed to its proper end and uses; The smallest Plants in wonderfull variety of shapes and colours, and smells and qualities, uses and operations, and beautiful flowers, so marvellously constituted and animated, by an unseen form, and propagated by unsearchable seminal virtues; The smallest Birds and Beasts and creeping things so adorned in their kinds, and so admirably furnished for their proper ends, especially the propagation of their *species*, in love, and sagacity, and diligence to their young, by instinct equaling in those particulars the reasonable creature; The admirable compoſure of all the parts of the body of Man, and of the vilest Beast and Vermine; The quality and operation of all the Organs, humours and spirits: The operations of the Minde of man; and the constitution of Societies, and overruling all the matters of the World; with innumerable instances in the creature; do all concur to proclaim that man as mad as madness can possibly make him (in that particular) who thinketh that any lower cause than *incomprehensible wisdom* did principally produce all this; And that by any brutish or natural motion, or confluence of Atomes, or any other matter, it could be thus ordered, continued and maintained, without the infinite wisdom and power of a *first Cause*.

Cause, superiour to meer natural matter and motion. What then should we say, if we had a sight into the inwards of all the Earth, of the nature and cause of Minerals, and of the forms of all things; If we saw the reason of the motions of the Seas, and all other appearances of Nature which are now beyond our reach: Yea, if we had a sight of all the Orbs, both fixed Starrs and Planets, and of their matter, and form, and order, and relation to each other, and their communications and influences on each other, and the cause of all their wonderous motions: If we saw not only the nature of the Elements, especially the active Element, Fire; but also the constitution, magnitude, and use, of all those thousand Suns, and lesser Worlds, which constitute the universal World: And, if they be inhabited, if we knew the Inhabitants of each: Did we know all the Intelligences, blessed Angels, and holy Spirits, which possess the nobler parts of Nature; and the unhappy degenerate Spirits, that have departed from light and joy, into darkness and horreur, by departing from God; yea, if we could see all these comprehensively, at one view; what thoughts should we have of the *wisdom* of the Creator? And what should we think of the Atheist that denyeth it? We should think *Bedlam* too honourable a place for that man, that could believe, or durst say, that any accidental motion of subtile matter, or fortuitous concurrence of Atomes, or any thing below a Wisdom and Power infinitely transcending all that with Man is called by that name, was the *first Cause*, and is the chief continuer of such an incomprehensible frame.

§. 18. *The first Cause must needs be infinitely Good.*

By *Goodness* I mean all essential Excellency, which is known to us by its fruits and appearances in the Creature: which as it hath a *Goodness natural* and *moral*, so is it the Index of that transcendent Goodness, which is the first cause of both: This *goodness* is incomparably beyond that which consisteth in a usefulness to the *creatures good*; or Goodness of Benignity as relative to Man. And it is known better by the meer *name*, as expressing that which Nature hath an intrinsick sense and notion of, than by definitions. As sensible qualities, light, colour, sound, odour, sweet, bitter, &c. are known by the *name*, best, which lead to the sensitive memory,

Nec enim ignorare potest Deus. quamente quisq; sit. *Cicer. de Div.*

At ignorantia rerum aliena est naturæ Deorum; & sustinendi muneris propter imbecillitatem difficultas, minime cadit in maiestatem Deorum: ex quo efficitur id quod volumus, Deorum providentia mundum administrari. *Cicero ibid.*

Quod si inest in hominum genere, mens, fides, virtus, concordia, unde hæc in terras nisi à superioris diffuere potuerunt? Cumq; sit in nobis consilium, ratio, prudentia, necesse est Deos hæc ipsa habere maiora: Nec habere solum, sed etiam his uti, in optimis & maximis rebus. *Cicero de natur. Deorum. lib. 1. pag. 76.*

which

What this Cause is, in it self. That it is God.

which informeth the Intellect what they are: As the mention of *things sensible* entereth the definition of *sense*, and the mention of *sense* doth enter the definition of *things sensible*; and yet the object is in order of nature before the act. And as Truth must enter the definition of Intellection, and Intellection the definition of Truth; and yet Truth is in order before Intellection, and contemporary with the Intellect: so is it between *Goodness* and the *Will*. But if we speak of *uncreated Good*, and of a *created Will*, then *Good* is infinitely antecedent to that *Will*. But the *Will* which is created hath a nature suited to it; and so the *notion of Excellency* and *Goodness* is naturally in our *estimative faculty*, and the relish of it, or *complacency* in it, is naturally in the *Will*, so far as it is not corrupted and depraved. As if I knew a man that had the wisdom and virtue of an Angel, my *estimation* calleth him *Excellent* and *Good*, and my *Will* doth *complacentially* cleave to him, though I should never look to be the better for him my self: or if I onely heard of him, and never saw him, or were personally beholden to him.

Deus est summum Bonum, supra omnem substantiam, omnemque naturam; quod cuncta expectant, cum ipse sit plenæ perfectionis, nullius societatis indigus, *Plato in Tim.* Amor Divinus fuit causa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum. Id. ib. Bonus quidem Deus, & quidem Deus causa bonorum: Malorum autem omnium non causa. Idem de Leg.

Deus si Vim spectes, valentissimus, si decorem formosissimus, si vitam immortalis, denique si virtutem præstantissimus est. *Aristot. de Mun. c. 6.*

That *God* is thus infinitely *Excellent and Good*, the *Goodness* of his *Creatures* proveth: for all the goodness that is in *Men* and *Angels*, *Earth* and *Heaven*, proceedeth from him. If there be any *Natural Goodness* in the whole *Creation*, there must be more in the *Creator*: If there be any *Moral Goodness* in *Men* and *Angels*, there must be more in *eminency* in him: For he can make nothing better than himself, nor give to creatures what he hath not.

§. 19. *The Goodness of the first Being consisting in this infinite Perfection or Excellency, containeth his Happiness, his Holiness, and his Love or Benignity.*

§. 20. *The HAPPINESS of the first Being consisteth,*
1. *In his BEING HIMSELF.* 2. *In his KNOWING HIMSELF.* 3. *In his LOVING and ENJOYING HIMSELF.*

The most perfect Being must needs be the most *Happy*, and that in *Being what he is*; his own *Perfection* being his *Happiness*. And as *Knowledge* in the Creature is both his *Perfection* and *Delight*, so the transcendent Omniscience of the Creator must needs be both part of his *Perfection*, (as distinguished by our narrow minds) and such felicity as may be called *Eminently*

nently his *Delight*, though what *God's Delight* is we know not formally. And as *Love* or *Complacency* is the perfective operation of the *Will*, and so of the *Humane Nature* in Man, and is his highest, final, and enjoying acts, of which all *Goodness* is the object; so there must be something in the *Perfection* of the first Cause, though not *formally* the same with *Love* in Man, yet *eminently* so called, as knowable to us by no other name. And this *complacency* must needs be principally in *Himself*, because *He himself* is the Infinite and onely Primitive Good; and as there was primitively no Good but *Himself* to Love, so now there is no Good but derived from Him, and dependent on Him. And as his *Creature* (of which anon) is obliged to love *Him* most, so he must needs be most *amiable* to *Himself*. *Self-love* and *self-esteem* in the *Creature* may be inordinate, and therefore called *Pride*: but it is impossible that infinite Goodness it self can be over-valued or over-loved by *Himself* or by any creature.

§. 21. The HOLINESS of the first Being consisteth, 1. In his separation from all creatures, by that *Transcendency*, which maketh him their end. 2. In the special Perfection of his *WILL*, which willeth and hath complacency in that alone ad extra, which is agreeable to his perfect Nature, and infinite Wisdom. 3. And so being the Fountain and Rule of Moral Goodness to the Rational Creature.

The Holiness of Man consisteth, 1. In his separation from common uses unto God. 2. In the Rectitude of his *Will*, as habitually thus inclined and bent to Moral Good, and hating evil. 3. Whereby it is conform to the governing *Will* of God. And hence we may learn what Holiness is in God, though not formally the same with that in Man.

§. 22. The Benignity and Love of the first Being is his Essence or Nature, as inclined to complacency in all created Good; and to benevolence or doing good to creatures, freely and agreeably to his infinite Wisdom.

The Love of complacency to all created Good, is necessary in God, supposing the continued existence of that created Good, which is the object. But it is not necessary that such created Good do continually exist. The Love of Benevolence is also natural to God in this sense, that it is his natural perfection as respecting the Creature to be used agreeably to his

E

perfect

Deus est Actus illius porro actus qui perfectus & optimus & eternus. Atque Deum animal esse & eternum & praestantissimum dicimus. Vita igitur & avum continuum & perpetuum Deo suppetit: est enim hoc Deus. A. B. Metaphys.

What this Cause is, in it self. That it is God.

perfect wisdom; but the exercise of it is not necessary, because the being or felicity of the Creature is not necessary; but it is acted freely, according as the infinite wisdom seeth it fit, as to those Ends to which all Creatures are but the Means.

§. 23. The first Being must needs be the only ultimate end to himself, so far as he may be said to intend an End.

Creatas autem Potentia; creatrix utiq; Potentia jure Supereminet eo ipso vel maxime quo creavit. Nam & animam animâ præstantiorem sæpe & experimur & dicimus. Claudian. Mammert. de Anime Statu. l. 1. cap. 13.

When I consider, that taking any one sound, if you joyntly to another, a Third above it, and then place another a third above that also; these three thus conjoynd and sounding together, do constitute one entire Harmony, which governs and compriseth all the sounds, which by art or imagination can at once be joyned together in Musical concordance: This I cannot but think a significant Emblem of that supreme and incomprehensible Three in One, governing, comprising and disposing the whole Machine of the world, with all its included parts in a perfect Harmony.

Christoph. Simpson's The Division Viol. ist. pag. 47.

God doth not intendere finem in defectiveness and imperfection as the Creature doth: He wanteth nothing, nor is he in via as to his felicity. But eminently he may be said to intend an End, as he maketh one thing a means to produce or attain another, and doth nothing disorderly nor in vain, but ordereth all things in infinite wisdom. He is not wanting, but enjoying his end at all times, even in the midst of his use of means. To his essential Goodness and Blessedness, there is no means, nothing is capable of the honour of contributing to it. But his Will is the Beginning of all derived Beings, and his Will is the ultimate End of all. He is pleased to make and order all by his power and wisdom, and he is pleased in all things as so made and ordered. The complacency of his Will then is the ultimate end of all his works, as the Glory of his own Power, Wisdom and Goodness shineth in them. And though Complacency, or Pleasèdness, or Will, be not formally the same in God, as in us, yet something eminently there is in him, which under this Notion we must conceive of, and express.

§. 24. The Possè, Scire, Velle, the operative Power, Understanding and Will of God, according to their Perfection, called his Omnipotency, Omniscieny and Goodness, by which he is Maximus, Sapientissimus, Optimus, is a wonderful, yet an intelligible and certain Trinity in Unity, viz. In the Unity of Essence there is this Trinity of Principles or Faculties, as they may be called from the manner of imperfect man, but deserve a higher name in God.

§. 25. The Essence of God is not the Genus, and these three the Species, nor is it the Totum, and these three the Parts; nor is it a Substance, of which these three are Accidents: but they are like the Essential faculties in Man, which are one with the Soul in Essence, but are not one and the same Faculties, but truly distinct (whether it be Really, Formally, or Relatively and Denominatively

minatively onely): Gods Power or Omnipotency is not formally the same (quoad conceptum objectivum) with his Understanding and Wisdom, nor this the same with his Will and Goodness; they are as three essential Principles, and yet but one Essence, and so one God. Nor is it part of God that is Omnipotent, and part that is Omniscient, and part that is Good; or quæ potest intelligit & vult: but the whole Godhead is Omnipotent, the whole Omniscient, and the whole is Good, or Power, Wisdom and Goodness it self: Yet each of these Nations by it self alone is not a total or full expression of the whole perfection of the Deity.

Therefore we must neither confound the essential Principles in God, nor divide the Essence. The Omnipotency is as one faculty, the Understanding another, and the Will another; but the Godhead and Essence of them all is one, the Glory equal, the Majesty co-eternal. Such as the Power is, such is the Understanding, and such is the Will. The Power uncreated, the Understanding uncreated, and the Will uncreated. The Power incomprehensible, the Understanding incomprehensible, and the Will incomprehensible. The Power eternal, the Understanding eternal, and the Will eternal. And yet there are not three eternal Gods or Essences, but one Eternal; nor three Incomprehensibles, nor three Uncreated, but One. The Power is God, the Understanding is God, and the Will is God: and yet there are not three Gods, but one God. So then, there is One Power, not Three Powers; One Understanding, not Three Understandings; One Will, not Three Wills. And in this Trinity, none is in duration before or after other, none is greater or less than other; but the whole three Principles be co-eternal together, and co-equal. So that in all things as aforesaid this Unity in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity is to be acknowledged as undeniable in the light of Nature, and to be adored and worshipped by all.

And because of the Unity of the Essence, these *Three* may be predicated in the *Concrete* of each other, but not in the *Abstract*, because of their formal diversity. And so it may be said, that the Power is an Understanding or wise Power, and the Understanding is an Omnipotent Understanding, and the Will a most Wise and Omnipotent Will, and the Power a Good and Willing Power: but not that the Power is the

The Reason why the Heathens made Gods of several Virtues, was, because those Virtues were most eminent in God, and by adoring them, men would learn to love and imitate them. Bene Mens, Pietas, Virtus, Fides consecratur manu: quarum omnium Roma dedicata publice templi sunt, ut illa qui habeant (habent omnes boni) Deos ipsos in animis suis collocatos putent. Cicer. de Leg. 2. p. 240.

What this Cause is, in it self. That it is God.

Understanding, and the Understanding the Will, or the Will is the Power or Understanding.

So as to their *Order*, the *Power*, as in it self consider'd, as an Active Vital Power, is first in our conception, and doth as it were act by the Understanding, and the *Understanding* by the *Will*, and in execution so go forth with the *Will*, that the effect is immediately to be ascribed to it.

§. 26. *Though all the Divine Faculties or Principles are adumbrate (or made manifest) in the Creation or Frame of the world, yet the Omnipotency is therein to us most eminently apparent.*

It is infinite *Wisdom* and infinite *Goodness* which shineth to us in this wonderful Frame. But we first and with greatest admiration take notice of the *Omnipotency*. To consider the innumerable number of the Orbs, the multitude of the Fixed Stars, which may be called so many Suns, and to think of their distances, magnitude, powers, orders, influences, communications, effects, &c. and how many millions of these, for ought we know, there may be, besides those which are within our sight, even though helped by the most perfect Telescopes; it striketh the Soul with unspeakable admiration at the Power that created and maintaineth all this. When we think of the unconceivable rapid, orderly, perfect, constant motions of all these Orbs, or at least of the Planets and circumjacent bodies in every Vortex: All these thoughts do make the Deity, or first Being, to be just to the mind as the Sun is to the eye, the most Intelligible of Beings, but so incomprehensible, that we cannot endure to gaze too much or near upon his glory.

§. 27. *Whether the whole world be animated, or inanimate: Whether the whole have one constitutive Soul or not: Whether each Orb have its particular Soul or not, are things unrevealed, and beyond the Certain knowledge of the natural mind. But it is certain that the first Being is not the proper constitutive Form or Soul of the world, but yet that he is much more to it than such a Form or Soul, even the total, perfect first Cause of all that it is, and hath, and doth.*

He is not the constitutive Form or Soul of the Universe, (as it seems Cicero with the Academics and Stoicks thought) because then the Creator and the Creature should be the same.

or else the Creature should be nothing but dead, passive matter : and then Man himself, who knoweth that he hath a Soul, would either be *God*, (which his experience and the conscience of his frailty forbiddeth him to imagin) or else he should be a Creature more noble than the Universe, of which he is so small a part, (which his reason forbiddeth him also to believe.)

But yet that God is *much more* to the world than a *constitutive Soul*, is undeniable ; because he is the *creating Cause*, which is more than a *constitutive Cause* : and his continued causation in its preservation, is as a continued creation : As in Man, the Soul is a dependent cause, which can give nothing to the Body but what it hath received, nor act but as it is acted or impowered by the first efficient. And therefore though we call not God the Soul of Man, because we would not so dishonour him, nor confound the Creator and the creature ; yet we all know that he is to us much more than the Soul of Souls, for in him we live, and move, and have our being. So also it is as to God's causation of the Being, Motion and Order of all the world. God is incomparably *more* to it than its Form, as being the total first Cause of Form and Matter. To be the Creator is more than to be the Soul.

§. 28. The glory of all being, action and order in the creatures, is no less due to God when he worketh by means, than when he worketh by none at all.

For when no Means is a Means, nor hath being, aptitude, force or efficacy, but from himself, he onely communiceth praise to his creatures, when he thus useth them, but giveth not away the least degree of his own interest and honour : for the creature is nothing, hath nothing, and can do nothing but by him : It useth no strength, or skill, or bounty, but what it first received from him ; therefore to use such means can be no dishonour to him, unless it be a dishonour to be a communicative Good. As it is no dishonour to a Watchmaker to make that Engine, which sheweth his skill, instead of performing all the motions without that little frame of means : But yet no similitude will reach the case, because all creatures themselves are but the continued productions of the Creator's will ; and the virtue which they put forth, is

Fas autem nec est, nec unquam fuit, quicquam nisi pulcherrimum facere cum qui esset optimus. Cicer. de Univers. p. 269.

See Theophil. Antioch. ad Autol. l. 1. p. in B. p. 128. shewing that by Gods Voice speaking to Adam is meant his Son.

nothing but what God putteth into them. And he is as near to the effect, when he worketh by means, as when without.

Sic Plato, cum de Deo loqui esset animatus, dicere Quid sis, non est ausus: hoc solum de Deo sciens, quod sciri Qualis sit, ab homine non possit; solum vero ei similitudinem de visibilibus solum reperit & per ejus similitudinem viam sermoni suo attollendo se ad comprehensibilia patefecit. Nam Deus qui prima Causa est, unus omnium princeps & origo est. Hic superabundanti fecunditate majestatis de se Mentem creavit. Hæc mens quæ vix vocatur, quæ patrem inspicit, plenam similitudinem servat authoris. Macrob.

Nulla gens est tam insensata neque tam ferrea, quæ non eriam si ignoret qualem Deum habere debeat, tamen habendum sciat. Cicero 1 de leg.

Omnibus innatum & quasi insculptum est, esse Deos. Idem de Nat. Deor.

§. 29. Those that call these three faculties, or Principles in the Divine Essence, by the name of three Hypostases, or Persons, do seem to me to speak less aptly than the Schools, who call [Deum seipsum intelligentem] the Father, and [Deum ut a se intellectum] the Son, and [Deum a se amatum] the Holy Ghost. For that in God which is to be conceived of us, by Analogy to our essential faculties, is with less impropriety called [an Hypostasis or Person] than that which is to be conceived by us, in Analogy to our actus secundi, or receptions.

§. 30. And those that say the first faculty, Omnipotency, as eminently appearing in the frame of Nature, may therefore be said to be specially therein personated, or denominated, the Creating Person, speak nothing which derogateth from the honour of the Deity.

§. 31. Though we cannot trace the vestigia, the adumbration, or appearances of this Trinity in Unity, through the whole Body of Nature and Morality; because of the great debility and narrowness of our Minds; Yet is it so apparent in the first and most notable parts of both, as may make it exceeding probable that it runneth in perfect method through them all; if our understandings were but able to follow and comprehend that wonderfull method in the numerous, minute and less discernable particulars.

I shall now give no other instance, than in two of the most noble Creatures. The Soul of Man, which is made after Gods Image; from whence we fetch our first knowledge of him, hath in the unity of a living Spirit, the three foresaid faculties, of vital and executive Power, Understanding and Will, which are neither three species, nor three parts, nor three accidents of the Soul: But three faculties certainly so far distinct, as that the Acts from whence they are denominated really differ, and therefore the faculties differ at least in their Virtual Relation to those acts, and so in a well-grounded denomination. To understand is not to will: for I understand that which I have no will to; even against my will (for the Intellect may be forced); Therefore the same Soul

Soul hath in it the *virtue* or *power* both of *understanding* and *wiling*, and so of *executing* : which are denominated from the different acts which they relate to. There is some Reason in the powers, virtues, or faculties of the real difference in the acts.

So in the Sun, and all the superior Luminaries, there is in the unity of their Essence, a Trinity of Faculties or Powers, 1. *Motiva*, 2. *Illuminativa*, 3. *Calcfactiva*; causing *motion*, *light* and *heat*. The doctrine of *Motion* is much improved by our late Philosophers : when the doctrine of *Light* and *Heat* are so also, and vindicated from the rank of common accidents and qualities, the nature of the Luminaries and of Fire will be also better cleared. The Sun is not to these Powers or Acts, either a *Genus*, a *Totum*, or a *Subiectum*. It is not one part of the Sun that *moveth*, and another which *illuminateth*, and another which *beateth* : But the *whole Sun* (if it be wholly Fire or æthereal matter) doth *move*, the *whole illuminateth*, and the *whole* doth *beat* : And *Motion*, *Light* and *Heat*, are not Qualities inherent in it ; But *Motion*, *Illumination*, and *Calcfaction*, are Acts flowing immediately from its Essence as containing the faculties or powers of such acts.

He that could write a perfect method of Physicks and Morality, would shew us Trinity in Unity through all its parts from first to last. But as the Veins, Arteries, and Nerves, the Vessels of the Natural, Vital, and Animal, humours and spirits, are easily discernable in their trunks and greater branches, but not so, when they are minute and multiplied into thousands, so is it in this Method.

But I must desire the Reader to observe, that though I here explain this Trinity of Active Principles in the Divine Essence, which is so evident to Natural Reason it self, as to be past all controversie ; Yet whether indeed the Trinitie of Hypostases or Persons, which is part of the Christian Faith, be not somewhat distinct from this, is a question which here I am not to meddle with, till I come to the second part of the Treatise : Nor is it my purpose to deny it, but only to

Nulla gens tam fera
cujus mentem non
imbuierit Deorum o-
pinio, *Idem* 1. *Tusc.*

Dicunt Stoici DEUM
esse animal immorta-
le, rationale, per-
fectum & beatum ; à
malo omni remotissi-
mum, providentiâ suâ
mundum & quæ sunt
in mundo admini-
strans omnia : Non
tamen inesse illi hu-
manæ formæ linea-
menta : Ceterùm
esse opificem immen-
si hujus operis, sicut
& patrem omnium.
Laert. in Zenone, pag.
(mibi) 364.

*I had rather believe all
the fables in the Le-
gend, Talmud, Alcor-
ran, than that this uni-
versal Frame is with-
out a minde. Lord
Verulam, Essay 16.*

Multi de Diis prava
sentiant : id enim
vicioso more effici so-
let : Omnes tamen
esse vim & naturam
divinam arbitrantur.
Nec verò id colloca-
tio hominum aut com-
sensus efficit ; non
instituta opinio est
confirmata ; non le-
gibus : Omni autem
in re consensio om-
nium gentium Lex
naturæ putanda est.
Cicer. Tusculan. Qui.
l. 1. p. 220.

*Cæsarius, and some other of the Ancients, make the Image of God on Man to be his Natural per-
fections, and his similitude, to be his moral perfections.*

prepare for the better understanding of it. Of which more shall there afterward be said.

§. 32. And thus all Creatures, and especially our selves, declare that there is a first Being and Cause of them all, who is a Substance, Life, a Spirit, or Minde, an Active Power, Understanding and Will, perfect, eternall, independent and self-sufficient, not compounded, not passible, not mutable, corruptible, mortall, Immense, Omnipresent, Incomprehensible, only One, Omnipotent, Omniscient, and most Good, most Happy in Being Himself, in Knowing himself, and enjoying him; most Holy, transcending all the Creatures, of a Perfect Will, the Fountain of all Morall Good, Love or Benigne: having a Trinity of essential Transcendent Principles, in unity of Essence, which have made their adumbration or appearance on the World, whereof though he be not the constitutive form or Soul, He is to it much more; the first Efficient, Dirigent, and ultimate final Cause of all: That is, **THERE IS A GOD.**

CHAP. VI.

Of GOD as RELATED to his Creatures: especially to Man, And I. as his OWNER.

PAssing by all that is doubtfull, and controverted among men truly Rational, and taking before me only that which is certain, undenyable, and clear, and wherein my own Soul is past all doubt, I shall proceed in the same method *secundum ordinem cognoscendi, non essendi*. The word [GOD] doth not only signifie all that I have been proving, viz. The perfect nature of the first Cause, but also his Relations to us his Creatures: And therefore till I have opened and proved those Relations, I have done but part of my work, to prove that **THERE IS A GOD.**

§. 1. GOD having produced Man (and all the World) by his Power, Understanding and Will, is by immediate resultancy Related to him as his CREATOR.

Though he made his Body of pre-existent Matter, yet was that Matter made of nothing; and therefore God is properly

Read the proofs of the Deity, and of Providence at large in Cicer. de nat. Deor. lib. 2. by Balbus.

properly Mans CREATOR, and not his Fabricator only. And a CREATURE is a Relation, which inferreth the Correlate, a CREATOR, as a Son doth a Father. This therefore is Gods first grand Relation unto Man, which hath no cause to produce it, but his actual *Creation*, which is its *fundamentum*.

§. 2. *This Grand prime Relation, inferreth a Trinity of Grand Relations, viz. That God is our OWNER, our RULER, and our BENEFACTOR, of which we are now to speak in order.*

That these Three are justly distinguished from each other, is past doubt to all that understand what is meant by the terms. An *Owner* as such is not a *Ruler* or *Benefactor*, a *Ruler* as such is not an *Owner* or a *Benefactor*. A *Benefactor* as such is neither an *Owner* nor a *Ruler*. And the enumeration is sufficient: All humane affairs, or actions of converse and society, belong to Man in one of these three Relations, or such as are subordinate to them, and meer dependents on them, or compounded of them. They are in some respect the *Genera*, and in some as it were the *Elements* of all other Relations. And from the manner of men, they are applied to God, with as much propriety of speech, as any terms that man can use concerning him. And he that could draw a true scheme or method of the Body of Morality (or Theology, for all is one with me) would reduce all the dealings of God with Man, which are subsequent to the fundamental Act of Creation, to these three Relations; and accordingly distinguish of them all: Yet in the *Mixt actis*, (as most are such) distinguishing only of the compounding Elements (I mean, the interest of these three Relations, as making up the several acts.)

§. 3. *A full Owner or Proprietor, is called Dominus in the strictest sense, and is one that hath a Jus possidendi, disponendi, & utendi; a right of having or possessing, disposing and using, without any copartner, or superior Proprietor, to restrain him.*

The meaning is better known by the bare terms of denomination, through common use, than by definition. We know what it meaneth, when a man saith of any thing, *It is mine own*: There are defective half-proprieties, of Co-partners,

partners, and subordinate Proprietors, which belong not to our present case. The word *Dominus*, & *Dominium*, is sometime taken laxely, as comprehending both Propriety and Rule; and sometime improperly, for Government or Command it self: But among Lawycers it is most commonly taken properly and strictly for an *OWNER* as such: But lest any be contentious about the use of the word, I here put instead of it, the word *Owner* and *Proprietor*, as being more free from ambiguity.

Those writers who confound Propriety and Government under the word *Dominion*, and then bestow long and sharp disputes on the question, what is the fundamentum of Gods dominion, do but delude the ignorant, and exercise the patience or contempt of the intelligent.

§. 4. GOD is jure Creationis & Conservationis, the most absolute Owner or Proprietor of Man, and the whole Creation.

It is not possible that there should be a more full and certain title to propriety, than Creation, and total conservation is. He that giveth the World all its Being, and that of nothing, and continueth that being, and was beholden to no pre-existent matter, nor to any co-ordinate concause, nor dependent on any superiour cause in his causation, but is himself the first independent, efficient, total cause of being and well-being, and all the means thereto, must needs be the absolute Owner of all, without the least limitation or exception.

It is not the supereminency of Gods nature, excelling all created beings, that is the foundation of this his Propriety in the creature. For Excellency is no title to Propriety. And yet he that is *unicus in capacitate possidendi*, that is so transcendently excellent as to have no Copartner in a claim, might by Occupation be sole Proprietor, in that kinde of Propriety *secundum quid*, which Man is capable of: Because there is no other whom he can be said to wrong. But GOD hath a more plenary title by Creation, to Absolute Propriety.

§. 5. Therefore it belongeth to GOD to be the Absolute Disposer of all things: To do with them what he please: and to use them to the pleasure of his will.

Every one may do with his own what he list, except the propriety be but limited, and dependent on another, or but *secundum quid*: Who should interpose and any way hinder God, from the free disposall of his own? Not any Copartner, for there is none. Nor the Creature it self, because it is absolutely His.

§. 6. Therefore also (in hoc instanti, antecedently to any further

further Relation or Covenant) it is not possible for God to do wrong to his Creature, howsoever he shall use it: Because it is absolutely his own, and he oweth it nothing: And where there is no Debitum, there is no Jus, and can be no Injuria.

It is to be remembered that I speak not here of God as now related to the Rational creature as a *Reitor* and a *Benefactor*, and as having declared his *own will* in his Laws or Promises, to the contrary. But I speak of God only in the Relation of a Proprietor simply in it self considered, and so of his Absolute right, and not his *Ordinate will* (as it is commonly called). No man need to fear lest God should deal unequally with him, or contrary to that which true Reason calleth Justice. For God having made himself *Reitor* of the World, hath, as it were, obliged himself, that is, declared his will, to deal equally with all men, and judge them according to their works: And so hath created a *Debitum*, & *Jus* to man, which inferreth a certain Justice on Gods part. But considering him only in this first Relation, meerly ut *Dominus absolutus*, or Proprietor, it is not possible for any thing that he can do, to be an injury: A meer corporal pain (including no contradiction or error, as *consciencences accusation of the innocent*, doth) could be no wrong: There being less appearance of reason to call it wrong, than for my burning my Wood, or plucking a Rose to be a wrong: For it is not the Pain of one that can make it an injury, any more than the destruction of the other: where there is no *Jus*, there can be no *Injuria*: And where there is no *Delitum* there is no *Jus*. My Rose hath possession of its life, but no Right to it: Therefore it is no wrong to destroy it. And yet in this, and in the killing of Birds, and Beasts and Fishes, and labouring my Horse and Oxe in continual weariness and pain, my borrowed half-propriety *secundum quid*, excuseth me from doing them any wrong: Which Gods Absolute Propriety will do much more unquestionably by him.

§. 7. Though all Gods Three Essential Principles or Faculties, Power, Wisdom and Goodness, appear in each of his Three grand Relations, Owner, Ruler, and Benefactor; yet each one of these hath most eminently some one of Gods Essential principles or faculties appearing in it: viz. His Power most appeareth

I. Of Man's Relation to God his OWNER.

in his Propriety, his Wisdom in his Rule, and his Goodness or Love in his benefits given us.

Therefore Propriety resulteth immediately from Creation, as producing the Creature as a Creature; but so doth not Government, as we shall see anon. And as Omnipotency is the most eminent Attribute in the Creation, so is it in that Absolute Propriety of the Creator, acquired by it.

CHAP. VII.

I. Of Man's Relation to God his OWNER.

Prima pietatis magistra natura est. Cic.

Omnis est Deorum vita beata, hominum autem quatenus in ea lucet quoddam ejus actionis exemplar. *Aristot. Eth.* 10. c. 9.

Agri ne consecrentur Platoni assentior: qui his fere verbis utitur: Terra igitur, ut focus, domicilium sacrum omnium Deorum est: Quocirca nequis iterum idem consecrato. Aurum autem & argentum in urbibus & privatim & in fanis, invidiosa res est: *Cicer. de leg.* 1.2 p. 245.

§. 1. GOD being our undoubted, absolute OWNER, it followeth undeniably that we are His own.

The Relations are mutual, and the thing needeth no proof.

§. 2. Therefore Man being an intelligent Creature, that can know this his Relation to his Maker, is bound by Nature to consent to it, and absolutely resign himself to the will, dispose and use of his Creator.

For there is nothing more reasonable, than that every one should have his own: And the Understanding of man should conceive of things as they are, and the Will of man should consent to his Makers Interest and right, or else it were most crooked, irregular and unjust. Therefore it must needs be the duty of every reasonable Creature to bethink him, that GOD is his absolute Owner, and thereupon to make a deliberate resolved RESIGNATION of himself to GOD, without any exceptions or reserves.

§. 3. Therefore man should labour to know wherein he may be most useful to his Maker's Interest, (which is his Pleasure in our perfection) and therein he should willingly and joyfully lay out himself.

For it is undeniable that God should be served with his Own, and that entirely without dividing: for we are not in part, but wholly his.

§. 4. Therefore no man can have any propriety in himself, but what is derived from his Absolute Lord, and standeth in full subordination to his propriety.

For there can be but one full and absolute Proprietor. I can have no other propriety in my self, but by derivation and trust from my Creator.

§. 5. *Therefore also no creature can have any Propriety in another creature, but onely derivatively, subordinate, & secundum quid.*

No Parent hath any propriety in his Children, nor the most absolute and potent Prince in his People, but as God's Stewards under him; no not in *themselves*, and therefore not in others. And a Steward hath no propriety in his Master's goods, but derivative, dependent, subordinate and improper, and onely the *usum, fructuum*, and such possession as is necessary thereto, and such an imperfect propriety as will justify that possession.

§. 6. *And as I am not my Own, so nothing is properly my own which I possess, but all that I have is God's as well as I.*

For no man can have more title to any thing else than to himself. He that is not Owner of himself, is Owner of Nothing. And we have not any thing, nor can have, which is not as much from God as we, and therefore is not as much his.

§. 7. *Therefore no man should repine at God's disposul of him, but all men should acquiesce in the disposing-will of God.*

For it is unreasonable and unjust to murmur at God, for doing as he list with his own, and using any thing to his ends.

§. 8. *And therefore all men should avoid all selfish affections, and partiality, and be more affected with God's interest than their own.*

For we are not so much our Own as his, and our interest is not considerable in comparison of his.

§. 9. *Therefore no man should do any thing for selfish ends, which is injurious to the will and interest of God, our absolute Owner.*

§. 10. *And therefore no man should dispose of his Estate, or any thing he hath, in any way, but for the interest of his absolute Lord.*

§. 11. *And therefore all men should make it the very care and labour of their lives, to serve the will and interest of this their absolute Owner.*

§. 12. *And therefore no man should prefer the will or interest*

II. of GOD's Relation to Man as his Governour.

of the greatest mortal man, or the dearest friend, before the Will and interest of God.

§. 13. Nor should the publick interest of States or Kingdoms be pleaded against his will and interest.

But yet we must take heed how we oppose or neglect this last especially, because the will of God doth take most pleasure in the publick or common benefit of his creatures; and therefore these two are very seldom separated: nor ever at all as to their real good, though as to carnal, lower good, it may so fall out.

All these are so plain, that to stand to prove or illustrate them, were but to be unnecessarily and unprofitably tedious.

§. 14. It being a God of infinite Wisdom and Goodness, as well as power, who is our Owner, his Title to us is a great consolation to the upright.

For as he hath taught men (and bruits too) to love their Own, it intimateth that he will not despise his Own: and therefore his interest in us is our comfort.

§. 15. No man is capable of giving any thing properly to God, but only ly obediential reddition of his own: no nor to man, but as God's Steward, and according to our propriety, secundum quid, in respect to other Claimers.

CHAP. VIII.

II. of GOD's Relation to Man as his Governour.

Stoici dicunt Mundum regi & administrari secundum mentem & providentiam. Lacti. in Zenone.

Note, that all Cicero's unanswerable reasons for the Law of Nature, lib. de Leg. prove, that God governeth us by Laws: For the Law of Nature is God's Law, who is the Maker of Nature.

§. 1. GOD having made Man a rational free Agent, and sociable, among sensible Objects, and out of sight of his invisible Creator, and so infirm and defective, it followeth necessarily, that he is a creature which must be governed by moral means, and not only moved by natural necessitation as inanimates and bruits.

The thing that I am first to prove, is, That Man's Creator hath made him such a creature, whose nature requireth a Government; that he hath a necessity of Government, and an aptitude to it.

By Government I mean, the exercise of the moral means of Laws

Laws and Execution, by a Ruler, for the right ordering of the Subjects actions, to the good of the Society, and the honour of the Governour.

I distinguish Laws from all meer natural motions and necessitation: for though analogically the *Shepherd* is said to rule his Sheep, and the *Rider* his Horse, yea, and the *Pilot* his Ship, and the *Plow-man* his Plow, and the *Archer* his Arrow: yet this is but equivocally called *Government*, and is not that which we here mean, which is the proposal of duty, seconded with rewards or punishment for the neglects, by those in authority, for the right governing of those that are committed to their care and trust. So that it is not *all moral means* neither which is called Government, for the instruction or perswasion of an Equal is not such. Laws, and Judgment, and Execution are the constitutive parts of Government. But by *Laws* I mean the whole kind, and not only *written Laws*, nor those only which are made by Sovereign Rulers of Common-wealths, which by excellency are called Laws: but I mean, *The signification of the will of a Governour, making the subjects duty, and determining of Rewards to the obedient, and punishments to the disobedient.* Or, [*An authoritative constitution de debito officii, premii & pænæ, for the ends of Government.*] So that as Parents, and Tutors, and Masters, do truly govern as well as Kings; so they have truly *Laws*, though not in such eminency as the Laws of Republicks. The will of a Parent, a Tutor, or Master, manifested concerning duty, is truly a Law to a Child, a Scholar, or a Servant. If any dislike the use of the word [*Law*] in so large a sense, it sufficeth now for me to tell them in what sense I use it, and so it will serve to the understanding of my mind. I take it for such an Instrument of Government. The parts of it are, 1. The constituting of the *debitum officii*, or what shall be due *from the Subject*. 2. The constituting the *debitum premii vel pænæ*, or what shall be due *to the Subject*, which is in order to the promoting of obedience, though as to the *performances* obedience may be in order to the *reward*. Now that man is a creature made to be governed, by such a proper moral Government, I prove.

1. The several parts of Government are necessary, therefore Government is necessary. From all the parts of Government

Omnium quæ in hominum doctorum disputatione versantur, nihil est profecto præstabilius, quam plane intelligi nos ad justiciam esse natos; neque opinione sed naturâ, constitutum esse jus. Id jam patebit, si hominum inter ipsos societatem conjunctionemque prospexeris, &c. *Cicer. de Leg. l. pag. 221.*

Si leges abrogantur
& cuius licentia faciendi quicquid voluerit data sit, non solum Respub. pessum ibit, sed nec quicquam interierit inter nostram & ferarum vitam, *Demost. Or. 2. cont. Aristog.*

Bonis legibus, honorum studiorum emulatione pia, temperans, iusta, & re bellica prestans civitas redditur. *Dion. Halic. l. 4.*

Modestiam quandam cognitio rerum celestium affert is, qui videant quanta sit etiam apud Deos moderatio, quantus ordo; & magnitudinem animi, Deorum opera & facta cernentibus. Iustitiam etiam, cum cognitum habeas, quid sit summi RECTORIS & DOMINI numen, quod consilium, quæ voluntas; cuius ad naturam apta ratio vera illa & summa Lex à Philosophis dicitur. *Cicer. de Finib. l. 4. p. 156.*

ment to *the whole*, is an unquestionable consequence. It is necessary that man have *Duty* prescribed and imposed; else man shall have nothing which he ought to do: Take away *Duty*, and we are good for nothing, nor have any employment fit for reason: And take away all *Reward* and *Punishment*, and you take away *Duty* in effect; experience teacheth us that it will not be done, for a rational agent will have ends and motives for what he doth.

2. From the imbecility of our younger state: so weak is our infant understanding, and so strong our sensitive inclination, that if Parents should leave all their Children ungoverned, abused Reason would make man worse than beasts.

3. From the common infirmity and badness of all the world. The wise are so few, and the ignorant so many, that if all the ignorant were left ungoverned to do what they list, they would be like an Army of blind men in a fight, or like a world of men bewildered in the dark. What a confused loathsome spectacle would the world be? and the rather because men are *bad* as well as *foolish*. Would all the sensual vicious persons in the world be ordered like men, without any Government, by such as are wiser than themselves?

4. From the power of sensitive objects: The baits of sense are so numerous, so near and so powerful, that they would bear down reason in the most, without the help of Laws: nay, Laws themselves, even of God and Man, do so little with the most, as tell us what they would be without them.

5. The *variety* of mens minds and interests and dispositions is such, as that the world ungoverned would be utterly in confusion: as many minds and ways as men. No two men are in all things of the same apprehensions.

6. From the *nature* of mans powers: He is a noble creature, and therefore hath answerable ends to be attained, and therefore must have the conduct of answerable means. He is a rational free Agent, and therefore must have his End and Means proposed to his *Reason*, and is not to be moved by Sense alone; his chiefest End as well as his chief Governour, being out of his sight.

7. The experience of all mankind constraineth them to consent to this, that Man is a creature made for Government.

ment. Therefore even among Cannibals, Parents govern their Children, and Husbands govern their Wives; and in all the rational world, there are Rulers and Subjects, Masters and Servants, Tutors and Scholars, which all are Governours or Governed. Few men are to be found alive on earth, who would have all men, or any men save themselves ungoverned. Otherwise Men would be worse to Men, I say not, than Serpents, and Toads, and Tygers are to one another, but than any of them are to men. Every man that had strength and opportunity, would make a prey of the life or welfare of his brother. Mens own necessity forceth them every where to set up Governments, that they may not live as in a continual war, in danger and fear of one another; nay, a war that is managed by Armies, is also ordered by Government, because many must agree for mutual defence: but else, every man would be against another, and they would be as so many fighting Cocks or Dogs, every one would fight or flie for himself; for fighting or flying, injuring and being injured would be all their lives.

He that denieth Man to be a Creature made for Government, and consequently denieth God's Government of the world, by Moral proper Government, doth own all these absurdities, (which else-where I have heretofore enumerated.)

1. He denieth that there is a God: for to be GOD includeth to be *Governour* of the Rational world.

2. He denieth that Man Oweth any *Duty* to God or Man: for where there is no Government, there is no proper Duty.

3. He denieth the *Justice* of God: for *Justice* is the attribute of a Governour, that is, *distributive Justice*, which we speak of: for *commutative Justice* God cannot exercise towards Man, because of our great inferiority to him.

4. He denieth all the Laws of Nature: for where there is no Government, there are no Laws.

5. He denieth the Virtue of Obedience, and all other Virtues concatenated with it: for where there is no Government, there is no Obedience.

6. He denieth that there is any such a thing as sin, or any fault against God or Man: for where there is no Government, there is no transgression. Both the vicious Habits and the

Fundamentum libertatis, fons æquitatis, mens & animus & consilium, sententia civitatis posita in legibus. Cic.

Atqui si natura confirmatum jus non erit, virtutes omnes tollantur: ubi enim liberalitas? ubi patriæ caritas? ubi pietas? ubi aut bene merendi de altero, aut referendæ gratiæ voluntas, poterit existere? Nam hæc nascuntur ex eo quod naturâ propensi sumus ad diligendos homines, quod fundamentum juris est. Neque solum in homines obsequia, sed etiam in Deos Ceremoniæ Religionisq; tolluntur, quas non metu, sed eâ conjunctione, quæ est homini cum Deo, conservandas puto. Cic. de leg. 1. p. 225.

Acts, will have no more crime than the poison of a Toad.

7. And then no man should forbear any act as sinful or criminal.

8. Nor should any persons reprove sin in others, nor exhort them from it.

9. Nor should any one confess any sin, or repent of it, (because it is not.)

10. Nor should any man ask forgiveness of any crime of God or Man.

11. Nor should any man thank God for the pardon of his sin.

12. It will follow that there is no moral difference between men or actions, as Good and bad, but all are alike, whatever they be or do.

13. He denieth all God's Judgments, and all his Rewards and Punishments; for these are all of them acts of Government.

14. It will follow, that every man should do what his list.

15. And that all Parents may forbear the government of their Children, and all Masters of their Servants, and Governours of their Families.

16. It treasonably subverteth all Kingdoms and Commonwealths, and denieth that there should be any Kings or Subjects.

17. It denieth all humane Justice, because it denieth humane Government.

18. It maketh Man a Beast, who is incapable of Moral Government.

19. It maketh him far worse than a Beast, as *corruptio optima est pessima*: for a Beast hath an analogical improper government by Man, but Man must have such as moveth him rationally, according to his nature, or he must have none at all. And it would banish all Order, Duty and Virtue out of the world, and make Earth somewhat worse than Hell, which is not wholly destitute of Government.

20. But the best of it is, while it nullifieth Right and Wrong, it inferreth, that whosoever shall beat or hang the owners of this Doctrine do them no wrong, nor offend any Laws of God or Man: For if there be no Government, there is no Transgression; and if they are Brutes, they may be

be used as Bruits, who are incapable of Titles, Rights, Inheritances, or of any plea as against an injury.

§. 2. *Man being made a Creature to be governed, it thence followeth, that his Creator must needs be his Sovereign Governour, as being only fit, and having in his Propriety, the only Right.*

1. A Governour he must have; for there is no Government nor governed, without a Governour. 2. If there be never so many Inferiour Governours, there must be some Supream: Or else each one would be absolutely Supream, and none Inferiour. But I will first prove that God is Mans Sovereign, and then shew the foundation of his right, and of this Relation.

The only objection made against it, consisteth of these two parts: 1. That God moveth man effectually *per modum naturæ* as an Engineer; and that this is more excellent than Moral Government. 2. And that Moral Government being a less effectual way, is committed to Angels and to Men, viz. Kings; and States, and Magistrates, who are sufficient to perform it.

This Objection confesseth the Government of one man over others, but denyeth the Government of God over Man, and instead of it substituteth his meer Physical motion, or natural Government, such as a Pilot useth to his Ship. I shall therefore against it prove, that not only Man but God, doth exercise this proper Moral Government, by Laws, and Executions, and not a Physical motion only.

§. 3. I. *GOD hath de facto made Laws for Mankind: Therefore he is their Governour by Laws.*

The consequence is undeniable: The antecedent I further prove.

§. 4. *He that doth by authoritative constitution of Duty, oblige Man to obedience, doth make Laws for him, and Govern him by Laws: But God doth by authoritative Constitution of duty, oblige man to obedience: Therefore he maketh Laws for him, and ruleth him thereby.*

The Major is not to be denied; for it only asserteth the Name from the Definition: The authoritative appointment of the *Delitum Officii*, obliging to obedience, is the definition of Legislation, as to its first and principal act; which

Mundus Numine regitur, cæque quasi communis urb. & civitas hominum, Cicero 2 de finib.

Nec solum jus à natura dijudicatur, sed omnino omnia honesta & turpia: Nam & communis intelligentia nobis nota res edicit; easq; in animis nostris inchoavit, ut honesta in virtute ponantur, in vitiis turpia. Hæc autem in opinione existimare, non in natura ponere, dementis est. Nam & nec arboris, nec equi virtus, quæ dicitur in quo abutimur nomine, in opinione sita est sed in natura. Cicero de leg. 1. p. 225.

Rerum natura male administrari non vult: & multorum dominatus & principatus non est utilis: unus ergo sit Princeps. Aristot. lib. A 11. Metaph. c. 10.

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Quod in navi Gu-
bernator, quod in cur-
su agitator, quod in
Choro præcentor,
quod deniq; lex in
Civitate, & dux in
exercitu, hoc Deus est
in Mundo. *Aristot. de
Mund. c. 6.*

the appointment of the *debitum premii vel pæne* followeth. And I think that the interest of Mankind will not suffer him to be so erroneous as to deny the Minor: I think few will believe that there is no such thing as a Law of Nature made by the God of Nature; or that there is no such thing as Duty incumbent on Man from God; and so no such thing as an accusing or excusing Conscience: Few persons will believe, that it is no duty of Parents to nourish their Children, or no crime to murder them: Or that it is no duty for Children to be thankfull to their Parents, and to love them, or no sin to hate, or scorn, or kill them: Few Kings will believe, that it is no duty towards God, for their Subjects to obey them, and no crime to rebell or murder them; and that Conscience hath nothing to say against him for such things, that can but scape the judgement and revenge of man: And few Subjects will believe, that it is no crime for a Prince to oppress them, in their liberties, estates and lives: And few neighbours will think that he is innocent before God, who beateth them, or setteth fire on their Houses, or murdereth their children or other Relations. If man be under no duty to God, and if nothing that he can do is a sin against God, what a thing will Man be, and what a Hell will Earth be? Deny the Law of Nature, and you turn men loose to every villany; and engage the World to destroy it self, and set all as on fire about their ears.

For if God only move us Physically, there is neither virtue nor vice, good nor evil, in a moral sense: But what God moveth a man to, that he will do, and what he doth not move him to, he will not do; and so there being only motion and no motion, action and no action, there will be no Duty and no obligation, and so no Moral good or evil.

§. 5. II. *If God should Rule us only by Physical motion, and not by Laws, he should not rule man as man, according to his Nature: But God doth rule man according to his Nature: Therefore not only by Physical motion.*

Otherwise Man should not differ from Inanimates and Brutes. A stone is to be moved Physically, and a Brute by the necessitating objects of sense: But Man hath Reason; which they have not, and he is a free Agent: And therefore though God concur to his physical motion as such,

yet

Est enim virtus perfecta ratio, quod certe in natura est. *Cicero de leg. 1. p. 326.*

yet he must move him as *Rational*, by such objects, and such proposals, and arguments, and means, as are suited to *Reason*. By presenting things *absent* to his *understanding*, to prevail against the *sense* of things *present*; and by teaching him to preferre greater things before lesser; and by shewing him the commodity and discommodity, which should move him; God would not have made him *Rational*, if he would not have Governed him accordingly.

§. 6. III. *If the way of physical motion alone, is not so excellent and suitable as the way of Moral Government by Laws also, then God doth not only move man physically, and leave it to Magistrates to Rule as Morally: But the antecedent is true: Therefore so is the Consequent.*

God doth not omit the more excellent, and choose a lower way of Government, and leave the more excellent way to man. And that the Minor is true appeareth thus. The way which is most suitable to the object or subject of Government is the most excellent way: But such is the Moral way by Laws: The other Beasts are as capable subjects of as men, and Trees as either. *Wisdom* and *Justice* are eminently glorified in the Moral way: And Omnipotency it self also appeareth in Gods making of so noble a Creature, as is governable by Reason without Force.

§. 7. IV. *If God were not the Sovereign Ruler of the World, there could be no Government of mens hearts: But there is a government of hearts: Therefore God is the Ruler of the World.*

Man knoweth not the Hearts of those whom he governeth: And therefore he can take no cognisance of heart-sins or duties, unless as they appear in words or deeds: And therefore he maketh no Law for the government of hearts. But the *Heart* is the *Man*: and a bad heart is the fountain of bad words or acts, and is it self polluted, before it endeavoureth the injury of others. He that thinks all indifferent that is *within* him, is himself so bad, that it is the less wonder if being so indifferent, yea so vitiated within, he think nothing evil which he hath a minde to do. He that thinketh that the heart is as good and innocent which hateth his God, his King, his Friend, his Parents, as that which *loveth* them, and that it is no duty to have any good thought or affection,

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but only for the outward actions sake; nor any sin to be malicious, covetous, proud, deceitfull, lustfull, impious, and unjust, in his cogitations, contrivances, and desires, unless as they appear in the acts, doth shew that he hath himself a heart, which is too suitable to such a Doctrine. But Nature hath taught all the World, to judge of men by their Hearts, as far as they can know them, and not to take the Will, which is the first seat of Moral Good or Evil, to be capable of neither Good nor Evil. Therefore seeing Hearts must be under Government, it must not be *man*, but the *heart-searching God*, that must be their Governour.

§. 8. V. *If God were not the Governour of the World, all earthly Sovereigns would be themselves ungoverned: But they are not ungoverned: Therefore God is their Governour, and so the Governour of the World.*

What Cicero de leg.
3. saith, that He must
first learn to Obey who
will learn to Govern,
is true in respect of
obedience to God.

The Kings and States that have Sovereign power through all the World, are under no humane Government at all. Though some of them are limited by Contracts with their people. But none have so much need to have the benefit of Heart-government; none have so strong Temptations as they; And no mens actions are of so great importance, to the welfare or misery of the World. If the Monarchs of the Earth do take themselves to be left free by God to do what they list; what work will be made among the people? If they think it no duty to be just, or mercifull, or chaste, or temperate, what wonder if they be unjust and cruel, and filthy, and luxurious, and use the People for their own ends and lusts, and esteem them as men do their Dogs or Horses, that are to be used for their own pleasure or commodity. What is the present calamity of the World, but that the Heathen and Infidel Rulers of the World are so ignorant, and sensual, and have cast off the fear of God, and the sense of his Government, in a great degree; when yet most of them have some conviction that there is a God, who Ruleth all, and to whom they must be accountable: What then would they be, if they once believed that they are under *Government* of God at all. If they should oppress their Subjects, and murder the innocent, it would be no fault: For where there is no Government and Law there is no transgression: No one forbiddeth it to them, and none commandeth

mandeth them the contrary if God do not : For the people are not the Rulers of their Rulers, nor give them Laws : And Neighbour Princes and Statets are but Neighbours : Therefore if they should sacrifice peace and honesty, liberties, lives and Kingdoms to their lusts, no man could say, They do amiss, or violate any sort of Law.

Obj. But the fear of Rebellions, and the peoples vindicating their liberties would restrain them.

Ans. Only so far as they feel themselves unable to do hurt : As a man is restrained from killing Adders lest they sting him : And the advantage of their place doth usually empower them, to make desolations, if they have a minde to it. And great mindes will not easily bear a popular restraint : And indeed the honestest and better any people are, the more undisposed are they to rebell : And therefore Tyrants may with smallest danger and fear destroy them.

Obj. But their own interest lieth in the peoples welfare ; and therefore there is no danger of such miseries.

Ans. Did Nero think so, that wished Rome had but one neck ; that set the City on fire, that he might sing over it Homers Poem of the flames of Troy ? that ript up his own Mother, that he might see the place where once he lay ? Did Caligula think so ? Did Commodus, Caracalla, Heliogabalus, think so ? Did the Spaniards think so by the Indians, who are said by their own Writers, to have murdered in forty two years space, no less than fifty millions of them ? Did King Philip think so, who put his own Son and Heir to death, by the Inquisition ? besides so many thousands more in Spain and the Low Countreys, by that and other ways ? How full of such bloody instances is the World. If it were a Tyrants interest that kept him under some moderation to the people of his own Dominions, it might yet possibly leave him a bloody destroyer of other Nations, in his Conquests. The World hath not wanted men that think the lives of many thousands, a little sacrifice to a proud design, or furious passion ; and are no more troubled at it, than a Pythagorean would be to kill a Bird. It hath had such as Sylla, Messala, Catiline, and the Conquerours of Jerusalem, who as Josephus saith, crucified so many thousands, till they wanted Crosses for men, and place for Crosses, besides the greater numbers famished.

Quæ Lex est recta ratio imperandi atq; prohibendi : Quam qui ignorat, is est injustus, sive est illa scripta uspiam, sive nuspiam. Quod si justitia est obtemperatio scriptis legibus, institutisq; populorum, ethi, ut iidem dicunt, utilitate omnia metienda sunt, negliget leges, easq; pertumpet, si poterit, is qui sibi eam rem fructuosam putabit fore. Cicero de leg. 1.

p. 225.

Obj.

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Obj. But if Chief Governours be under no Law, they are under no Covenants, by which they are obliged.

Ans^r. What shall make their Covenants obligatory to their consciences, if they be under no government of God? The reason why mens Covenants bind them, is, because they are under the government of God, who requireth all men to keep their Covenants, and condemneth Covenant-breakers. But if God had never commanded Covenant-keeping, nor forbad Covenant-breaking, they could never be matter of duty or sin. So that this Doctrin, that God hath made no Laws for man, and is not his Governour, doth leave all Sovereigns from under the least conscientious restraint from any acts of cruelty or injustice, and tendeth to deliver up the world to be a sacrifice to their lusts: when it is the government of the universal Sovereign that is their restraint.

There is scarce any thing that the world needeth so much as good Governours, nor that is a greater blessing to them: which Diogenes intimated when he was to be sold, and bid the Crier cry, Who will buy him a Master: and when they ask'd him what he could do, he said, He could tell how to command or rule men. Laert. in Diog.

Dicebatque cum intraretur in vica gubernatores, medicos, & philosophos, animalium omnium sapientissimum, hominem esse: cum autem inspiceret somniorum interpretes, conjectores, vates, vel qui glorie aut divitiis addicti essent, tunc demum nihil se stultius existimare hominem. Id. ibid.

§. 9. VI. If God have not the Sovereignty over all the world, then no man on earth can have any Governing Power: But Princes and Rulers have a Governing Power: Therefore the Sovereignty is in God.

The reason of the major is, because Kings can have no power but what they receive from some or other: there is no effect without a cause. And if they receive it, it is either from God or Man as the Original. Not from Man, for the people themselves have no governing power to use or give, as to the government of Commonwealths: for their personal power over themselves is of another species, and cometh short of this in many respects, (as else-where I have proved): And if it were otherwise, yet they have nothing themselves but derivatively from God, as is proved before: and therefore they themselves must have their power from him, from whom they are, and have all that they possess: But God cannot give that which he hath not himself, either formally or eminently: Therefore he hath governing power formally or eminently, or else no Prince, or Man, or Angel can have any, no more than they can have being or reason without him. And though his power be transcendent, his exercise of it must be according to the capacity of the subject: and therefore morally by Laws and Executions. So that as all things else in the creature are derived, so is power. And as in beings, *aut Deus aut nihil* is an undeniable truth, so as

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to governing power, or Sovereignty, either it is, Primitively, Supremely and Transcendently in God, or there is none in any Prince or Parents: for if they have it not from Him, they can have none at all.

Obj. *Governing by Laws is caused by humane impotency, because man is not every where present, nor of power to effect himself in and by others, all the things which he commandeth: But were man Omnipresent and Omnipotent as God is, he would make all men do well, and not command them to do it: Therefore it is so in the Government of God.*

Ans^r. It is granted that man is impotent, and God Omnipotent, and Omnipresent, and therefore that God could indeed do as is here intimated, even make all men do well, and not command it: But, 1. it is apparent, that *de facto* he doth not so. 2. And his wisdom being more eminently to be manifested in the work of Government than his Omnipotency, doth shew us partly, why he doth not so, even because the sapiential way is more suitable to his ends and to the subject. Creation did most eminently glorifie (or manifest) Omnipotency; Government doth most eminently glorifie God's Omniscience or Wisdom, as our Perfection or Glorification will most eminently manifest, and glorifie his Love and Goodness. Each Attribute shineth most eminently in its proper work: and mans conceits must not confound this perfect order.

Yet let it be here noted, that all this while I meddle not with the controversie of the Liberty of man's will; and so, whether God's sapiential government by Laws, do operate also by necessitation, and Physical causation, as the natural motions of the Orbs, or the artificial motions of an Engine. I only argue, that whether God thus operate by his Government by secret necessitation or not, yet it is most certain, that he governeth Morally, and useth the Means of Doctrine, Laws and Judgments: which might consist with Physical necessitating efficacy in all that do obey indeed, if God's wisdom, and man's freedom of will did infer nothing to the contrary. But if it had been granted, that all God's government is by Physical efficacy, it would stand good nevertheless, that Laws and Judgment are part of the means which he maketh so effectual. But yet I shall go further in the next Argument.

H

Cicero, de Leg. 1. proueth, That Right is founded in the Law of Nature, more than in Man's Laws; because, else (saith he) men may make evil good, and good evil; and make Adultery, Perjury, &c. just, by making a Law for them.] A cursed consequence, which the Atheist cannot deny upon his Principles.

Quod si populorum iustis, si Principum decretis, si sententiis iudicum jura constituerentur, jus esset latrocinari, jus adulterare, jus testamenta falsa supponere, si hæc suffragiis, aut scitis multitudinis probarentur. Quæ si tanta potentia stultorum sententiis acque iustis, ut eorum suffragiis rerum natura vertatur, cur non sanciant, at quæ mala perniciosaque sunt habeantur pro bonis & salutaribus. Aut cur cum jus ex injuria facere Lex possit, bonum eadem facere non potest ex malo. Atqui nos Legem bonam à malâ, nulla alia nisi naturali norma dicere possumus. Cicero. de Leg. 1. p. 229.

§. 10.

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§. 10. VII. Experience satisfieth all the rational world, that there is, de facto, a course of Duty appointed by God for man, which they do not eventually fulfil. Therefore there is not only a Moral Government, which is effectual, but also which is separated from necessitating efficacy.

They that deny this, and plead for *Physical Government only*, must affirm, that nothing is any man's Duty, but what he actually performeth: and that nothing is any man's sin which he doth, or omitteth to do; that is, that there is no sin or moral evil in the world: For all that God *Physically effecteth* is good; and they suppose him to have no Law which commandeth any thing but what he *Physically effecteth*, and he will not *Physically effect* that which he forbiddeth. And if there be no such thing as moral evil or sin in the world, then no man should fear any, or avoid any! Let but a man leave any thing undone, (if it be nourishing his children, defending his King, loving God or man) and he may thence conclude that it never was his duty: Let him but *do any thing* that he hath a mind to, (if it be killing Father or Mother, or his Prince or Friend) and he may be sure that it is no sin, because he hath done it; for if God forbid it not, it is no sin: nay, he may make it an effect of God's government. But this consequence is so false and horrid; that no Nation on earth receiveth it, and Cannibals themselves abhor it, who eat not their friends, but strangers and enemies.

Stoici dicunt, sinceros esse sapientes, observareque & cavere sollicitè, ne quid de se melius quàm sit commendare putemur, furo seu arte aliqua mala occultante, & bona quæ insunt apparere faciente, ac circumcidere vocis omnem fictionem. Laert. in Zenone.

* As London now is.

§. 11. VIII. If God be not the Governour of the world by Law, then no man need to fear or avoid any thing forbidden by the Laws of Man, who can either keep it secret by Wit, or keep himself from humane revenge by Power. But the consequent is false & therefore so is the Antecedent.

The reason of the consequence is evident; because, where no humane revenge is to be feared, there no punishment at all is to be feared, if God be no Governour of the world: but those that can hide their actions by craft, or make them good by power, need not fear any humane revenge; therefore they need to fear none at all, upon the Atheists grounds. And if that be so, 1. How easie is it for cunning malice to burn a * Town, to kill a King, to poison wife or children, and to defraud a neighbour, and never be discovered? If this be so, then Thieves, Adulterers, Traitors, when they are detected, have

have failed only in point of wit, (that they concealed it not) and not in point of honesty and duty. 2. And then any Rebel that can get enow to follow him, hath as good a cause as the King that he rebelleth against; and if he conquer, he need not accuse himself of doing any wrong: And then there will be nothing for conscience to blame any man for, nor for one man to accuse another of, but witlefness or impotency. And then the Thief must suffer only for want of strength or cunning, and not because he did any wrong.

§. 12. IX. If there be no Government by God, there can be no true Propriety but Strength: and he that is strongest hath right to all that he can lay hold on. But the Consequent is false; therefore so is the Antecedent.

The consequence is undeniable: for if there be no Divine Government, there is no Law but Humane: and no man can have any Right besides Strength to make Laws for any other whomsoever. For if God have no Government and Law, he constituteth no *Debitum vel Jus*, no Dueness or Right. And man can have no Right to govern others, if he have no Governour to give any. If God do give Right to Govern, he thereby maketh obedience to that Governour a duty: and he that constituteth or instituteth Right and Duty, governeth. And if God give men No Right to Govern, they can have none. And then, if Strength be all their Title, any man that can get as much Strength, doth get as good a Title; and may seize upon the Lives, the Lands and Estates of Prince or People, and give Laws to the weaker, as others before gave Laws to him. And so there will utter confusion and misery be let in upon the world. As in the Poet's description of the degenerate Age, *Vivitur ex rapto, non hospes ab hospite tutus*, &c. Reason would have nothing to say against strength: the great Dog would have the best title to the bone. *Melior mihi dextera lingua est.*

Dimmodo pugnando superem, tu vince loquendo, Ovid. Met.

The honest, poor and peaceable would have such a peace with thieves and strong ones, *Cum pecore infirmo qua solet esse lupis*. Ovid.

§. 13. If God govern not the world, then meer Communities are incapable of Right or Wrong, and no man is bound in duty to spare his brother's life or state. But

Tutum aliqua res in mala conscientia præstat, nulla securum. Putat enim etiam non deprehenditur posse se deprehendi: & inter somnos movetur, & quocies aliquis scelus loquitur, de suo cogitat. Sen. ep. 106.

Prima & maxima peccantium pena est peccasse: Hæc & secundæ penæ premium & sequuntur, timere semper & expavescere & securitati diffidere. Id. ep. 47.

Mihi laudabiliora videntur omnia, quæ sine venditione & sine populi teste sunt. Nullum theatrum virtuti conscientia majus est. Cicero. in Tusc. l. 2. p. 268.

Par & æquum Legibus acceptum ferre debetis. Demosth.

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the Consequent is false: therefore so is the Antecedent.

Animal hoc providum, sagax, multiplex, acutum, remor, plenum Rationis & consilii quem vocamus hominem, præclarâ quâdam conditione generatum esse à supremo Deo: solum est enim ex tot animantium generibus & naturis particeps Rationis & cogitationis, cum cætera sint omnia expertia. Quid est autem non dicam in homine, sed in omni cælo, atque terra ratione divinius, quæ cum adolevit atque perfecta est, nominatur rite sapientia. Est igitur quoniam nihil est ratione melius, eaque & in homine & in Deo, prima homini cum Deo Rationis societas, Inter quos autem Ratio, inter eosdem recta ratio est communis: Quæ cum sit Lex, lege quoque consociati homines cum Diis putandi sumus; Quibus autem hæc sunt inter eos communia & civitatis ejusdem habendi sunt unde universus hic Mundus una civitas communis Deorum atque hominum existimanda. Cic. de Leg. 1. p. 219.

By a *Community* I mean a company of men that have yet set up no Government among them: If God be not their Governour, such have none at all, and so are under no moral obligation: for Covenants themselves cannot bind, if there be no superiour obligation, requiring man to stand to his Covenants.

Obj. Then God's Covenants to man do not bind him.

Ans. Not at all, by proper obligation, as if it were his *Duty* to keep them, and his *Sin* to break them; for God is not capable of *duty* or *sin*. But yet improperly they may be called Obligations, because they are the demonstrations of his Will, which the perfection of his Nature will not let him violate. It would be an imperfection, if God should break promise, though not a sin or crime: And therefore it is impossible for God to lie.

Obj. But suppose we say, that Man is under no other obligations than a Beast; and that among men there is no proper right or wrong, duty or fault: yet men by confederacies, without any other Government, would settle Rules for the safety of cohabitation and converse, and for love of themselves would forbear wronging others. And this is all the Law of Nature that Man hath above Brutes.

Ans. Those *Confederacies* would no further oblige them, than their *Interest* required them to observe them. Still by this rule a man is left free to kill wife and children; if he be weary of them, which no neighbour, being wronged by none, will seem obliged to revenge: still he that is the stronger is left to do his worst, without fault, to seize upon other mens estates, and to depose Kings and destroy them, and all the world would be in a state of war. Or if self-interest keep some quiet for a time, it would be but till they had strength and opportunity to do otherwise. He is not fit for humane society, who would tell all about him [I take my self free to defraud and murder any of you, as soon as my own safety and interest will allow it me.] And no man that thus taketh a man for a beast, can expect any better usage than a beast himself, any further than self-love shall restrain others from abusing him: nor can he plead any better title to his estate, nor exemption from the violence of the stronger. And it will also

also follow, that *honesty* is nothing but *self-preserving* policy; and that blasphemy and impiety against God need not be feared or avoided; nor any thing as a *fault*, but only as a *folly*, exposing the person himself to danger. Incest, Perjury, Lying, might be impudencies, but not any crimes.

Obj. If you supposed them in God, they would be but imperfections, and not crimes, and why should you judge otherwise of them in Man.

Ans. Because the *absolute perfection of his Nature* is instead of a Law to God, who hath no Superiour. But man hath a Superiour, and hath an *imperfect nature*, which is therefore to be regulated by the wisdom and will of that perfect Superiour.

And moreover, if Man have reason and wisdom above a Beast, which maketh him capable of knowing Right and Wrong, and of being moved by the things that are evident to reason, though not to sense; and if he be made to be governed by Laws, (as was proved before) then he is certainly governed accordingly; or else his nature and reason were given him in vain, which could not be by the most wise Creator.

Obj. God governeth the world as the Soul governeth the Body, which is rationally ex parte animæ; but not by giving reason or laws to the Body: but despotically by the natural power of the Will.

Ans. The flesh is not capable of Laws, as having no Reason, and therefore no proper Laws can be given to it in it self by the Soul: But the Soul is capable of Reason, and made to be moved by proposed Reasons in a Law, and not only by natural force as the flesh. The Government must be agreeable to the capacity of the Subject. Though the Rider rule the Horse by a bridle and spur, and not by a Law, it followeth not that the King must not rule the Rider so. The Soul and Body constitute one *Suppositum* or Man; and therefore the Body is governed by a Law, because the Soul is so, which despotically moveth it: Laws are for distinct individuals, and not for one part of an individual to give to another part.

Obj. If God be the constitutive Soul of the world, then he need not give it Laws.

Ans. Because it is most certain, *de facto*, that he doth give us Laws, therefore it is certain that he is not the con-

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constitutive Soul of the world, as is also further proved before: though he be *much more* to it than a Soul.

§. 14. XI. *If man act, per media propter finem, and be discerned by reason, then he must be ruled by a Law. But the Antecedent is sure: Ergo, &c.*

For the End is ever something apprehended *sub ratione boni*, (and the ultimate end, *sub ratione optimi possibilis*;) and the Means are chosen and used, *sub ratione conducibilis*, as apt to attain the End. This Means and End are not to be discerned only by sense and imagination, as in bruits every object is apprehended, but by reason; this Reason is defensible and liable to error, and therefore the rational evidences must be proposed to it, and that conveniently: For he that knoweth not Reason, why he should chuse, refuse, or act, cannot do it Rationally. And the Will being as apt to be seduced by the sense, hath need of due motives to determine it. Therefore there is need of the Regulation of a Law, containing the direction of a superiour wisdom, with authority and motives of consequential Good or Evil, proposed by one that can accomplish it.

Non potest consistere
Respublica, ubi non
est honor virtuti, nec
pœna scelerosis. De-
mosth.

But the whole world doth so universally consent, that there is a difference between Right and Wrong, Duty and Crimes, Good and Evil, and so a necessity of some Government (humane at least) and that man is not like the beasts, where strength is the only title, and good and evil is but natural, called *jucundum & utile*, with their contraries, that I need not plead that part of the cause any further, universal consent not only making it unnecessary, but also being a valid argument against it, as proving that it is against the common reason of Mankind, and light of Nature.

§. 15. XII. *If God be not the universal Governour of the world, then error, malice, and tyranny, and selfishness will make injustice finally prosperous, and oppressed innocency remediless. But that cannot be, as shall hereafter be further made appear.*

There must be some infallible Judge to pass the final sentence, and hear all Causes, as it were, over again; and some perfect righteous Judge to set straight, all that mens unrighteousness made crooked; or else unrighteousness will finally prevail. And this must be God, who being the fountain of all Government, is also the end of all.

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§. 16. XIII. If God be not the Supreme Universal Governour, there can be no unity and harmony in the moral Order and Government of the World.

As all the Corporations in the Kingdom would be in continual discord with one another, if they were not all united in one King; so would all the Kingdoms of the World (much worse than they are) if they were not under the Government of one God.

§. 17. XIV. The last argument shall be à Jure & aptitudine: If Man be made a Creature to be morally Governed, and the undoubted Right and Aptitude, for supream Government be in God alone, then God is actually the supream Governour of the the World: But the antecedent is true, therefore the consequent.

1. That God only is *Able*, is undeniable: Men can govern but their particular Provinces or Empires: and none of them is capable of Governing all the World, for want of Omnipresence, Omnipotency, and Omniscience: And therefore the Pope that claimeth the Government of all the World, if all turn Christians, doth thereby pretend to a kinde of Deity. And if Angels were proved able to govern the Earth, it can be but as Officers, and not in absolute supremacy: For who then shall be the Governour of them: Their being is merely derivative and dependent; and therefore so must be their power. God only is allsufficient, omnipresent, omnipotent, omniscient, and most good: Sufficient to give perfect Laws to all; to execute righteous Judgement upon all; and to protect the World as his Dominion: when Princes cannot protect one Kingdom, nor themselves.

And Gods title and right is as undoubted as his Power: For he is *Absolute Owner* of the World. And who should claim Sovereignty over him or without him, where he is sole Proprietor. He hath undoubted right to rule his own.

Obj. Propriety among men is no title to Government.

Ans. Absolute Propriety in a Governable creature, is a plenary title. But no man hath absolute Propriety in another. Yet Parents, and the Masters of Slaves, who come neerest it, have an answerable Power of Governing them. But mans fullest Propriety is in Brutes and Inanimates, which are not Creatures capable of Government.

Atticus in Cicer. de leg. 1. p. 213. saith, That he cannot but believe that Jus est ortum ex natura, because of these Principles.

1. Quasi muneribus Deorum nos esse instructos & ornatos.

2. Unam esse hominum inter ipsos vivendi parcm communemq; rationem.

3. Omnes inter se naturali quâdam indulgentiâ & benevolentia, tum etiam societate juris contineri.

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§. 18. The Relation then of Sovereign King or Rector in God to man, is founded in the forenamed Relation of a Proprietor, supposing the Aptitude of the Subject and the Owner.

Having proved that God is the Universal King, I come to shew his title to his Kingdom. *Titulus est fundamentum juris.* Sovereignty or *summa potestas*, is *Jus supremi Regimini*. Where this Right is founded, great ignorance hath made a great controversie, the thing to men that are of competent understandings in such subjects, being most easie and past controversie. God having made man, is immediately his Owner, because his maker. Having made him a Rational free Agent, and so to be Governed, he hath the *Jus Regendi* by Immediate Resultancy from his Absolute Propriety; supposing the Nature of the Creature, and the Perfection of the Creator alone, which so qualifie one to be a Subject, and the other to be the Governour, that they are as it were the remoter *fundamentum Relationis*. From the being of Man *Hoc aliquid à Deo creatum*, resulteth the propriety of God: From the specifick nature of Man, as a Rational, free, sociable Creature, he is by immediate Resultancy *Gubernandus*: and being such, his Creator, remotely for his Infinite Perfections and sole aptitude, and proximately, because he is Mans absolute Owner, is by Resultancy his rightfull Governour: And that he neglecteth not this his Right, but actually Governeth him, appeareth in the very making man such, and continuing him such as is made to be Governed, as also in his actual Laws and Judgements. This is the true and plain resolution of the Question of the Title of God to his Kingdom, or *fundamentum* of the Relation of Universal King.

§. 19. Humane Government is an Ordinance of God, and Humane Governours are his Officers as he is supream: And he hath not left it free to the World, whether they will live in governed Societies, or not.

That Humane Government is appointed by God, appeareth thus: 1. In that the light of Nature teacheth it all the World. 2. In that God hath put into mans Nature a necessity of it, and therefore signified his will concerning it: It is needfull to the very lives of men, and to their highest perfections, order, and attainments. If Parents did not govern Children,

See this fullyer proved in my Political Aphorism. p. 52, &c.

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§. 20. *Therefore as all Rulers receive their Power from him, and hold it in dependance on him, so must they finally use it for him, even for his will and interest, which they must principally intend.*

He that is the Original of Power must needs be the End: He that giveth it to man, doth give it for the accomplishment of his own Will. It is held in pure subordination to him, and so it must be used, or it is abused.

§. 21. *Therefore no man can have any Power against God, or his Laws or Interest: For he giveth not Power against Himself.*

That is, he giveth no man Right, authority or commission to displease him, by the breaking of his Laws; for that is a contradiction, or chargeth his Laws with contradiction. Yet must not any Subjects make this a pretence to deny any just obedience to their Rulers, or to rebell against them, on supposition that their Government is against God. For as private men are not made Publick Judges of the interest of God, but only private discerners, in order to their own obedience to him; so may that Government be for God in the main, which is against him in some few particulars.

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(To a King rather than to a Justice of Peace or Constable.)
And consequently the greatest sin is against him. If God be above man, so is duty to God, and sin against God, the greatest in both kinds.

Read what is after cited out of Zeno. Laert. in Zen. saith, that the Stoicks say, Virtutes sibi invicem esse connexas, ut qui unam habuerit, omnes habeat: esse enim illarum communes speculationes, &c. Qui enim probus est, ea despiciere & agere quæ sint agenda sunt, ea & eligenda esse, & sustinenda, & distribuenda, & perseveranter tenenda: sequuntur autem prudentiam consiliorum maturitas & intelligentia; temperantiam vero ordinis dexteritas & ornatus; Justitiam autem æquitas & gratitudo: fortitudinemque constantia, atque valentia. Placet autem eis, nullum inter Virtutem & Vitium esse medium. Quemadmodum enim lignum aut distortum aut rectum oportere esse aiunt, ita justum vel injustum. At virtutem Chrysippus quidem amitti posse, Cleanthes vero non posse ait.

§. 23. *Therefore there is Good and Evil, which respect God, and are called Holiness and Sin, which are incomparably greater, than Good and Evil so called from respect to any Creatures, whether Individuals or Societies.*

Therefore they that know no Good but that which is so called from its respect to mans commodity or benefit, nor no Evil but that which is so called from its respect to the hurt of Creatures, do not know God, nor his Relation to his works; but make Gods of themselves, and accordingly judge of Good and Evil.

§. 24. *The Consciences of men do secretly accuse them, or excuse them, according to this sort of Good or Evil.*

When men have wrangled against Religion never so long, there are very few so blinde and bad, in whom God hath not a resident witness, called *Conscience*, which secretly telleth a man that he doth well or ill, as he keepeth or breaketh the Laws of Nature, and that with respect to the Sovereign Law-giver, and not only to the good or hurt of man. As Conscience doth not accuse a man for being poor or sick, or wronged by another (though about these we may have also inward trouble) so it doth not justify him for his Prosperity in the World (though it may be laid asleep and quieted by such means). But it is for Morall Good or Evil that Conscience doth accuse or justify: If I make my self *poor wilfully*, my Conscience will trouble me for the *wilful fault*, and breed in me repentance and remorse: And so it will if I hurt or impoverish my neighbour: But if I hurt my self or neighbour unavoidably without any fault of mine, I am sorry for it, but my Conscience will not accuse or condemn me for it.

§. 25. *This power of Conscience causeth all the World, to praise or dispraise men according to this Moral Good or Evil.*

Mark but the Infidels themselves, or any whom Vice hath turned into Monsters, and they will commend men upon the account of that inward sincerity, and honesty, which God only can make Laws for: and dispraise men for the contrary.

ry. If you say, that they do this only because such virtues make men fit for humane converse, and profitable or not hurtfull to one another; I answer, we are not enquiring of the *final cause*, but the *formal*: Though they praise sincere and honest men, and those that are loving, compassionate, kinde, and dispraise dissemblers, malicious, and men of hurtfull dispositions, yet you may observe that they speak not of these only as *usefull* or *hurtfull* qualities, but as *morall good* or *evil*; as things that men *ought* or *ought not* to do; which they are *bound to do*, or *not do* by some *obligation*: And what Obligation can make it any mans *duty*, if there be no *Law of God in Nature* for it, when it is out of the reach of the Laws of men. Mark Heathens, and Infidels, and Atheists in their talk, and you shall hear them praise or dispraise men, for some things which intimate a *Divine Obligation*; which sheweth that the *Conscience* of the World beareth witness to the *supream universal Government* of God.

No man who believeth that there is a God, can believe that the actions of his rational creatures have no relation to him; or that the good or evil of them, which is the result of their relation to God, can be of less or lower consideration, than their relation to themselves or one another: Therefore if it be laudable to perform duty to Kings, and Parents, and Neighbours, Conscience will tell the World, that it is incomparably more necessary to perform our duty to God: And it cannot be, that the World should stand related to God, as their Creator, Proprietor, Governour and end, and yet owe him no duty.

§. 26. Gods Government (as Mans) consisteth of three parts, Legislation, Judgement, and Execution.

Without *Laws*, the Subject can neither know his Duty, nor his Rewards and Punishments. Without *Judgement*, *laws* will be uneffectual; and without *execution*, judgement is a deceitfull ludicrous thing.

§. 27. By a *Law* I mean, *An Authoritative Institution what shall be due from and to the Subject for the ends of Government*] Or [*A sign of the Rulers Will instituting what shall be Due to and from the Subject, for the ends of Government.*]

The fuller reasons of this Definition of a Law, I have given in another Writing. *Signum* is the Genus of it; The

Quæ autem ratio non comitatem, non benignitatem, non gratum animum, & beneficii memorem diligit? Quæ superbos, quæ maleficos, quæ crudeles, quæ ingratos non aspernatur, non odit? Cic. de leg. 1. p. 222.

Legibus & earum observantiâ exornantur omnia. Demosth. Nihil omnino neque pulchrum neque decorum reperiri potest; quod non cum lege aliqua communiatur. Id. Orat. 3. cont. Arist.

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Lex nihil aliud est, quàm recta & à numine Deorum ratio, imperans honesta, prohibensq; contraria. *Cicero Phil. 1.*
 Vitiorum emendatricem legem esse oportet, commendatricemq; virtutum: Ab ea enim vivendi doctrina ducitur. *Cicero. 1. de leg.*

Ad salutem Civium, civitatumq; incolumitatem, vitamq; hominum & quietam & beatam, conditæ sunt Leges. *Cicero. 1. de leg.*

A majoribus nostris nulla alia de causa leges sunt inventæ, nisi ut suos cives incolumes conservarent. *Cicero. in Vatin.*
 Nil est tam aptum ad jus conditionemque naturæ sine quo nec domus ulla, nec civitas, nec gens, nec hominum universum genus, stare, nec rerum natura omnis, nec ipse mundus potest. Nam & hic Deo parer, & huic obediunt maria terræq; & hominum vita iussis supremæ legis obtemperat. *Cicero. de leg. 3. p. 253, 254.*

will of a Ruler being no otherwise to be known to Subjects, but by signs: The Relations of [Ruler and Subjects] is presupposed: It is therefore only an *Authoritative sign*, or the sign of [a Rulers] will, because a Ruler only hath the Power of Government: I say of his [Will] as that which is the nearest perfective Efficient, or *Imperant* faculty, including the understandings conduct. I call it [an institution] or [instituting sign] to signify its efficiency *de debito*, and to distinguish it from [the judicial decisive determination of the Ruler.] It is only [to Subjects] that this signification is made, he being not a Ruler to any others. The product of the Institution or Statutum, is only *Debitum*, which is the immediate full effect of Laws: This *Debitum* is twofold, 1. *Officii*, what shall be Due from the Subject (or what shall be the Subjects duty.) 2. What shall be due to him, 1. If he keep the Law, which is the *Debitum præmii*: 2. If he break it, which is the *Debitum pænæ*: I say [to the ends of Government.] For it is a Relation which must have the end in the definition; and seeing I only define a Law in genere, I mention but [the ends of Government] in genere: For several Governments have several ends: The Government of single persons only, as of a scholar, a son, a servant, by a Tutor, Parent, Master, intendeth proximately but the good of the individual Subject: The mandates of such Rulers, have the true nature of a Law, though it be of the lower sort, as is the Government; And Custom hath appropriated the word [Law] to a nobler species only. The Government of Societies is always immediately for [the Order of the Society:] But not always for their good; much less chiefly: The Government of a society of Slaves (as the Spaniards over the Peruvians and Mexicans in digging their Mines) is for the Order of those Slaves, but for the benefit of the Lords. The Government of some Armies, is for the Order of the Armies, but for the good of those they fight for. The Government of a true Commonwealth is for the *Bonum publicum*, the common good, which includeth the happiness of the Rulers with the Subjects. The universal Government of the World, is proximately for the Order of the World, and for its good, but ultimately and principally for the fulfilling and pleasing the Will of God, in the said Order and good, and in the glory or operations of his own Power,

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er, Wisdom, and Goodness therein. (As shall be further proved afterward.)

§. 28. *Any signification of the will of God, that man shall be benefited on condition of his obedience, is the præmiant part of his Law: And any signification of his will, that man shall be punished if he sin (or that punishment shall be his due) is the penal part of his Law.*

If it only foretold that in a way of Physical efficiency, obedience will produce good, and disobedience hurt to himself, this were not properly, præmiant or penal; But when the Good is promised upon the condition of obedience, and the hurt threatened upon condition of sin, as means to move a rational free Agent to obey, this is truly a præmiant and penal act of Law: And this is fulfilled also in a physical way of production; the Law-giver being also the Creator and Disposer of all the World, doth wisely order it, that *Morall good* shall be attended with *Physical good*, and *Morall evil* with *Physical evil*; first or last.

§. 29. *The Immensity (or Omnipresence) the Omnipotency, Omniscience, and infinite goodness of God, with his total Causation in the support of all his Creatures; do most undoubtedly prove his particular Providence, in observing and regarding all the actions of his Subjects in the World; and so declare his actual government.*

*Of this read Cicero's
2. lib. de nat. Deor.*

It is the gross ignorance of the Divine perfections, which ever made any one question the particular Providence of God as extending to the smallest things and actions. 1. It is proved by his *Immensity* (conceived of as without corporeal extension of parts as before said): He that made and upholdeth all the World, did never make that which is greater than himself, and excludeth his presence. Though being a Spirit he hath not Corporeal quantity, yet analogically and in a way of eminency and transcendency, we must say that he is Greater and Immense: And it is his perfection which denyeth extension and dimensions; and therefore in a nobler kinde he is every where present. And if he be here as certainly as I am, and in a more excellent manner, he cannot but observe all things and actions which are here.

2. He is *Omnipotent* and *Allsufficient*, and therefore as Able to observe and govern every the smallest Thing and
action,

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action, as if he had but that one to look after in the world. And I think, if God had but *one man* at all to mind and govern in all the world, the Adversary himself, that now doth with his particular providence, would confess, that God doth observe and regard that one individual. It is mens Atheistical or Blasphemous diminutive thoughts of God, who conceive of him as *finite*, though they call him *infinite*, which is the cause of all such kind of errors.

3. His *Omniscience* infallibly proveth also his particular observance of all things and actions in the world; for His *Knowledge* being his natural perfection is *necessary*: He cannot be *ignorant* of any thing that is. If I had but one thing just before my eyes to see, in the open light, I must needs see it, if it have the necessities of a visible object, unless I wink. If the Sun's illumination were an act of vision, (as its like it is nothing more ignoble) how easily would it at once discern all that is upon one half of the earth at once? All things are naked and open before the eye of the Omniscient being: He cannot but behold or know them, and therefore observe them and regard them.

4. His Creation, Causation and Manutency also prove, that he both *knoweth* and regardeth all things: For can he be either ignorant, forgetful or mindless of that which he made, and still doth so conserve, as to continue a kind of Creation of it? His Omnipotent Will which gave it a being, doth still continue it; should he withdraw his active sustentation, it would turn all, not only to confusion but to nothing. And doth he not know and regard what is continually as in his hand, or by continual volition produced or maintained by him? He is the universal Cause of all the agency and motion in the world; in him we Live, Move and Be: and can he be ignorant or regardless of what *he doth*? Why will he make, maintain, and move that which he doth not regard?

5. His Relation of *Owner* proveth his regard: all things are his *Own*.

6. And his Relation of a *Governour* proveth his regard and his *actual government* of *Man* and all his actions. For he taketh not on him a vain Relation; and he that *maketh Laws* for every person and action, doth regard and govern every person and action: But so doth God. *Ergo*.

§. 30. Those who think God doth nothing to all the rest of the world, but by those noblest creatures which are next him, and that he hath committed the government of all the rest of the world to the Intelligences of the first Order; cannot without blindness and contradiction deny, that he is still Himself no less the actual Mover and Governour of all, than if he used no Officer or Instrument at all.

For 1. God ceased not himself to be Omnipresent, Omniscent, Omnipotent, or most Benign, when he gave that supposed Power to those Instruments. 2. He made them and ordered them under Him, through plenitude of Goodness, delighting to communicate Power and Dignity as well as Being to his Creatures, and not through impotency or insufficiency, to supply any defect in his own Government, and to help him: He useth them to honour them, and not to dishonour himself. He gave away from himself no degree of Perfection, nor deprived himself of the smallest part of Honour, which he communicateth to them; but honoureth himself in the appearance of his Perfections by the said Communications. As God can do that by himself without the Creature, which he causeth the Creature to do; (as to move, illuminate and beat the lower parts without the Sun as well as wish it, or any thing which importeth not impotency or contradiction) for he ceased not to be omnipotent; so that which he doth by any Creature is as truly and fully done by Himself, as if there were no created instrument or cause in it. For that Creature which is nothing of it self, and hath not any Being but in full dependance on its Maker, can have no action of it self, but in full dependance upon him; what ever it doth, it doth by him: though as to the specifying comparison, why this rather than that, God hath given men a power with liberty, yet the Action as an Action, being from the Power which was totally from him, is so it self: There can be no less of God's agency in any action, because he doth it by a Creature, than if he did it without; though there be more of the Creatures, there is no less of his: His communication of Power is not by discerption, or division and diminution of his own. He that knoweth what a Creator and total first Cause is, needs no other proof of this. Men indeed communicate power to their Officers, through their own insufficiency,

ciency, to be *their helpers*, and supply the want of their presence or action; but so doth not God. Therefore if Angels or Intelligences govern and move all inferiour things, they are all governed and moved no less certainly, *proportionately*, honourably by God himself, than if he had never used such a subordinate Agent; and that *immediatione essentie & virtutis*; *immediately*, though not *so immediately*, as to use no honourary second cause.

§. 31. *Justice is an Attribute of God as GOVERNOUR, by which he maketh equal Laws, and giveth all their due according to them; (or judgeth them righteously according to his Laws) for the ends of Government.*

As *Justice* is conceived of in God according to the image in Man, which we call the *Virtue* or *Habit* of *Justice*, so it is his eternal Nature, being nothing else but the perfection of his infinite Wisdom, and his Will or Goodness, as respecting a Kingdom of Subjects as *possible* and *future*. For he may so be called *JUST*, that *hath no Kingdom*, because he hath that *Virtue* which would do *Justice* if he *had a Kingdom*. But a *JUSTICE* is taken either for the *exercise* of righteous Government, or for the *honourable Relation* and Title of one that *doth so exercise it*; that is, of an *actually Just Governour*, so *formally* and *denominatively* it is an Attribute of God, which is *not Eternal*, but subsequent to his *Relation* of a *King* or *Governour*. He that is not a *Governour*, is not a *Just Governour*. *A negatione est secundi adjecti ad negationem est tertii valet argumentum.*

Dii, qui quod velint, possint lacerare, nec a quodam laceri vicissim, non nocent nisi improbis. *Plut. in Lacon.*

Hanc video sapientissimorum fuisse sententiam, Legem neque hominum ingenii excogitam, neque scitum aliquod esse populorum, sed æternum quiddam quod universum mundum regeret imperandi prohibendique sapientiam. Ita principem Legem illam & ultimam Mentem esse dicebant omnia ratione aut cogentis aut verantis Dei. *Cic. de Leg. 2. p. 234.*

The Law is *Norma Officii & Judicii*. He that maketh a Law, thereby telleth his Subjects, that according to this they must live, and according to this they must be judged. Indeed the immediate sense of the words of a Law, as such, is not to be taken as *de Eventu*, but *de Debito*: He that saith, *Thou shalt not murder*, saith not, [Eventually it shall not come to pass that thou shalt not murder] but [It shall be thy Duty not to do it.] And he that saith, [If thou murder thou shalt be put to death] doth *primarily*, in the sense of the words themselves, mean no more but [Death shall be thy due.] But in that he declareth that he will *justly* govern according to this Law, therefore he meaneth *secondarily* and consequently, that ordinarily he will give to all their due.

In what cases the Letter and nearest sense of a Law may be dispensed with, or the Law-giver reserveth a liberty of dispensation to himself, belongeth not to this place to be disputed.

CHAP. IX.

II. Of Man's Subjection to God, or Relation to him as our Governour.

§. 1. **M**An being made thus a Rational free Agent, and so-
ciable to be governed, and God being his Rightful
Governour, is immediately related to God as his Subject, as to
Right and Obligation.

There is no Sovereign without a Subject: *Subjection* is
our *Relation* to our Governour, or else our *consent* to that
Relation. In the former sense we take it here. A Subject is
one that is bound to obey another as his Ruler. He that is a
Subject by *Right* and *Obligation*, and yet doth not *consent*
and actually subject himself to his rightful Governour, is a
Rebel. There cannot be greater obligations to subjection
imagined by a created understanding, than the Rational Crea-
ture hath to God.

§. 2. *All men are obliged to consent to this subjection, and to
give up themselves absolutely to the government of God.*

God's absolute propriety in us as his creatures, giveth him
so full a Title to govern us, that our *consent* is not at all ne-
cessary to our *obligation* and subjection-relative; but only to
our *actual obedience*, which cannot be performed by one
that consenteth not. Therefore God's right and our natu-
ral condition are the foundation of our subjection to him, as to
Obligation and *Duty*; and he that *consenteth* not, sinneth by
high Treason against his Sovereign. As God did not ask our
consent whether he should make us men, so neither whether he
should be our Governour and we his Subjects as to obli-
gation: nor yet whether he shall punish the rebellious and
disobedient. But he asketh our *consent* to *obey him*, and to be
rewarded by him: for we shall neither be *holy* nor *happy* but

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Seneca Epist. ad Luc.
93. p. (mibi) 711.
sath, Sic certe vi-
vendum est, tanquam
in conspectu viva-
mus. Sic cogitan-
dum, tanquam aliquis
in pectus inspicere
posset & potest:
Quid enim prodest
ab homine aliquid
esse secretum. Nihil
Deo clausum interest
animis nostris, & co-
gitationibus mediis
intervenit.
Diogenes (in Laert.)
said to an immodest
woman, Non vereris
mulier, ne forte
stante post tergum
Deo (cuncta enim
plesti ipso sunt) in-
honeste te habeas?
Primus est Deorum
cultus, Deos credere;
deinde reddere illis
Majestatem suam:
reddere Bonitatem
sine qua nulla Ma-
jestas est: scire ille
esse qui præsider
Mundo, qui universis
ut sua, temperantia
qui humani gene-
tutem gerunt. Idem
epist 93.

by our own consent. Those therefore (whom I have confuted in my Treatise of Policy) who say, God is not our King till we make him King, nor his Laws obligatory to us till we consent to them, speaking *de Debito*, do not reason but rave, and are unworthy of a confutation.

§. 3. *All men therefore are obliged to subject their Understandings to the revealed Wisdom of God, and their Wills to his revealed Will, and to employ all the powers of Soul and Body, and all their possessions, in his most exact obedience.*

Subjection is an obligation to obedience. Where the Authority and Subjection are absolute and unlimited, there the obedience must be absolute and most exact. The understanding of our absolute Ruler is the absolute rule of our understandings. No man must set up his conceits against him, nor quarrel with his Government or Laws. If any thing of His revelation or prescription seem questionable, unjust or unnecessary to us, it is through our want of *due subjection*, through the arrogancy and enmity of our carnal minds. His *Will, de Debito*, must be the absolute Rule of all our Wills: so much secret exceptions and reserves as we have in our *resignation and subjection*, so much hypocrisy and secret rebellion we have. Our subjective obligation is so full and absolute, and our Ruler so infallible, just and perfect, that it is not possible for any mans obedience to God to be too absolute, exact or full. Nothing can be more certain than that a Creature, subject to the government of his Creator, of infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness, doth owe him the most perfect and exact obedience, according to the utmost of his Powers, without any dissent, exception, resistance, unwillingness or neglect.

§. 4. *All obedience which Rulers require of their Subjects, w Subjects give to any Governours, must be in full subordination to the government and will of God.*

For all Powers under the absolute Sovereign of the world, are derivative and dependent, and are no more than he hath given: they are *from him, under him, and for him*; and can no more have any authority *against him*, than a Worm against a King, or than they could have *Being and Authority* without him. He that contradicteth this Proposition, must take down God, and Deifie Man, and so deifie and conquer Heaven,

Nihil mihi videtur
frigidius, nihil in-
eptius, quam Lex
cum prolegomeno:
Dic quid me velis
facisse; non discio, sed
parco. *Senes. ep. 95.*

*If Mens Laws must
have so great autho-
rity, much more Gods.
Ex quo intelliges
par est, eos qui per-
niciosa & injusta po-
pulis iusta descripse-
runt, cum contra fe-
cerint quod polliciti
professique sint, quid-
vis potius tulisse
quam leges. Cic. de
leg. l. 2. p. 235.*

Multa perniciosa
multa pestifera seis-
tuntur in populis,
aut non magis Legis
omen attingunt,
quam si latrones, &c.
Id. ibid.

Heaven, or else he will never make it good. As for the difficulties that seem to rise by allowing Subjects to prefer God's Authority before their Parents or Princes; it belongeth no more to the clearing of the present subject than I resolve them, than that I resolve such as arise from our allowing Subjects to disobey a Justice or Constable when he is against the King.

§. 5. *They that are obliged to such absolute and exact obedience, are obliged to use their utmost diligence to understand God's Laws, which they must obey.*

For no man can obey a Law which he doth not know of, and understand. Subjection includeth an obligation to study our Maker's Laws, so far as we must do them: Indeed those that concern others, we are not so much bound to know (as a Subject to know God's Laws for Kings and Pastors of the Church); but for our *own duty* we cannot do it before we know it. Those that are ignorant of their Maker's Will through unwillingness, contempt or negligence, are so far disobedient to his Government.

§. 6. *There are many and great temptations to draw us to disobey our Maker, which every one is bound with greatest vigilancy and constancy to resist.*

He that is bound to obey, is certainly bound to resist all temptations to disobedience. For that is far from absolute or true obedience which will fail, if a man be but tempted to disobey. Kings and Parents will not accept of such obedience as this; they will not say, [Be true to me, and honour me, and obey me, till you are tempted to betray me, and to reproach me, and rebel.] He that will be false to God when he is tempted to it, was never true to him. No temptation can bring so much *for sin*, as God giveth us *against it*, nor can offer us so much *gain*, or *honour*, or *pleasure* by it, as he offereth us on condition we obey him. And that the world is full of such temptations, experience putteth past dispute, (of which, more anon.)

§. 7. *No price can be offered by any Creature, which to a Subject of God should seem sufficient to hire him to the smallest sin.*

Sin hath such aggravations (which shall be opened anon) that no gain or pleasure that cometh by it can counterbalance. There being no proportion between the Creature

Plurarch de Tranquil. Anim. scribit, quod ita est ens Aristoteles a sententiis, That he that believed as he ought of the gods, should think as well of himself as Alexander, who commanded so many m. n. p. 155.

Dicebat Thales, Homines existimare optere Deos omnia cernere, decorumque omnia esse plena, & tunc fore omnes Castiores. (ic. 1. de Leg.

Athenodorus dicere prudenter solebat, ita cum hominibus homines vivere debere, ac si Deus Retributor bonorum malorumque ultor, omni loco ac tempore actiones nostras intueretur conspicereturque humanis nostris oculis;

Fu'gof. l. 7. c. 2.

Sic vive cum hominibus tanquam Deus videat: Sic loquere cum Deo tanquam homines audiant Sen, ep 10.

Chilon (in *Laert.* p. 43) inquit, Damnum potius quam turpe lucrum eligendum, nam id semel tantum dolori esse: hoc semper.

Plus apud bonos pietatis jura quam omnes opes valent. *Ju-stin. Hist.* l. 3.

Because God hath penalties to promote obedience, all Religion is called, The fear of God. *Laertius* saith of *Cleanthes*, Cum aliquando probro illi daretur, quod esset timidus: At ideo, inquit, parum pecco. Fear is a preserving cautelous passion, though it make not a good man of it self, but as joyned with Love.

and the Infinite Creator, there can nothing by, or of the Creature be proportionable, or considerable to be put into the ballance against the Creator's Authority and Will. The command of Kings, the winning of Kingdoms, the pleasure of the flesh, the applause of all the world, if they are offered as a price or bait to hire or tempt a man to sin, should weigh no more against the command of God, than a feather in the ballance against a Mountain. All this common reason will attest, however sense and appetite reclaim.

§. 8. No man can reasonably fear lest his true obedience to such a Governour should prove his final detriment or hurt: but if it did, it were nevertheless our duty to obey.

1. No man can reasonably think, that God is less able to reward, protect and encourage his subjects in their duty, than any Tempter whatsoever in their disobedience. And no man can think that he is less wise to know how to perform it: nor can any think that Infinite Goodness is less disposed to do good to the good, than any Tempter whosoever can be to do good to the evil. These things being all as clear as light it self to the considerate, it must needs follow, that no reason can allow a man to hope to be finally a gainer or saver by his disobedience to his Maker, or to fear to be a loser by him.

2. But if it were so, obedience would be our duty still: for the authority of God, as his propriety, is absolute; and he that giveth us power to require the analogical obedience of our Horse or Ox, though it be to our benefit only, and his hurt, yea though it be in going to the slaughter, if he did so by us could do us no wrong, nor give us any just excuse for our disobedience. For as sweet as life is to us, it is not so much Ours in right as His, and therefore should be at his disposal.

§. 9. The breaking of Gods Laws must needs deserve a greater penalty, than the breaking of any Man's Laws, as such.

The difference of the Rulers and their Authority puts this past all controversy; of which yet I shall say more anon.

§. 10. What is said of the subjection of Individuals to God, is true of all just Societies as such; the Kingdoms of the world being all under God the universal King, as small parcels of his Kingdom, as particular Corporations are under a humane King.

Therefore Kings and Kingdoms owe their absolute obedience to God, and may not intend any ultimate end, but the

the pleasing of their universal Sovereign; nor set up any interest against him, or above him, or in coordination with him; nor manage any way of Government, but in dependence on him, as the *Principle* and the *End* of it; nor make any Laws, but such as stand in due subordination to his Laws; nor command any duty but what hath in its order, a true subserviency and conducibility to his pleasure.

CHAP. X.

Of GOD's particular Laws as known in Nature.

THe true nature of a Law I have opened before. It is not necessary that it be *written* nor *spoken*; but that it be in general any apt [*signification of the Will of the Rector to his subjects, instituting what shall be due from them and to them, for the ends of Government.*] Therefore whatsoever is a *signification of Gods will to man, appointing us our duty, and telling us what benefit shall be ours upon the performance, and what loss or hurt shall befall us, if we sin,* is a Law of God.

Though Cicero's books de legibus, be usually read by us when we are boys, they are worthy the perusal of the wisest men, and fit for the edification and pleasure of the learned.

§. 1. A Law being the Rectors Instrument of Governing, there can be no Law where there is no Government: And therefore, that which some call, The eternal Law, is indeed no Law at all; But it is the Principle of all just Laws.

The Eternal Wisdom and Goodness of God (that is, the Perfection of his Nature and Will) as related to a *Possible, or future Kingdom*, is denominated *Justice*: And this *Justice* some call the *Eternal Law*: But it is truly no Law, because it is the will of God in himself, and not as *Rector*; nor is it any *signification* of that *Will*, nor doth it suppose any *governed subjects* in being from Eternity; nor doth it make any duty to any from Eternity: But all the Laws which God maketh *in time*, (and consequently which *men make*, which are just and good) are but the Products of this Eternal Will and Justice.

And whereas some say, that there is an eternall truth in such Axiomes as these [Thou shalt love God above all, and

Quod (de magistratu loquitur) cum dico legem, a me dici nihil aliud intelligi volo quam imperium, sine quo nec domus ulla, nec civitas, &c. Id. de leg. 3. init.

do as thou would'st be done by, and the good should be encouraged, and the bad punished, &c.] I answer, God formeth not Propositions; And therefore there were no such Propositions from Eternity: Nor was there any Creature to love God, or to do Good or Evil, and be the subject of such Propositions: That Proposition therefore which *was not* from Eternity, was neither true nor false from Eternity; for *non entis non sunt accidentia vel modi*. But this is true, that from Eternity there were the grounds of the verity of such Propositions when they should after be: And that if there had been subjects from Eternity for such Propositions, and Intellects to frame them, they *would have* been of Eternal truth.

§. 2. *At the same time of his Creation that God made Man his subject, he also made him some Laws, to govern him.*

For, subjection being a general obligation to obedience, would signifie nothing, if there were no particular duties to be the matter of that obedience. Else Man should owe God no obedience, from the beginning, but be Lawless; for where there is no Law, there is no Obedience: (Taking a Law in the true comprehensive sense, as I here do.)

§. 3. *All the objective significations in natura rerum, within us or without us, of the Will of God, concerning our Duty, reward or punishment, are the True Law of Nature, in the primary proper sense.*

§. 4. *Therefore it is falsely defined by all Writers, who make it consist in certain axioms (as some say) born in us, or written on our hearts from our birth; (as others say) dispositively there.*

It is true, that there is in the nature of Mans Soul a certain aptitude to understand certain Truths, as soon as they are revealed, that is, as soon as the very *Natura rerum* is observed: And it is true, that this disposition is brought to actual knowledge, as soon as the minde comes to actual consideration of the things. But it is not true that there is any *actual* knowledge of any Principles born in Man: Nor is it true, that the said *Disposition to know* is truly a Law; nor yet that the actual knowledge following it, is a Law: But the *disposition* may be called a Law Metonymically, as being the aptitude of the faculties to receive and obey a Law; as the Light of the Eye, which

which is the *potentia & dispositio videndi*, may be called [the *Light of the Sun*] but unhanfomly: And the subsequent actual knowledge of Principles, may be called the *Law of Nature metonymically*, as being the *perception* of it, and an effect of it: as *actual sight* may be called, the *Light of the Sun*, and as *actual knowledge* of the Kings Laws, may be called His *Laws within us*, that is, the effect of them, or the Reception of them: But this is far from propriety of speech.

That the inward axiomes as *known* are not Laws, is evident, 1. Because a Law is *in genere objectivo*, and this is *in genere actionum*: A Law is *in genere signorum*; but this is the *discerning of the sign*: A Law is the *will of the Rector signified*: this is his will *known*: A Law is *Obligatory*: this is the *perception* of an Obligation. A Law *maketh duty*: but this is the *knowledge* of a *duty made*. 2. The Law is not in our power to change or abrogate: But a mans inward dispositions and perceptions are much in his power, to encrease or diminish, or obliterate: Every man that is wilfully sensual and wicked, may do much to blot out the Law of Nature, which is said to be written on his heart; But wickedness cannot alter or obliterate the Law of God: If this were Gods Law which is upon the heart, when a sinner hath blotted it out, he is disoblighd from duty and punishment: For where there is no Law, there is no duty or transgression. But no sinner can so disoblige himself by altering his Makers Laws: 3. Else there would be as many Laws of Nature, not only as there are men, but as there are diversity of perceptions: But Gods Law is not so uncertain and multiform a thing. 4. And if Mans *disposition* or *actual knowledge* be Gods Law, it may be also called Mans Law: And so the Kings Law, should be the Subjects perception of it.

It is therefore most evident, that the true Law of Nature is another thing: (And is it not then a matter of admiration, that so many sagacious, accurate Schoolmen, Philosophers, Lawyers, and Divines, should for so long time go on in such false definitions of it!) The whole World belongeth to the Law of Nature, so far as it *signifieth to us* the *will of God*, about our duty, and reward, and punishment: The World is as Gods Statute Book: The foresaid *natural aptitude*, maketh

Omnia lex invenimus
sane & donum est
Deorum: Decretum
vero hominum prae-
dictum— Demost.
cont. Arist. or. 19.

keth us fit to read and practise it. The Law of Nature is as the external Light of the Sun; and the said *natural position*, is as the viliue faculty to make use of it. Yet *some* of the Law of Nature is *within us too*: But it is there only in *genere obiectivo*, & *signi*: Mans own Nature, his Reason, Free will, and Executive power, are the most notable *signi* of his duty to God; To which all Mercies, Judgements, and other signifying means belong.

§. 5. *The way that God doth by Nature oblige us, is by laying such fundamenta from which our duty shall naturally result, as from the signification of his Will.*

Communis lex nunquam immutatur, cum secundum naturam fit: jus verò scriptum sapius. A. r. flot. 1. Rhet. ad Theod. c. 4.

Diogenes (in Laert.) congregatis ad se plurimis exprobravit, quod ad inepta studiose concurrerent; ad ea vero quæ gravia & utilia, negligenter convenirent: Dicebatque de fodiendo & calcitrando certare homines, ut autem boni & probi fierent curare neminem. Musicos in ius vocabat, quod cum lyrae chordas congruè apparent, animi mores inconcinnos haberent. Mathematicos carpebat, quod Solem & Lunam & sydera intuentes,

quæ ante pedes erant negligenter. Oratores item, quod studerent iusta dicere, non autem facere. Avaros quoque quod pecuniam vituperarent, ac summe diligerent: & eos qui iustos, quod pecunias contemnerent laudabant, pecuniosos verò imitari satagebant. Stomachabatur eis qui per bona valetudine sacra facerent, inter sacrificia contra sanitatem coenarent. Servos mirabatur, qui cum edaces dominos cernerent, nihil diriperent ciborum.— Dicebat manus ad amicos complicatis digitis extendi oportere.

§. 6. *These fundamenta are some of them unalterable (while we have a being,) and some of them alterable: And therefore some Laws of Nature are alterable, and some unalterably accordingly.*

As for instance, Man is made a Rational free Agent; and God is unchangeably his Rightfull Governour, of infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness: Therefore the nature of God and Man (*in via*) thus compared are the *fundamentum* from whence constantly resulteth our indispensable duty to love him, trust him, fear him, and obey him: But if our being, or reason, or free-will, which are our essential Capacities cease, our obligations cease *cessante fundamentis*. God hath made Man a *sociable* Creature; and while he is in *society*, the Law of Nature obligeth him to many things, which he hath no obligation to, when the society is dissolved: As when a Parent, Child, Wife, or Neighbour dieth, all our duties to them cease. Nature by the position of many circumstances, hath made Incest ordinarily a thing producing manifold evils, and a sin against God: And yet Nature so placed the children of Adam, in other circumstances, that the said Nature made that their duty (to marry one another) which in others would have been an unnatural thing: Nature forbiddeth Parents to murder their chil-

dren : But when God the absolute Lord of life, would that way try *Abrams* obedience, when he was sure that he had a supernatural command, even Nature obliged him to obey it. Nature forbiddeth men to rob each other of their proper goods. But when the *Owner* of all things, had given the *Israelites* the *Egyptians* goods, and changed the propriety, the *fundamentum* of their former natural obligation ceased. Changes in *natura rerum*, which are the *foundation* of our obligation, may make changes in the obligations, which before were natural. But so far as *Nature*, that *Nature* which foundeth duty is the same, the duty remaineth still the same : The contrary would be a plain contradiction.

§. 7. *The Authoritas Imperantis* is the formall object of all obedience : and so all our duty is formally duty to God as our Supream, or to Men as his Officers : But as to the Material object, our Natural duties are either, I. Towards God: II. To our selves: III. To others.

§. 8. I. *The prime duties of the Law of Nature* are towards God, and are our full consent to the three Relations, (of which two are mentioned before) : To be Gods Rational Creatures, and not obliged to take him dearly for our Absolute Owner and Ruler, is a Contradiction in Nature.

§. 9. *Mans Nature being what it is, and Related thus to God, and Gods Nature and Relations being as afore described, Man is naturally obliged to take God to be what he is in all his Attributes forementioned (cap. 5.) and to suit his will, and affections to God accordingly: that is, to take him to be omnipotent, omniscient, and most good, most faithfull, and most just, &c. and to believe him, seek him, trust him, love him, fear him, obey him, meditate on him, to honour him, and preferre him before all the World; and this with all our Heart and might, and to take our chiefest pleasure in it.*

All this so evidently resulteth from the Nature of God and Man compared, that I cannot perceive that it needeth proof or illustration.

§. 10. *It is a contradiction to Nature, that any of this duty proper to God, may be given to any other, and that any Creature or Idol of our Imagination should be esteemed, loved, trusted, obeyed, or honoured as God.*

Laertius saith of the Magi, that they do Deorum cultui vacare; signa statuasque reprehendere; & eorum imprimis qui Mares esse Deos & feminas, dicunt, errores improbare. Signa & statuas ex disciplinae instituto è medio tulisse. Qui & revicturos homines, immortalesque futuros, dicunt, & universa illorum precationibus consistere. Plerique & Judæos ab his duxisse originem tradunt. Laert. pag. 4, 5, 6.

For that were fallhood in us, injury to God, and abuse of the Creature.

§. 11. *Nature requireth, that Man having the gift of speech from God, should imploy his Tongue in the Praise and service of his Maker.*

This plainly resulteth, from our own Nature, and the use of the Tongue, compared with, or related to Gods Nature and perfections, with his propriety in us, and all that's ours, and his Government of us.

§. 12. *Seeing Man liveth in totall dependance upon God, and in continual receivings from him, Nature obligeth him to use his heart and tongue in holy desires express'd and exercised in Prayer, and in returning thanks to his great Benefactor, (of which more anon.)*

For though God know all our sins and wants already, yet the Tongue is fitted to *confess* our sins, and to express our desires: And by *confessing* and *expressing*, a twofold capacity for mercy accreth to us: That is, 1. Our own *Humiliation* is excited and increased by the said Confessions; and our Desires, and Love, and Hope, excited and increased by our own *Petitions*, (the tongue having a power to reflect back on the heart, and the exercise of all good affections being the means of their increase.) 2. And a person that is found in the actual exercise of *Repentance* and holy *Desire*, and *Love*, is morally, and in point of Justice, a much fitter recipient for pardon, and acceptance, and other blessings, than another is: And it being proved by Nature, that Prayer, Confession and Thank-giving, hath so much usefulness to our good, and to our further duty, Nature will tell us, that the tongue and heart should be thus imployed. And therefore Nature teacheth all men in the World, that believe there is a God, to confess their sins to him, and call upon him in their distress, and to give him thanks for their receivings.

§. 13. *Seeing Societies as such are totally dependent upon God, and mens gifts are communicative, and Solemnities are operative: Nature teacheth us, that God ought to be solemnly acknowledged, worshipped, and honoured, both in Families, and in more solemn appointed assemblies.*

It greatly affecteth our own hearts to praise God in great and solemn Assemblies: Many Hearts are like many pieces

Pietas est scientia con-
lendi numinis: in-
quit *Emilius in Plu-
tarch.*

of Wood or Coals, which flame up greatly when set together, which none of them alone would do. And it is a fuller signification of *Honour to God*, when his Creatures do purposely assemble for his solemn and most reverent Praise and Worship. And therefore Nature shewing us the reasons of it, doth make it to be our duty.

§. 14. Nature telleth us, that it is evil to cherish false opinions of God, or to propagate such to others; to slander or blaspheme him, to forget him, despise him, or neglect him, to condemn his Judgements, or abuse his Mercies; to resist his instructions, precepts, or sanctifying motions: And that we should alwayes live as in his sight, and to bend all our powers entirely to please him, and to think and speak no otherwise of him, nor otherwise behave our selves before him, than as becometh us to the infinite, most blessed, and holy God.

§. 15. Nature telleth us, that in Controversies between Man and Man, it is a rational means for ending strife, to appeal to God the Judge of all, by solemn Oaths, where proof is wanting: And that it is a bawny crime to do this falsely, making him the Patron of a lie, or to use his name rashly, unreverently, prophanely, or in vain.

All this being both against the Nature of God, and of our speech, and of humane society, is past all doubt unnatural evil.

§. 16. Nature telleth us, that God should be worshipped heartily, sincerely, spiritually, and also decently and reverently, both with soul and body, as being the Lord of both.

§. 17. It telleth us also, that he must not be worshipped with sin or cruelty, or by toyish, childish, ludicrous manner of Worship, which signifie a minde that is not serious, or which tend to breed a low esteem of him; or which are any way contrary to his Nature, or his will.

§. 18. Nature telleth us, that such as are endued with an eminent degree of holy wisdom, should be Teachers of others, for obedience to God, and their salvation.

As the Soul is more worth than the Body, and its welfare more regardable, so charity to the Soul is as Natural a duty as to the body: which cannot better be exercised, than in communicating holy wisdom, and instructing men in the matters of highest everlasting consequence.

Nulla Pietas est erga Deos, nisi honesta de numine Deorum ac Mentis opinio sit. Cicero. pro Plancio.

De Diis ita ut sunt loquere. Bias in Laertio.

Equidem is qui de Diis talia commentus est, an Philosophus appellandus sit nescio, (inquit Laertius de Orpheo, p. 3.) Videant certe qui ita volunt quo sit censendus nomine, qui Diis cuncta hominum vitia, & quæ raro à turpibus quibusq; & flagitiosis geruntur, adscribit. Fulmine interisse cognoscitur. Laertius. Proem.

Lege Laertius de Magis.

Cicero de nat. Deorum lib. 1. p. 46. scribit, That Pollidonium believed that Epicurus thought that there was no God; and therefore, not according to his judgement, but in scorn, described God like a man, careless, idle, &c. which he would not have done, if he had thought that there was a God indeed.

Impellimur naturâ
ut prodesse velimus
quamplurimis, im-
primisque docendo,
rationibusque pru-
dentiz tradendis,
Itaque non facile est
invenire, qui quod
sciat, ipse non tradat
alteri. Ita non solum
ad discendum propen-
sissimus, verum
etiam ad docendum.
Cic. 2. de fin.

Descriptionem sacer-
dotum nullum iustæ
Religionis genus
prætermittit: Nam
sunt ad placandos
Deos alii constituti,
qui sacris præfint so-
lennibus: ad inter-
pretanda alii præ-
dicta vatum; neque
multorum ne esset
infinitum, neque ut
ea ipsa quæ suscepta
publicè essent, quis-
quam extra collegi-
um nosset. *Cic. de
leg. 1. 2. p. 143.*

Autoritate nunquam
legum docemur do-
mitas habere libidi-
nes, coercere omnes
cupiditates, nostra
tueri, ab alienis men-
tes, oculos, manus
abstinere. *Cic. 2. de
Or.*

§. 19. *Nature teacheth, that so great a work should be done slightly and occasionally only, as in the by, but that it should be a work of stated office, which tried men should be regularly called to, for the more sure and universal edification of Mankind.*

Nature telleth us, that the greatest works, of greatest consequence, should be done with the greatest skill and care; and that it is likest to be so done when it is made a *set Office*, intrusted in the hands of tried men: for it is not many that have such extraordinary endowments: and if unfit persons manage so great a work, they will marr it, and miss the end: and that which a man taketh for his *Office*, he is likelier to take care of, than that which he thinks belongeth no more to him than others: and how necessary Order is in all matters of weight, the experience of all Governments, Societies and Persons may soon convince us.

§. 20. *Nature telleth us also, that it is the duty of such Teachers to be very diligent, serious, and plain, and of Learners to be thankful, willing, studious, respectful, and rationally-obedient, as remembring the great importance of the work.*

For in vain is the labour of the Teachers, if the Learners will not do their part: the Receiver hath the chief benefit, and therefore the greatest part of the duty, which must do most to the success.

§. 21. *Nature telleth men, that they should not live lawless and ungoverned, but in the order of governed Societies, for the better attainment of the ends of their Creation, (as is proved before.)*

§. 22. *Nature telleth us, that Governours should be the most wise, and pious, and just, and merciful, and diligent, and exemplary, laying out themselves for the publick good, and the pleasing of the universal Sovereign.*

§. 23. *It teacheth us also, that Subjects must be faithful to their Governours, and must honour and obey them, in subordination to God.*

§. 24. *Nature telleth us, that it is the Parents duty, with special love and diligence, to educate their children in the knowledge, fear, and obedience of God; providing for their bodies, but preferring their souls.*

§. 25. *And that children must love, honour and obey their Parents;*

Parents; willingly and thankfully receiving their instructions and commands.

§. 26. Nature also telleth us, that thus the Relations of Husband and Wife should be sanctified to the highest ends of life; and also the Relation of Master and Servant: and that our callings and labours in the world should be managed in pure obedience to God, and to our ultimate end.

§. 27. Nature teacheth all men to love one another, as servants of the same God, and members of the same universal Kingdom, and creatures of the same specifick nature.

There is somewhat amiable in every man, for there is something of God in every man, and therefore something that it is our duty to love: And that according to the excellency of man's nature, which sheweth more of God than other inferior creatures do; and also according to their additional virtues. Loveliness commandeth love, and love maketh lovely. This, with all the rest afore-mentioned, are so plain, that to prove them is but to be tedious.

§. 28. Nature telleth us, that we should deal justly with all, giving to every one his due, and doing to them as we would be done by.

§. 29. Particularly it telleth us, that we must do nothing injuriously against the life, or health, or liberty of our neighbour, but do our best for their preservation and comfort.

§. 30. Man being so noble a creature, and his education so necessary to his welfare, and promiscuous unregulated generation tending so manifestly to confusion, ill education, divisions and corruption of mankind; and unbridled exercise of lust tending to the abasement of reason, and corruption of body and mind, Nature telleth us, that carnal copulation should be very strictly regulated, and kept within the bounds of lawful marriage; and that the contract of marriage must be faithfully kept, and no one defile his neighbour's bed, nor wrong another's chastity, or their own, in thought, word, or deed.

This proposition, though Beasts understand it not, is proved in the annexed reasons: Nothing would tend more to household divisions and ill education, and the utter degenerating and undoing of mankind than ungoverned copulation. No one would know his own children, if lust were not bounded by strict and certain Laws; and then none

Nihil interest utrum vir bonus scelestum spoliaverit, an bonum improbus: nec utrum bonus an malus adulteratus sit: sed lex damni solum spectat dissimilitudinem, utriusque pro paribus, si alter violavit, alter violatus est. *Aristot. Ethic. 3. c. 4.*

Vide *Plutarchi Roman. quæst. 65.*

Temperantia libidinum inimica est. *Cic.*

When an Adulterer asked Thales whether he should make a vow? he answered him, Adultery is as bad as perjury: intimating, that he that made no conscience of adultery, would make none of perjury. *Laert.* Cyrus is praised by *Plutarch*, for curious: that would not see *Panthea*: and they are by him reproved that cast a wanton eye at women in coaches as they pass by, and look out at windows to have a full view of them, and yet think that they commit no fault: suffering a curious eye and a wandering mind to slide and run every way.

would love them, nor provide for them; nor would they have any certain ingenuous education. Women would become most contemptible and miserable, as soon as beauty faded, and lust was satisfied; and so one half of mankind made calamitous, and unfitted to educate their own children: and ruine and depravation of nature could not be avoided. They that think their choicest Plants and Flowers fit for the inclosure of a Garden, and carefullest culture, weeding and defence, should not think their children should be educated or planted in the Wilderness. It is not observable, that all flying Fowls do know their Mates, and live by couples, and use copulation with no other: and that the Beasts and more terrestrial Fowl do copulate but only so oft as is necessary to generation. And shall Man be wiser than Beasts?

§. 31. Nature bindeth us, not to violate the propriety of our neighbour, in any thing that is his, by fraud, theft, or robbery, or any other means, but to preserve and promote his just community as our own.

§. 32. Government and Justice being so necessary to the peace and welfare of the world, Nature teacheth us that bribery, fraud, false-witness, and all means that pervert Justice must be avoided, and equity promoted among all.

§. 33. The Tongue of Man being made to be the Index of his mind, and humane converse being maintained by humane credibility and confidence; Nature telleth us, that Lying is a crime, which is contrary to the nature and societies of Mankind.

§. 34. And Nature telleth us, that it is unjust and criminal to slander or injuriously defame our neighbour, by railing, reviling, or malicious reports, and that we ought to be regarded of his honour as of our own.

§. 35. Nature telleth us, that, both in obedience to God, the just disposer of all, and for our own quietness and our neighbour's peace, we should all be contented with our proper place and condition and estate, and not to envy the prosperity of our neighbour, nor covetously draw from him to enrich ourselves.

Because God's will and interest is above our own, and the publick welfare to be preferred before any private person, and therefore all are to live quietly and contentedly in their proper places, contributing to the common good.

§. 36. Nature

Aristotle, Ethic. 4. saith, Every lie is evil, and to be avoided.

The Roman Laws against perjury and false witness and bribery, tell us what nature saith thereof. Read in Lamprid. how vehement Alexander Severus was against bribery.

Fundamentum iustitiae est fides, id est, dictorum conventorumque constantia & veritas. Cicero.

§. 36. Nature teacheth us, that it is our duty to love humane Nature in our enemies, and pity others in their infirmities and miseries, and to forgive all pardonable failings, and not to seek revenge and right our selves by our brothers ruine: but to be charitable to the poor and miserable, and do our best to succour them, and help them out of their distress.

De altero temere as-
firmare periculosum
est, proper occultas
hominum voluntates
multiplicesque natu-
ras. Cic.

All these are our undeniable duties to GOD and our Neighbours.

§. 37. Nature also telleth us, that every man, as a rational lover of himself, should have a special care of his own felicity, and know wherein it doth consist, and use all prudent diligence to attain it, and make it sure.

A man that loved his
belly, desiring to be ad-
mitted into Cato's
family, Cato answered
ed, Non possum cum
tali vivere, cujus pa-
tatum plus sapit,
quam cerebrum. E-
rasm.

§. 38. Nature telleth us, that it is the duty of all men to keep Reason clear, and their Wills conformable to its right apprehensions, and to keep up a constant Government over their Thoughts, Affections, Passions, Senses, Appetite, Words and Actions, conforming them to our Makers Laws.

§. 39. Nature telleth us, that all our Time should be spent to the Ends of our Creation, and all our Mercies improved to those Ends, and all things in the world be estimated by them, and used as Means conducing to them.

Nullus mihi per oti-
um dies exiit. Partem
noctium studiis ven-
dico, non vaco somno
sed succumbo. Senec.
What mean you to
make your prison so
strong, said Plato to
one that pampered his
body. Ficin. in vit.
Plar.

§. 40. Nature commandeth us to keep our Bodies in sobriety, temperance and chastity, and not be inordinate or irregular in eating, drinking, lust, sleep, idleness, apparel, recreation, or any lower things.

Vires corporis sunt
vires carceris, inquit
Petrarch. l. 1. dial. 9.
Cato homo virtuti
simillimus—qui nun-
quam recte fecit ut
facere videretur, sed
quia aliter facere non
poterat: cuique id

§. 41. It commandeth us also watchfully and resolutely to avoid or resist all temptations which would draw us to any of these sins.

§. 42. And it teacheth us patiently to bear our crosses, and improve our trials to our benefit, and see that they breed not any sinful distempers in our Minds or Lives.

Solum visum est rationem habere; quod haberet justitiam. Velleius Pater. l. 2.
Magna pars libertatis est, bene moratus venter. Senec.
Plato saith, God is the temperate man's Law, and Pleasure the intemperate man's.
Temperantia voluptatibus imperat: alias odit atque abigit: alias dispensat & ad sanum modum dirigit: nec unquam ad illas propter ipsas venit. Sen.
Scit optimum esse modum cupidorum, non quantum velis, sed quantum debeas sumere. Senec.
Animis tenduntur insidia: ab ea quæ penitus in omni sensu implicata insidit imitatrix boni, voluptas, malorum autem mater omnium: cujus blanditiis corrupti, quæ naturâ bona sunt, quia dulcedine hac & scabia carent, non cernimus satis. Cic. de leg. 1. p. 226.

Ampliat ætatis spectum sibi vir bonus; hoc est, vivere bis, vitæ posse priore frui.
Martian.

§. 43. And Nature telleth us, that this obedient pleasing of our Maker, and holy, righteous, charitable and sober living, should be our greatest pleasure and delight: and that we should thus spend our lives even to the last; waiting patiently in peaceful hopes for the blessed end, which our righteous Governour hath allotted for our reward.

As a summary of what the light of Nature may teach man, see the Stoicks Epictetus collected by Barlaam; (much of which may be found in Seneca, and is confessed and praised by Cicero, though he chide them for their new words and schism) where you will see, that the Stoicks were wiser and better men, than the Epicureans would have men believe.

All this is evidently legible in nature, to any man that hath not lost his reason, or refuseth not considerately to use it. And he that will read but *Antonine*, *Epictetus* and *Plutarch*, (who are full of such precepts, that I refer you to the whole Books instead of particular citations) may see, that he who will deny a life of Piety, Justice and Temperance, to be the duty and rectitude of Man, must renounce his reason and natural light, as well as supernatural revelation.

§. 44. Reason also teacheth us, that when the corruptions, sluggishness, or appetite of the flesh, resisteth or draweth back from any of this duty, or tempteth us to any sin, Reason must rebuke it, and hold the reins, and keep its government, and not suffer the flesh to bear it down, and to prevail.

Oculos vigiliâ fatigatos cadentesque in opere derinco ——— Male mihi esse malo, cum molliter: si molles, paulatim effeminatur animus, atque in similitudinem otii sui & pigritiæ, in quâ jacer, solvitur. Dormio minimum, & brevissimo somno utor: satis est mihi vigilare acutis. Aliquando dormisse scio, aliquando suspicor. *Senec.*

CHAP. XI.

III. Of GOD's Relation to Man as his BENEFACTOR and his END: Or as his CHIEF GOOD.

THE Three Essential Principles in God, do eminently give out themselves to Man in his Three Divine Relations to us. His Power, Intellect and Will; His Omnipotency, Omniscience and Goodness; in his being our Owner, our Ruler, and our Chief Good. The two first I have considered already: our Omnipotent Lord or Owner, and our most wise Governour, and our Counter-relations with the duties thereof. I now come to the third.

For the right understanding whereof, let us a little consider

Sider of the *Image of God* in Man, in which we must here see him. It is Man's *WILL*, which is his ultimate, perfective, imperant faculty; it is the proper subject of Moral habits, and principal agent of Moral acts: And therefore in all Laws and Converse, the *WILL* is taken for the Man; and nothing is further morally Good or Evil, Virtuous or culpably Vicious, than it is Voluntary. The *INTELLECT* is but the Director of the *WILL*: Its actions are not the perfect actions of the Man: If it apprehend bare *Truth* without respect to *Goodness*, its Object is not the highest or felicitating or attractive Object, and therefore the act can be no higher: if it apprehend any Being or Truth as good, it apprehendeth it but as a servant or guide to the *WILL*, to bring it thither to be received by *LOVE*. The perfect excellency of the object of humane acts is *Goodness*, and not meer *Entity* or *Verity*. Therefore the excellentest faculty is the *Will*: It is *Good* that is the *final-Cause* in the object of all humane acts: Therefore it is the *fruition* of *Good* which is the perfective final Act; and that *fruition* of *Good* as *Good*, is, though introductorily by Vision, yet finally and proximately by Complacencies, which is nothing else but *Love* in its most essential act, delighting in its attained object. And for the *executive Power*, though in the order of its natural being, it be before the *Will*, yet in its operation *ad extra*, it is after it, and commanded by it.

Accordingly, while we see God but in this Glass, we must conceive that his Principle of *Understanding* and *Power*, stand in the foresaid order as to his *WILL*: and his Omnipotence and Omniscience, to that *eminently-moral Goodness*, which is the perfection of his will. (The *natural goodness* of his *Essence* filling all.)

Therefore here note, that this Attribute of God (his *GOODNESS*) doth make Him our *Chief Good*, in a two-fold respect, both *EFFICIENTLY* and *FINALLY*. In some sort it is so with the other Attributes: His *Power* is *Efficiently* the spring of our being and actions; and *finally* and *objectively* it terminareth our submission and our trust. His *Wisdom* is the principle of his Laws, and also the object and end of our enquiries and understandings. But his *Goodness* is the *EFFICIENT* of all our good in its perfection of causality, and that

Porro coeli generationis authorem summe Bonum atque excellentissimum (asserunt Plato): ejus quippe quod sit in rebus condixit pulcherrimum, eum esse conditorem quem intelligibilem omnium constet esse praestantissimum. Itaque quoniam hujusmodi Deus est, caelum vero praestantissimo illi simile est, quoniam pulcherrimum cernitur, nulli creaturae erit similis, quam Deo soli. *Laert. in Plat.*

Nihil est Deo simili-
us & gratius, quàm
vir, animo perfecto
bonus, qui homini-
bus cæteris antecel-
lit, quod ipse à Diis
immortalibus distat.
*Luc. Apul. de Deo
Socr.*

END of our Souls, which is commonly called **ULTIMATE ULTIMUS**. So that to *submit* to his *Power*, and to be *ruled* by his *Wisdom*, is, as I may say, *initially* our end. But to be *pleasing* to his *good-will*, and to be *pleased* in his *good-will*; that is. to *Love Him*, and to be *beloved by Him*, is the absolute perfection and end of man.

Therefore under this his Attribute of *Goodness*, God is to be spoken of both as our **BENEFACTOR** and our **END**; which is to be indeed our *summum bonum*.

§. 1. *Man hath his Being, and all the good which he possesseth, from God, as the sole first Efficient by Creation.*

§. 2. *Therefore God alone is the Universal Grand BENEFACTOR of the world, besides whom they have no other, but merely subordinate to him.*

No creature can give us any thing which is originally its own, having nothing but what it hath received from God: Therefore it is no more to us, but either a gift of God, or a Messenger to bring us his gift: they have nothing themselves but what they have received: nor have we any sort of Good, either Natural, Moral, of Mind, or Body, or Fortune, or Friends, but what is totally from the Bounty of our Creator, and as totally from him, as if no creature had ever been his instrument.

§. 3. *As God's Goodness is that by which he communicateth Being and all Good to all his Creatures, and is his most complete Attribute, in point of Efficiency, so is it that Attribute which is in genere causæ finalis, the finis ultimus of all his works. God can himself have no ultimate end but Himself: and his rational creatures can have no other lawful ultimate end: And in Himself, it is his Goodness, which is completely and ultimately that End.*

Here I am to shew, I. That God himself can have no ultimate end but Himself. II. That Man should have no other. III. That God, as in his *Goodness*, is *ultimate ultimus*, the End of Man.

I. 1. That which is most Beloved of God is his ultimate End: but God Himself is most beloved of Himself: Therefore he is his own ultimate End.

The reason of the major Proposition is, Because to be the *ultimate end*, and to be *maxime amatum*, is all one. *Finis quæritur*

Quis dubitare potest
mi Lucili, quin Deo-
rum immortalium
munus sit quod vivi-
mus. *Senec.*
Prope Deus est, re-
cum est, intus est:
Ita dico Lucili, sacer
intra nos spiritus fe-
der, bonorum malo-
rumque nostrorum
observator & custos.
Hic prout à nobis
tractatur, ita & nos
tractat ipse: Bonus
verò vir sine Deo
nemo est. An potest
aliquis supra for-
mam, nisi ab illo, ad-
iutus exurgere. Ille
dat consilia, magni-
fica & erecta in uno-
quoque bono viro.
Senec.

rent is bath respect to the Means of attainment, and is that *cujus amore media eliguntur & applicantur*. This God is not capable of, (speaking in propriety) because he never wanteth his End. *Finis fruitionis* is that which *amando fruimur*; which we love complacently in full attainment: And so God doth still enjoy his end: and to have it in Love is to enjoy it.

The Minor is past controversy.

Obj. "But if God have not *finem quarentis*, then in every instant he enjoyeth his end: and if so, then he useth no means at all: for what need any means be used for that end, which is not sought but still enjoyed. And consequently where there is no means there is no end.

Ans. As *finis* signifieth nothing but *effectum*, viz. *perfectiorem operis*, which is but *finis terminativus*; so it is not always at present attained; and God may be said to use means, that is, subordinate efficientes or instruments to accomplish it. But as it signifieth *causam finalem*, scilicet *cujus amore res fit*, so far as it may (without all imperfection) be ascribed to him, he must be said continually to enjoy it: And yet to use means for it, but not as wanting it, but in the same instant using and enjoying: that is, He constantly communicateth himself to his creatures, and constantly loveth himself so communicated. He is the first efficient and ultimate end, without any interposing instant of Time, (were Eternity divisible) but in order of Nature, he is the Efficient before he is the End enjoyed, but not before the End intended. He still sendeth forth the beams of his own Glory, and still taketh pleasure in them so sent forth: His works may be increased and attain perfection, (called *finem operis* by some) but his Complacency is not increased or perfected in his works, but is always perfect: As if the Sun took constant pleasure in its own emitted light and heat, though the effects of both on things below were most various. God is still pleased in that which still is, in all his own works, though his works may grow up to more perfection.

Or if any think fit to say, that God doth *querere finem*, and that he may enjoy more of it at one time than another, yet must he confess, that nothing below the complacency of his own will, in his own emitted beams of Glory, shining in his works, is this his ultimate end.

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2. That which is the Beginning must be the End: But God is the Beginning of all his works: therefore he is the End of all. He himself hath no Beginning or Efficient, and consequently no final cause of himself: but his *works* have himself for the Efficient, and for their End: that is, He that made them, intended in the making of them, that they should be illustrious with his communicated beams of Glory, and thereby *amiable* to his *will*, and should all serve to his complacency.

If the End were lower than the Beginning, there would be no proportion; and the Agent would sink down below himself.

3. If any thing besides God were his ultimate End, it must thereby be in part Deifi'd, or his actions debased by the lowliness of the End; but these are impossibilities. The Actions are no nobler than their End: and the End is more noble than the *Means* as such.

4. The ultimate End is the most amiable and delectable: The Creature is not to God the most amiable and delectable: Therefore the Creature is not his ultimate end. The first Argument was from the Act, this from the Object.

5. The ultimate end is that in which the Agent doth finally acquiesce: God doth not finally acquiesce in any creature. Therefore no creature is his ultimate end.

6. That which is God's ultimate End is loved simply for it self, and not as a means to any higher end: The Creature is not loved by him simply for it self, but as a means to a higher end, (*viz.* his complacency in his glory shining in it): Ergo, it is not his ultimate end. The ultimate end hath no end; but the creatures have an end, *viz.* the complacency of God in his glory shining in the creature.

Obj. "But you confound the final Object and the final Act: God's complacency of love is his final Act, but our enquiry is of the final Object."

Ans. The *finis cui*, or *personal end* is most properly the ultimate, he for whose sake, or for whom the thing is done: But this is God only, and therein he is both the act and object. He that did *velle creaturas*, did *velle eas ad complacentiam propria voluntatis*. The question is not of the *finis complacentiae*, but of the *actus creandi vel volendi creaturam existentiam*:

That the finis cui is properly the ultimate end, and the finis cuius is subordinate to it, Cicero sheweth in Piso's speech, l. 5. de finib. p. 188. In nobis ipsis ne intelligi quidem, ut propter aliam quampiam rem, verbi gratia, propter voluptatem, nos amemus. Propter nos enim illam, non propter eam nosmetipsos diligimus. Quid est quod magis perspicuum est, non modo earum sibi quemque, verum etiam vehementer earum.

tiam : which he doth *propter voluntatis impletionem, & inde complacentiam* ; which is the final act, and the final object of the creating act ; But for the *alius complacentie* it is not *actus intentionis* but *fruitionis* ; and therefore hath no end, above it self : And the final object of that Complacency, is not the Creature it self, but the Impletion of the Divine will in the Creature ; yea, the Image of his Omnipotency, Wisdom and Goodness shining in the Creation, is not loved *propter se*, ultimately ; but for the sake of that Divine Essence and Perfection of which it is the Image : (as we love the Image of our friend for his sake ;) so that when all is done, God himself is his own end in all his works, so far as (very improperly) he may be said to *intend an end*.

Or if you could prove the Creature to be the *Objectum finale*, that proveth him not to be properly the *finis ultimus* : For that is a difference between Mans agency and Gods : Man is an Agent made and acting for his final Object, and more ignoble than his Object (as the eye of a Flie that beholdeth the Sun) : But God is an Agent more noble than the Object, who gave the Object it self its being, and made it of nothing, for himself ; and so the Object is for his final Act.

“*Obj.* But God being Perfect needeth nothing, nor can
“receive any addition of perfection or blessedness ; and there-
“fore it is not any addition of Good to himself which he
“intendeth in the Creation, and consequently it is his ul-
“timate end to do the Creature good.

Ans. All the antecedent part is granted, and is anon to be further asserted : But the last consequence is denyed ; because there is no other end beside the addition of Good to himself, which God may intend, so far as he may be said to *intend an end*. He doth all the Good to the Creature which it receiveth, but not ultimately for the Creatures sake.

II. That man should have no ultimate End but God, (that is, *ultimate ultimus* as its called) is proved in what is said : and the fuller opening of it, belongeth to the next Chapter.

III. It is God in all his Perfections, Omnipotency, Wisdom and Goodness, that is mans *ultimate end* ; but it is the *last* which supposeth both the other, and to which mans will,

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which must perform the most perfect final act, is most fully suited: And therefore is in a special sort, our ultimate end. The Omnipotency of God, is truly the *efficient, dirigent* and *final Cause* of all things, but it is most eminent in *Efficiency*. The *Wisdom* of God is truly the *efficient, dirigent* and *final cause* of all things: but it is most eminent in *Direction* and *Government*: The *Goodness* of God is truly the *efficient, dirigent* and *final cause*: But it is most eminent in being the *perfective efficient*, and *final Cause*.

§. 4. *Gods ultimate end in Creation and Providence, is, not any supply or addition of Perfection or Blessedness in himself, as being absolutely perfect in himself, and capable of no addition.*

But those who think that God doth produce all things *ex necessitate natura* from Eternity, say, that as the Tree is not perfect without its fruits, so neither is God without his works: They say with *Balbus in Cicero*, and other *Stoicks*, that the *World* is the most excellent Being; and that God is but the *soul* of the *World*: and though the *Soul* be a *compleat soul* if it had no body, yet it is not a *compleat Man*: and as the *Tree* is *compleat in genere cause* without the fruit, yet not as a *Totum* containing those effects *ab essentia* which are its *Part* and *End*: So say they, God may be perfect without the *World*, as he is only the *Soul* and *part* of the *World*; but he is not a *compleat world*, nor *in toto*.

Ans. 1. That God is not the *soul* or *constitutive cause* of the *World*, but somewhat much greater, is proved before*: And also that it was not from Eternity; and consequently that he created it not by *natural necessity*: The foundation therefore being overthrown, the building falleth. Those that hold the foresaid opinion must hold, that God is in point of duration, an *eternall efficient, matter, form* and *end*; and that in order of Nature, he is first an *Efficient principle* causing *matter*, and secondly, he is an *efficient with matter*, and in the third instant he is the *form* of the effected *matter*, and in the fourth instant he is the *end* of his operations here in. And if you call the *efficient Principle* only by the name of God, then you grant what I prove and you seemed to deny: But if he be not God as the *meer efficient* and *end*, but also as the *matter*: then you make every *stone*, and *Serpent*, and every *thief* and *murderer*, and *devil*, to be part of God, and

* Chap. 4.

and make him the subject of all the sin and evil, all the weakness, folly and mutations which be in the World: (with the other absurdities before mentioned). And if you say, that he is God, as *efficient*, *form*, and *end*, and not as *matter*, then you contradict your self, because the *form* and *matter* are parts of the same *being*: And whether you call him God as the *form* only (and so make him but part of Being, and consequently imperfect, and consequently not God) or as *matter* and *form* also, and so make him a *compounded being*, still you make him imperfect, in denying his simplicity or unity, and as guilty of all the imperfections of matter, and of composition: And you make one part of God more imperfect than the rest, as being but an effect of it. All which are inconsistent with the nature of God, and with the nature of Man and every Creature, who is hereby made a part of God.

2. If this had been true of the *World* as consisting of its *constitutive* causes, that it is God in *perfection*, and eternal, &c. yet it could not be true of the daily-generated and perishing beings. There are millions of men and other animals, that lately *were not*, *what they are*: Therefore as such they were no eternall parts of God, because as such they were not eternall: Therefore if God brought them forth for his own Perfection, it would follow that he was before imperfect, and consequently not God; and that his Perfections are mutable and perishing. Therefore at least some other cause of *these* must be found out.

And as for the similitudes in the objection, I answer, That the fructifying of a Tree is an act of Generation; and the ends of it are partly the use (for food) to superiour sensitive Creatures, especially man; and partly the propagation of its species, because it is mortall. *Fructification* is indeed its *perfection*, but that is because it is not made for it self, but for another. *Sic vos non vobis*, may be written upon all. But God is neither *mortall* needing a propagation of the species, nor is he subservient to any other, and finally for its use.

And as for the *Soul*, it made not the *matter* of its own body, but found it made, though in the formation of it, it might be so efficient *at domicilium sibi fabricare*. But God made

Quid enim est aliud natura quam Deus? & divina ratio? toti mundo partibusque ejus insecta? Ergo nihil agis ingratiissime mortalium, qui te negas Deo debere, sed naturæ; quia nihil natura sine Deo est, nec Deus sine natura, sed idem est uterque; nec distat officio. Senec. de Benefic.

Leg. Aeneas. Gargum de Anima 3. P. T. 2. Gr. lat. p. 385. 386, &c.

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made all *matter* of nothing, and gave the World whatsoever it is or hath; And therefore was Perfect himself before: For an imperfect being could never have been the cause of such a frame: Therefore he needed no *domicilium* for himself, nor as an imperfect Part (a form) to concur to the constitution of a *whole*. But he is the *efficient, dirigent* and *final* cause of the World and all things, but not the *constituent* or *essential*; for then the Creature and Creator were all one, and God debased, and the Creature deified: But he is to them a *supra-essential* cause; even more than a *form* and *soul*, while he is a *total efficient* of all.

3. If all that is in the Objection had been proved, it would not at all shake the main design of my present discourse, which is to prove that God is our *Grand Benefactor* and *Chief Good*; and that he is *mans ultimate end*. For if the *World* were his Body, and he both its *Efficient* and its *Soul*, he would be the cause of all its Good; and the Cause would be more excellent than the Effect: And if our Souls that never made the matter of our Bodies, are yet the noblest part of us, and far more excellent than the Body; much more would God that made or caused all the Matter and Order in the World, be more excellent than that World which he effected: And as the Soul is not for the Body as its ultimate end, (though it be the Life of the Body, and its great Benefactor,) but the Body is finally more for the Soul, though the *Soul* need not the Body, so much as the Body needeth the Soul; and as the Horse is *finally* for the Rider, and not the Rider for the Horse; though the Horse needeth his Master more than the Master doth the Horse (for the Horses life is preserved by the Master, when the Master is but accommodated in his Journey by his Horse;) Even so, though the World need God, and he needeth not the World, and God giveth being and life to the World, which can give nothing at all to him, yet the World is finally for God, and not God for the World. The noblest and first Being is still the End.

And the *generated* part of the World, which is not formally eternal, but doth *origini & interire*, is it that our dispute doth most concern, which the Objection doth no whit invalidate.

§. 5. The same Will of God which was the free efficient, is the End of all his Works *ad extra*.

Gods Essence hath no Efficient or final Cause, but is the efficient and final cause of all things else: They proceeded from his Power; his Wisdom and his good-will; and they bear the Image of his Power, Wisdom, and Good-will; and he loveth his own Image in them, and loveth them as they bear his Image; and loveth his Image for Himself. So that the act of his Love to Himself is necessary, though voluntary; and so is the act of his Love to his Image, and to all the Goodness of the Creature, while it is such: But he freely and not necessarily made and continueth the Creature in his Image; and needeth not the Glass or Image, (being self-sufficient) so that his Creature is the mediate Object, his Image on the Creature is the ultimate created Object; his own perfections to which that Image relateth, is the *objectum simpliciter ultimum*; his complacency or love is the *Actus ultimus*; and that very act is the object of his precedent act of Creation, or volition of the Creatures: But all this is spoken according to the narrow imperfect capacity of man, who conceiveth of God as having a *primum* & *posterius* in his acts, which is but respectively and denominatively from the order of the objects. In short, Gods free-will is the Beginning of his works *ad extra*; and the complacency of that will in his works as Good in relation to his own perfections, is the END: And therefore he is said to Rest when he saw that all his works were Good.

§. 6. Whatsoever is the fullest expression, and Glorifying demonstration of God in the Creature, must needs be the chief created excellency.

Because he loveth Himself first, and the Creature for Himself: And seeing the Creature hath all from him which is good and amiable in it, it must needs follow, that those parts are most amiable and best; which have most of the impression of the Creators excellencies on them. Not that he hath greater Perfections to imprint on one Creature than another, but the impression of those Perfections, is much greater on one, than on another.

§. 7. The Happier therefore God will make any Creature, the more will he communicate to it of the Image and demon-

N

stration

Goodness signifieth more than utility or Pleasure to our selves: As when we call a Man, a good Man, a good Scholar, a good Judge, &c. And so doth evil signify on the contrary.

Bonum est quod sui ipsius gratia expectandum est. *Aristot. Rhet. 1.*

Bonum omnis originis & ortus finis est. *Id. Metaph. 1. a. c. 3.*

Maximum Bonum maxime semper expectandum. *Aristot. 1. Eth. c. 7.* Duplex bonum est: alterum quod absolute & per se bonum sit; alterum quod alicui bono sit & usui. *Arist. Eth. 1. 7. c. 12.*

Veteres probe summum bonum definiunt, id ad quod omnia referuntur. *Arist. Eth. 1. c. 1.*

It is a saying of Pliny's, that as Pearls though they lie in the bottom of the Sea, are yet much nearer him to Heaven, as their splendour and excellency sheweth; so a godly and generous soul, hath more dependance on Heaven, whence it cometh, than on earth where it abideth.

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stration of his own goodness, and so will both love it the more, for his own Image, and cause it to love him the more, which is the chief part of his Image.

§. 8. The Goodness of God is conceived of by our narrow mindes, in three notions, as it were in three degrees of altitude: The Highest is, The infinite perfection of his Essence as such: The second is, The infinite perfection of his Will as such, which is called His Holiness, and the Fountain of Morality; The third is that one part of his Wills perfection, which is his Benignity to his Creatures, which we call his Goodness in a lower notion, as relative to our selves, because he is inclined by it to Do us good: This is his Goodness in condescension.

§. 9. Though all this is but one in God, yet because our mindes are fain to receive it as in several parts or notions, we may therefore not only distinguish them, but compare them, as the Objects of our Love.

§. 10. Man usually beginneth at the lowest, and loveth God first, for his Benignity and Love to us, before he riseth to the higher acts.

And this is not an irregular motion of a lapsed Soul, in its return to God, so be it we make haste in our ascent, and make no stay in these lower acts; otherwise it will be privatively tinnell.

§. 11. Therefore God multiplyeth Mercies upon Man, that he might facilitate this first act of Love by gratitude.

Not that these Mercies being good to our selves, should lead us to love God ultimately for our selves; But they should help us first to love him for our selves, as the immediate passage to a higher act of Love, with which we must love Him in and for Himself, and our selves for Him.

§. 12. Therefore God hath planted into our Natures the Principle of self-love, that it might suit our Natures to the Mercies of God, and make them sweet to us: Not that we should arise to no higher an esteem of them, but that this sweetness in them which respecteth our selves, and is relished by self-love, should lead us to the Fountain of perfect Goodness from which they flow.

Our very senses and appetites are given us to this end, not that we should judge by no higher faculties, but that the delights of the patible or sensible qualities in the Creatures, by

by affecting the sense, might presently represent to the higher faculties, the sweetnesses of Infinite Goodness to the Soul; and so we might by all ascend to God.

§. 13. Those mercies therefore are the greatest, which reveal most of God, with the least impediments of our ascent unto him:

§. 14. Therefore his Love most revealed and communicated, and his perfect Goodness most manifested to the Soul, is the Greatest Mercy; and all corporal Mercies are to be estimated and desired but as they subserve and conduce to these, and not as they are pleasing to our flesh or senses.

§. 15. The Perfect Goodness of the Will of God, though it contain Benignity, and Mercy, yet is not to be measured by the good which he doth to us our selves, or to any Creature; But its highest excellency consisteth in its Essential Perfection, and the Perfect Love that God hath to himself, and in the conformity of his Will to his most perfect Wisdom, which knoweth what is to be willed ad extra; and in his complacency in all that is good as such.

When self-love so far blindeth us, as to make our Interest the Standard to judge of the goodness of God, we do but shew that we are fallen from God unto our selves, and that we are setting up our selves above him, and debasing him below our selves: As if we and our Happiness were that ultimate end, and he and his Goodness were the Means, and had no other Goodness but that of a means to us and our felicity! If he made us, he must needs have absolute Propriety in us, and made us for himself: To measure his Goodness by our own Interest, is more unwise than to measure the Sea in our hand, or the Sun and all the Orbs by our span. And to measure it by the Interest of the Universe, is to judge of that which is infinite, by that which is finite; betwixt which there is no proportion. As God is infinitely Better than the World, so he is infinitely more Amiable, and therefore must Infinitely more Love himself than all the World; and therefore so to do, is Infinite excellency and Perfection in his Will. But the out-going of his Will to the Creature, by way of causative volition, is free; and conducted by that Wisdom, which knoweth what is fit, and what degrees of Communication are most eligible to God.

Bonum summum est animi operatio secundum virtutem optimam & perfectissimam in vita perfecta. Aristot. Ethic. 1. Tria sunt genera bonorum; maxima animi, secunda corporis; externa tertia: Cicero 3. Tuscul.

Nihil bonum nisi quod honestum; nihil malum nisi quod turpe. Cicero. Att. 1. 10.

If a man must love his Country better than himself, then God much more: And then self is not to be the highest in our Love.

Respublica nomen universæ civitatis est, pro qua mori, & cui nos totos dare, & in qua omnia postea ponere, & quasi consecrare debemus. Cicero. 2. de leg.

Laudandus est is qui mortem oppetit pro Republica, qui doceat patriam esse chariorem nobis, quam nosmetipsos: Estque illa vox inhumana & scelerata eorum, qui negant se recusare, quo minus ipsis mortuis terrarum omnium deflagratio consequatur. Cicero. 3. de finib.

III. of GOD's Relation to Man as his BENEFACTOR

God is Perfect without his Works: He had wanted nothing if he had never made them. He will not herein do all that he is simply Able to do, but all that his *Wisdom* seeth fittest to be done. He was as Good before he made the World as since; And those that think he caused it eternally, must confess him in order of *Nature* to be first perfect in Himself, and to have more Goodness than all which he communiceth to the World. He was as Good before this present generation of men on Earth had any being! He is as good before he bringeth us to the Heavenly Glory, as he will be after; though before he did not so much good to us. It is no diminution of his Goodness, to say, that he made millions of Toads, and Flies, and Spiders, whom he could have made men if he had pleased; or to say, that he made millions of Men, whom he could have made Angels; nor that he made not every Clod or Stone a Starr or Sun: nor that he suffereth men to be tormented by each others cruelty, or by such diseases as the Stone and Strangury, Convulsions, Epilepsies, &c. nor that men at last must die, and their bodies rot and turn to dust. That these things *are done*, is past dispute: And that *God is good* is past dispute: And therefore that all this is *consistent* with this Goodness, is past dispute: and consequently that his goodness is not to be measured by so low a thing as humane or any Creature Interest.

If you say, that all this is hurtfull to the *Individuals*, but not to the *Universe*; to which it is better that there be a mixture of evil with good, than that every part had a perfection in it self: I answer:

1. It seemeth then that the good which you measure Gods goodness by, is not the Interest of any individual Creature, at least that is in this lower World. For you confess, that the good which would make it Happy, is given to it limitedly, and with mixtures of permitted or inflicted evil; and that God could have given them more of that goodness, if he would: God could have freed them from pain and misery; yea, and have given the ignorant more knowledge, and honesty, and grace. So that it is not *our interest* that is the measure of his goodness: And if so, what is it that you call the *Universal interest*. Surely, the *universality*

It was the erroneous reasoning of the Philosophers, to prove the World eternall, that Optimum & Pulchrum, God and the World must be inseparable; and so to conclude the Being of that, which their fancies think best to be; (as Ammonius argueth with Zachar. Mytilen.) whereby they might as well prove (as Zach. telleth Ammon.) that Plato and Aristotle were from eternity, and must never die. It is foolish to reason against sense and experience, or to deny that which is, because we think that it should be otherwise.

ality of Rational creatures, hath no being but in the Individuals; and if it be not the welfare of the Individuals, which is the Measure, then is it not any interest or welfare of the Universe, which is of the same kind: and for the insensible creatures, they feel neither good nor hurt; and therefore by your Measure should be none of the Universe, whose interest is the Measure. Therefore it must be somewhat above the sensible interest of any or all the Individuals, which you call the *Bonum Universitatis*: and that can be nothing else but that state and order of the Universe, in which it is conform to the Idea of the Divine Intellect, and to the Volition of the Divine Will, and so is fittest for him to take complacency in, as being the measure and reasons of his own volitions and operations, which he fetcheth not *aliunde*; or at least which are unknown to such as we. No doubt but it is more for the happiness of the Individuals, that every Dust, and Stone, and Fly, and Beast, and Man were an Angel: but it is not so.

2. And surely they that believe the evil of sin, and that God could have kept it out of the world, and saved the Individuals from it, will confess, that man's interest is not the Measure of God's goodness; especially considering what consequences also follow sin, both here and hereafter.

3. And as to this lower part of the Universe, how many Nations of the Earth are drown'd in woful ignorance and ungodliness: how few are the wise, and good, and peaceable? When God could have sent them Learning, and Teachers, and Means of Reformation, and have blessed all this Means to their deliverance. So that the far greater part of this lower world hath not so much good as God could give them; and the infirmities of the best do cause their dolorous complaints.

It is certain that God is infinitely good, and that all his works also are good in their degree: but withall it is certain, that God in himself is the *Simple Primitive Good*, and that created goodness principally consisteth in a conformity to his Will, which is the standard and measure of it.

§. 16. God as considered in the Infinite Perfections of his Nature and his Will, is most Amiable, and the object of our highest love.

§. 17. But he is not known by us in those Perfections, as

Cottatellus Vellei-
us, That Epicures, by
making God careless
of the affairs of Man,
Sustulerit omnem
funditus Religio-
nem: Quid est enim
cur Deos ab homini-
bus colendos dicas,
cum Dii non modo
hominibus non con-
sulant, sed omnino
nihil curent, nihil
agant? At est eorum
eximia quidam pre-
stantque natura, ut
ea debeat ipsa per se
ad te colendam elice-
re sapientem. (This
reason is not denied,
but the goodness of
God's Nature proved
by his doing good.) —
Quæ porro pietas
ei debetur, à quo ni-
hil acceperis? aut
quid omnino, cuius
nullum meritum sit,
ei debere potest? Est
enim Pietas Justitia
adversus Deos: cum
quibus quid potest
nobis esse iuris, cum
homini nulla cum
Deo sit communitas;
sanctitas est scientia
colendorum Deo-
rum: qui quovis
brevis colendi sunt
non intelligo, nullo
nec accepto ab iis,
nec sperato bono.
(C. de Nat. D. o.
l. 1. p. 32.)

seen in themselves immediately, but as demonstrated and glo-
rified expressively in his works, in which he shineth to us in
his goodness.

§. 18. His works therefore are made for the apt revealing of
himself as amiable to the intelligent part of his Creation.

They are the Book in which he hath appointed us to read,
and the Glass in which he hath appointed us with admiration
to behold the Infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness of the
Creator; and in which we may see, that he is not only our
Chief Benefactor, but the Ultimate Object of our Love, and so
the End of all our Motions.

§. 19. This third Relation of God to us as our Chief Good,
efficiently and finally, is the highest and most perfective to us,
but is not separated from the former two, but they are all mar-
velously conjunct, and concur in the production of most of the suc-
sequent effects of Gods providence.

As the Elements are conjunct, but not confounded in
mixed bodies, and in themselves, are easily to be distinguish-
ed, where they are not divided, and their effects sometimes
also distinct, but usually mix'd as are the causes; so is it in the
case of these three Great Relations: though God's Propriety
extend further than his Government; because Inanimates and
Bruites are capable of one, and not of the other; yet as to
the Rational Creatures, they are in reality of the same ex-
tent. God is as to Right the Owner and the Ruler of all
the world, and also their real Benefactor, and quoad debitum
their ultimate end. But as to consent, on their parts, none
but the godly give up themselves to him in any one of these
Relations. In order of Nature, God is first our Owner, and
then our Ruler, and our chief Good or End. His work in
the first Relation, is Arbitrary Disposal of us; his work in
the second is to Govern us; and in the third, Attraction and
Felicitating. But he so Disposeth of us, as never to cross his
rules of Government; and so governeth us, as never to cross
his absolute Propriety; and attracteth and felicitateth us
in consent with his Premiant act of Government; and all
sweetly and wonderfully conspire the perfection of his
works.

§. 20. All these Relations are oft summed up in one name,
which principally importeth the last, which is the perfective Re-
lation,

lation, but truly includeth both the former: and that is, That GOD is Our FATHER.

As the Rational Soul doth ever include the Sensitive and Vegetative Faculties, so doth God's Fatherly Relation to us include his *Dominion* and *Government*. A Father is thus a kind of *Image* of God in this Relation: For, 1. he hath a certain *Propriety* in his children. 2. He is by nature their *rightful Governour*. 3. He is their *Benefactor*, (for they are beholden to him for their being and well-being) Nature causeth him to love them, and bindeth them again to love him. And the Title [OUR FATHER which art in Heaven] includeth all these Divine Relations to us, but specially expresseth the Love and Graciousness of God to us.

Obj. But I must go against the sense of most of the world, if I take God to be infinitely or perfectly good: for operari sequitur esse: He that is perfectly good, will perfectly do good. But do we not see and feel what you said before. The world is but as a wilderness, and the life of man a misery! We come into the world in weakness, and in a case in which we cannot help our selves, but are a pity and trouble to others: we are their trouble that breed us and bring us up: we are vexed with unsatisfied desires, with troubling passions, with tormenting pains, and languishing weakness, and enemies malice; with poverty and care; with losses and crosses, and shame and grief; with hard labour and studies, with the injuries and spectacles of a Bedlam world, and with fears of death, and death at last! Our enemies are our trouble, our friends are our trouble: our Rulers are our trouble, and our inferiours, children and servants are our trouble: our possessions are our trouble, and so are our wants. And is all this the effect of perfect Goodness? And the poor Brutes seem more miserable than we! they labour, and hunger, and die at last to serve our will! we beat them, use them and abuse them at our pleasure! And all the Inanimates have no sense of any good! and which is worst of all, the world is like a Dungeon of ignorance, like an Hospital of mad-men for folly and distractedness; like a band of Robbers for injury and violence, like Tygers for cruelty, like snarling Dogs for contention, and, in a word, like Hell for wicked-

ness, quos severit ea perverse & improbe usus. Non intelligo quid intersit, utrum nemo sit sapiens, an nemo esse possit. Debebant Dii quidem omnes bonos efficere, si quidem hominum generi consulebant; sin id minus, bonis quidem consulere debebant. *Cicero in Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 3. p. 105, 106.*

Epicurus verò ex animis hominum extraxit radicibus Religionem, cum Diis immortalibus & Opem & Gratiâ sustulerit. Cum enim & præstantissimam naturam Dei dicat esse, negat idem esse in Deo gratiam: tollit id quod maxime proprium est optimæ præstantissimæque, naturæ. *Id. ibid. p. 33, 34.*

Quæ enim potest esse sanctitas, si Dii humanæ non curant. *Id. ibid.*

Utinam istam caliditatem hominibus Diis dedissent: quæ per pauci bene utuntur; qui tamen ipsi à male utentibus opprimuntur; innuenerabiles autem improbe utuntur: ut donum hoc divinum Rationis & consilii, ad fraudem hominibus non ad bonitatem, impertitum esse videatur: sed urgetis, hominum esse istam culpam, non Deorum—*Resp.* At, si medicus sciat eum ægrotum, qui iussus est vinum sumere, meracius sumpturum statimque periturum, magna sit in culpa: sic vestra ista providentia reprehendenda, quæ rationem dederit

ness.

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ness. What else sets the world together by the ears in wars and bloodshed in all generations! what maketh peace-makers the most neglected men? what maketh vertue and piety the mark of persecution and of common scorn? how small a part of the world hath knowledge or piety? And you tell us of a Hell for most at last. Is all this the fruit of perfect Goodness. These thoughts have seriously troubled some.

Ans. He that will ever come to knowledge, must begin at the first Fundamental Truths, and in his enquiry proceed to lesser Superstructures, and reduce uncertainties and difficulties to those points which are sure and plain, and not cast away the plainest certain truths, because they overtake some difficulties beyond them. The true method of enquiry is, that we first try whether there be a God that is perfectly Good or not: If this be once proved beyond all controverlie, then all that followeth is certainly reconcilable to it: for Truth and Truth is not contradictory. Now that God is perfectly Good hath been fully proved before: He that giveth to all the world, both Heaven, and Earth, and all the Orbs, all that Good, whether Natural, Gracious or Glorious, which they possess, is certainly Himself better than all the world: for he cannot give more Goodness than he hath: this is not to be denied by any man of reason: therefore it is proved that God is perfectly Good. Besides, his Perfections must needs be proportionable: we know that he is Eternal, as is unquestionably demonstrated: we see by the wonderful frame of Nature, that he is Omnipotent and Omniscient: and then it must needs be, that his Goodness must be commensurate with the rest.

If God's making man a free Agent be not against his Goodness, then the sin which a free Agent committeth is no impeachment of Gods Goodness: At verum prius: Ergo—
The reasons why God made man with free-will, the ancient Writers commonly render to the Infidels: Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement Alexand. Arnobius, Lactantius, Eusebius, Tatianus, Origen, &c. vid. Zachar. Mitylen. Disput. p. 364. B. P. Graeco-lat. To. 1.

Therefore to come back again upon every consequent which you understand not, and to deny a fundamental principle, which hath been undeniably demonstrated; this is but to resolve that you will not know. By this course you may deny any demonstrated truth in Mathematicks, when you meet with difficulties among the superstructed consequents.

Let us therefore methodically proceed: We have proved that God is the cause of all the Goodness in the world, in Heaven and Earth, and therefore must needs be Best himself. And it is certain, that all the sins and calamities which you mention are in the world, and that the creature hath all those

those

those imperfections: therefore it is certain that these two Verities are consistent, what ever difficulty appeareth to you in the reconciling them. Thus far there is no matter of doubt. And next we are therefore certain, that the Measure of God's Goodness is not to be taken from the Creatures interest. And yet we know that his Goodness inclineth him to communicate goodness and felicity to his creatures: for all the Good in the world is from him. It remaineth therefore, that he *is good, necessarily and perfectly*: and that he doth all *well* whatsoever he doth: and that there is in the Creature a higher Goodness than its own felicity, even the Image of God's Power, Wisdom and Goodness, in which his Holiness and Justice have their place. And that this Goodness of the Universe (which consisteth in the Glorious appearances of God in it, and the suitableness of all to his Will and Wisdom) includeth all things except sin, which are contained in your objection; and that punishment of sinners, though it be *malum physicum* to them, is a moral good, and glorifieth God's Justice and Holiness: and even the permission of sin it self is good, though the sin be bad. And yet that God will also glorifie that part of his Goodness which consisteth in Benignity; for he hath an *amor beneficentie*, of which the creature only is the object; but of his *amor complacentie* he himself is the chief object, and the creature but the secondary, so far as it participateth of Goodness. (And Complacency is the essential act of Love.) Think but what a wonderful Fabrick he hath made of all the Orbs, composed into One World! and can you possibly have narrow thoughts of his Goodness? He hath placed more Physical Goodness in the nature of one silly Bird, or Fly, or Worm, than humane wit is able to find out; much more in Plants, in Beasts, in Men, in Sea and Land, in the Sun, and fixed Stars, and Planets: Our understandings are not acquainted with the thousandth thousandth thousandth part of the Physical goodness which he hath put into his creatures: there may be more of the wonderful skill, and power, and goodness of God, laid out on one of those Stars, that seems smallest to our sight, than millions of humane intellects, if united, were able to comprehend. And who knoweth the number any more than the magnitude and excellency of those Stars. What man

Siquidem anima regalem Majestatem ostendit, nulli us dominio subjecta, & propria potestate, tanquam imago Dei communis cum archetypo quodam habens. G. eg. Nyssenus, citat. etiam in Casarii Dial. 3. The Ancients commonly make the Freedom of the will as well as Rationality, to be God's natural Image on the Soul. See especially the full discourse of Nemesius, de Natur. hom. cap. 39, 40, 41. Lege Pennotti propugnacul. liberr.

Si quis omnia alia habear, valetudinem, divitias, &c. sed malus ex confesso sit, improbabis illum. tem si quis nihil habet eorum quæ retulit, careat pecuniâ, clientum turbâ, avorum & proavorum serie, si ex confesso bonus sit, probas illum. Ergo hoc unum bonum hominis, quod qui habet, etiam si aliis destituitur, laudandus est; quod qui non habet, in omnium aliorum copia damnatur ac rejicitur. *Senec.*

Inter fines is qui perfectus est, semper præcellit imperfectum. Perfectus porro est quo admoto, nullo amplius opus est.

Arist. Mig. Mor. 1. c. 3. & 1 Rhet. c. 7. Finis est cuius gratiâ omnia comparantur. — Majus bonum est finis, quàm quod finis non est. & *Met. 3. c. 2.* Quod per se bonum est, suâque vi & naturâ, id omne finis est.

Nothing commoner in Philosophy, than that Publicæ salutis privata incolumitas est postponenda. Therefore self-love must not persuade us, that there is nothing bigger than our own good to be intended.

can once look up towards the Firmament in a Star light night, or once read a Treatise of Astronomy, and then compare it with his Geography, and compare those far more excellent Orbs with this narrower and darker world we live in, and not be wrapt up into the astonishing admiration of the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of the Creator? When the anatomizing of the body of one man or beast might wrap up any considerate man into *Galen's* admiration and praises of the Maker! and how many myriades of such bodies hath God created? and how much more excellent are the forms or souls than any of those bodies? And how little know we how incomparably more excellent the nature of Angels may be than ours? and what glorious Beings may inhabit the more glorious Orbs? and yet can you think meanly of the Creator's Goodness?

O but you say, that all these lower Creatures have still the forementioned sorrows and imperfections.

I answer you, 1. They were not made *Gods*, but *Creatures*, and therefore were not to be perfect. 2. It is the corrupt and blinded sensual mind which crieth out for want of *sensible pleasure*, and can see no goodness in any thing but this: but true reason telleth any man that hath it, that our *sensible pleasure* is a thing too low to be the highest excellency of the creature, and to be the ultimate end of God: and that the glory of the whole world, even the inanimate parts as well as the animate, shewing the glory of the Infinite Creator is the excellency of the world. What if the Sun, and Stars, and Earth, and Sea, the Fire and Air have no *feeling*, have they therefore no goodness but what is a Means to the sensible delights of lower things? Hath a Worm more goodness than the Sun, if it have more feeling? These are the madnesses of sensual men. May not an excellent Limner, Watch-maker, or other Artificer, make a Picture, a Watch, or Musical Instrument, meerly for his own delight? and may he not delight in the excellency of it, though you imagine him to have no need of it, or of the *delight*? And what is the excellency of such a Picture, but to be the full demonstration of the Author's skill, in the most full representation of the thing resembled? Will you say that he hath done no good, because he made not his Picture *sensible*, and made not

its pleasure his ultimate end? Those things which in particulars we call Bad, are Good as they are parts of the Universal frame; as many darknings and shadowings in a Picture may conduce to make it beautiful. The eye is a more excellent part of the body than a finger or a tooth; and yet it maketh to the perfection of the whole that there be fingers and teeth, as well as eyes: So it doth to the perfection of the world, that there be Men, and Beasts, and Plants, as well as Angels; and poor men as well as rich, and sick men as well as sound, and pain as well as pleasure. Our narrow sight that looketh but on a spot or parcel of God's work at once, doth judge according to the particular interest of that parcel, (and so we would have no variety in the world, but every thing of that species which we think best); But God seeth all his works at once, *uno intuitu*, and therefore seeth what is best in reference to the glory of the Universe; and seeth what variety is beautiful, and what each part should be according to the office and order of its place.

And 3. doth not your own experience reprehend your own complaint as guilty of contradiction? You would have all things fitted to your particular interest, or else you think God is not good enough to you: and may not every other creature say the same as justly as you. And then how would you have a Horse to carry you, an Ox to plow for you, a Dog to hunt for you, a Hare or Partridge to be hunted; yea, a bit of flesh to nourish you, yea, or the fruit of trees and plants, yea, or the earth to bear you, or the air to breathe in, or the water to refresh you. For every one of these might expect to be advanced to be as high in sensual pleasure as you.

He that compareth (as aforesaid) the Elements and Orbs which have no sense, with a Worm that hath it, will think that sense hath blinded reason, when it is so overvalued, as to be thought the most excellent thing, or a meet measure of the goodness of the Creator.

4. Most of the calamities of the Rational creature which you mention, are sin, and the fruits of sin: and when Man bringeth in sin, it is good that God should bring in punishment. It is an act of Justice, and declareth his Holiness, and warneth others. Therefore all your complaints against these

Non quoniam mutabiles vires habemus, improbatatis nostrae culpa in Deum conferenda est: Non enim in facultatibus sunt vitia, sed in habitibus: Habitus autem ex electione & voluntate sunt. Itaque nostra ipsorum electione & voluntate improbi evadimus, non naturâ sumus. *Nemesius de Nat. hom. cap. 41.*

III. of GOD's Relation to Man, &c.

penal evils, should be turned only against the sinner, and all should be turned to the praise of the righteous Governour of the world.

5. And as for the sin it self, which hath depraved the world as foully as you describe it, it is none of the work of God at all; If you say, that he might have prevented it if he had pleased; I answer, He hath declared his detestation of it: as our Ruler he hath forbidden it: he deterreth men from it by his sorest threatnings: he allureth them from it by his richest promises of reward: he appointeth Kings and Magistrates to suppress it by corporal penalties. This and much more he doth against it, and more he could do, which should prove effectual; but his wisdom saw it not meet, nor conducive to the glory of the Universe, to make all Moral Agents of one size, any more than all Natural Agents: and therefore he made not man indefectible. Do you think that [a Rational creature with *free-will*, being the Lord of its own acts, and a self-determining Principle, to act without force] is not a thing which God *may* make and take delight in? as well as a Watch-maker taketh delight to make a Clock that shall go of it self, without his continued motion, (and the longer he can make it go without him, and so the liker to himself, the more excellent he thinks his work,) If God *may* make such a *free-agent*, then is it no impeachment to his goodness, if it abuse its freedom unto sin; especially when he will over-rule even that sin, so far as to bring good out of it by accident.

And lastly, as for all the objections from *sin* and *misery* against God's goodness; I answer you with those Questions. Do you know what number the holy and glorious Angels are, in comparison both of wicked men and Devils? Whether they may not be ten thousand to one? Do you know how many thousand fixed Stars there are, besides Planets? Do you know whether they are all Suns? and how much bigger they are than the Earth? and how much more glorious? Do you know whether they are all inhabited or not? (when you see almost no place on Earth uninhabited, not so much as Water and Air) Do you know whether those thousands of more glorious Orbs have not inhabitants answerable to their greatness and glory, beyond the inhabitants of this darker Orb? Do you know whether sin and sorrow be not

kept

Homo est principium
suarum operationum.

Aristot. 3 *Eth.*

Nemo nolens bonus
& Beatus est. *Sen.*

Si divitias velis, rem
bonam esse scias, nec
ominino in te sitam.

Si vero beari, id &
bonum est & penes
te. Opes enim fortu-

na ad tempus com-
modato dat. Beatitu-

do autem à nostra
voluntate procedit.

Epistlet.

Read Gassendi Phys.
sect. 2. l. 1. c. 6. sintne

cælum & sydera ha-
bitabilia? *And Card.*

Nic. Cusanus, l. 2.
de Doct. ignor. 11.

in Coroll. cited *also*,
ibid. by Gassendus.

kept out there, and confined to this, and some few such ob-
scurer receptacles? Do you know the degrees of holiness
and Glory which these superiour Inhabitants possess? And
do you know that all these things set together, the demon-
stration of Gods goodness by the way of Beneficence, is not
ten thousand times beyond the demonstrations of it in the way
of Justice, and all the other sorrows that you complain of?
Till you know all these, do not think your selves meet, from
your sensible troubles, to argue against that *Infinite goodness*,
which demonstrateth it self so unquestionably to all, by all
the Goodness of the whole Creation.

I may boldly then conclude, that GOD is OUR FA-
THER, our CHIEF GOOD, our CHIEF BENEFACTOR,
and ULTIMATE END:

And so that *in sensu plenissimo*, THERE IS A GOD; that
word comprehending both the fore said Trinity of Principles
in the Unity of his Essence, and the Trinity of Relations, in
the Unity of the Relation of our CREATOR.

CHAP. XII.

III. Of *Man's Relation to GOD, as he is our FATHER,*
or our Chief Good; and of our Duty in that Relation.

§. I. GOD being to Man Efficiently and finally, his Chief,
yea, his Total Good, as is declared; it must needs
follow that Man is by immediate resultancy related
to Him as his Total Beneficiary, and Recipient of his benefits;
and oweth him all that which Goodness conjunct with Sovere-
ignty and Dominion can oblige him to.

Whether all Obligation, which is truly Moral, to a Duty,
do arise from Sovereignty and Rule, and belong to us as Sub-
jects only, in the nearest formal sense? Or whether Benefits
simply without any respect to Government and Subjection;
may be said to oblige to Moral Duty as such, is a Question
that I am not concerned to determine; as long as God is
both Governour and Benefactor, and his Government may
give the formal moral obligation, as his Benefits provide the
greatest.

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greatest Materials of the Duty. Though this much I may say to it, that I cannot see but the Duty of a Beneficiary as such, may be called moral, as well as the Duty of a Subject as such: And if it were supposed that two men were absolutely equals as to any subjection, and that one of them should by kindness exceedingly oblige the other, all will acknowledge ingratitude to be an *unnatural* thing: and why that vice may not be called properly morall in a *rational free agent*, I am not yet convinced. You will say, It's true; but that is because that both those men are *Subjects to God*, whose Law obligeth them both to *Gratitude*, and therefore Ingratitude is a sin only as against the Law of God in Nature. To which I reply, that I grant Gods Law of Nature maketh Ingratitude a sin: and I grant that a Law is properly the instrument of a Governour as such: and so as Ingratitude is the violation of a Law, it is only a sin against Government as such. But I question whether as *Love* is somewhat different from *Wisdom* and *Power*, and as a *Benefactor* and an *attractive good* hath the highest and a peculiar kinde of obligation, so there be not something put by God into our *Nature*, which though it be not formally a *Law*, yet is as obligatory, and as much if not more than a *Law*, which maketh it more than the Duty of a Subject, to answer love and goodness with gratitude and love: so that if *per impossibile* you suppose that we had no other obligation to God but this of love and goodness (or abstract this from the rest) I question whether it be not most eminently morall, and whether the performance of it do not morally fit us for the highest benefits, and felicity, and the violation of it merit not, (morally) the rejections of our great Benefactor, and the withdrawing of all his favours to our undoing. But this Controversie my Cause is not much concerned in, as I have said, because the same God is our Sovereign also.

§. 2. The duty which we specially owe to God in this highest Relation is LOVE: which as such is, *abstemious obedience* as such.

The difference of Understandings and Wills requireth Government and obedience, that the understanding and will of the superiour may be a Rule to the subjects: But LOVE is a Concord of Wills, and so far as LOVE hath caused a concord,

there

there is no use for Government by Laws and Penalties: And therefore the Law is not made for a Righteous man as such, that is, so far as Love hath united his Soul to Virtue, and separated it from sin, he need not to be constrained or restrained by any Penal Laws: no more than men need a Law to command them to eat and drink, and preserve their lives, and forbear self-destruction. But so far as any man is unrighteous or ungodly, that is, hath a will to sin, or cross or averse to Goodness, so far he needeth a penal Law: which therefore all need while they remain imperfect.

Nature hath made Love and Goodness like the Iron and the Load-stone. The Understanding doth not so ponderously incline to Truth, as the Will doth naturally to Good. For this being the perfect act of the Soul, the whole inclination of Nature goeth after it. Therefore Love is the highest duty or noblest act of the Soul of Man; the end and perfection of all the rest.

§. 3. The essential act of this LOVE is COMPLACENCE; or the Pleasedness of the minde in a suitable Good: But it hath divers effects, concomitants and accidents, from whence it borroweth divers Names.

§. 4. The LOVE of Benevolence, as it worketh towards the felicity of another, is the Love of God to man, who needeth him; but not of Man to God, who is above our benefits, and needeth nothing.

§. 5. Our LOVE to God, respecteth him either, 1. as our Efficient, 2. Dirigent, 3. or final Good: which hath accordingly concomitant duties.

§. 6. I. Our LOVE to God as our Chief good efficiently, containeth in it, 1. A willing Receiving Love: 2. A Thankfull Love: 3. A Returning devoted serving Love: (which among men amounts to retribution.)

§. 7. 1. An absolute dependent Beneficiary ought with full dependance on his Totall Benefactor, to Receive all his Benefits with Love and willingness.

An undervaluing of Benefits, and demurring, or rejecting them, is a great abuse and injury to a Benefactor. Thus doth the ungodly World, against all the Grace and greatest mercies of God. They know not the worth of them, and therefore despise them, and will not be intreated to accept them: but.

Seneca, Epist. 31. saith. Quzrendum est quod non fiat indies deterius; cui non possit obstar; quo nil melius possit optari. Quid hoc est? Animus sed hic rectus, bonus, magnus. Quid aliud voces hunc, quam Deum in humano corpore hospitantem? Hic animus tam in Equitem Romanum, quam in servum potest cadere. Quid est eques Romanus? aut libertinus? aut servus? Nomina ex ambitione, aut ex injuria nata, subilire in Cælum ex angulo licet: exurge modo, & te dignum finge Deo; finges autem, non auro, non argento: Non potest ex hac materia Imago Dei exprimi. similis.

Plato saith, that Mans End is to be made like God. Laert in Plat. Socrates said, that God was the Best and most Blessed; and therefore any one came in likeness to him, so much was he the better and more blessed.

Non potest temperantiam laudare, qui summum bonum ponit in volupate: Cic. * Gratus sum; non ut alius mihi libentius præster, prior irritatus exemplo; sed ut rem jucundissimam faciam, Senec. Ep. 28.

Credamus itaq; nihil
esse grato animo ho-
nestius. Omnes hoc
urbes, omnes etiam
ex barbaris regionibus
gentes conclaima-
bunt; In tanta judi-
ciorum d. veritate,
referendam bene me-
rentibus gratiam, om-
nes uno ore affirma-
bunt; in hoc discors
turba consensit. Se-
acc. ib.

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but take them for intollerable injuries or troubles, as a sick Stomack doth its Phytick and Food, because they are against their fleshly Appetites. An open heart to receive Gods mercies with high esteem, becometh such Beneficiaries as we.

§. 8. 2. Thankfulness is that Operation of Love, which the light of Nature hath convinced all the World, to be a duty: and scarce a man is to be found, so brutish as to deny it: And our Love to God should be more thankfull than to all the World, because our Receivings from Him are much greater, than from all.

§. 9. 3. Though we cannot requite God; true gratitude will devote the whole man to his Service, Will, and Honour, and living back his Mercies to him for his use, so far as we are able.

§. 10. II. Our LOVE to our DIRIGENT Benefactor, is,
1. A fiducial Love, 2. A love well-pleased in his conduct; 3. A following Love.

Though it belongeth to God chiefly as our sapiential Governour to be the Dirigent Cause of our Lives: Yet he doth it also as our Benefactor, by a commixture of the effects of his Relations.

§. 11. I. So infinite and sure a Friend, is absolutely to be Truſted, with a General Confidence in the Goodness of his Nature, and a particular Confidence in the Promises or significations of his good-will.

Infinite Good cannot be willing to deceive or disappoint us. And if we absolutely Trust him, it will abundantly conduce to our holiness, and peace.

§. 12. 2. We must also love his Conduct, his Precepts and his holy Examples, and the very way it is in which he leadeth us.

All that is from him is good, and must be loved both for it self, and for him that it cometh from, and for that which it leadeth to. All his Instructions, helps, reproofs, and all his conducting Means should be amiable to us.

§. 13. 3. Love must make us cheerfully follow him, in all the wayes which by Precept or Example he is pleased to lead us.

And so to follow him, as to love the tokens of his presence, and footsteps of his will, and all the signs of his approbation:

And

And with an Heroick fortitude of Love, to joyce in sufferings, and venture upon dangers, and conquer difficulties for his sake.

§. 14. III. *Our LOVE to GOD as our final Good is*, 1. *A Desiring LOVE*: 2. *A seeking LOVE*; and 3. *A full complacential delighting LOVE*; which is the perfection of us and all the rest: And accidentally it is sometimes a Mourning Love.

§. 15. 1. *Man being but in Via under the efficiency and conduct of Love, to final Love and Goodness hath his End to intend, and his means to use, and therefore Love must needs work by Desire.*

§. 16. *So far as a man is short of the thing desired, Love will have some sense of want; and so far as we are crossed in our seekings, and frustrate in any of our hopes, it will be sorrowfull.*

§. 17. 2. *Man being appointed to a course and life of Means to his last end, must needs be employed in those Means for the Love of that End: And so the main work of this life is that of a Desiring, seeking Love.*

§. 18. 3. *The complacential delighting LOVE, hath three degrees: The first in Belief and Hope, The second in foretaste; and The third in full enflamed carcase.*

§. 19. 1. *The well-grounded Hope of the foreseen Vision and fruition of the Infinite Good which is our End, must needs possess the considerate minde, with a delight which is somewhat answerable to that Hope.*

§. 20. 2. *When the Soul doth not only Hope for its future end, but also at present close with God subratione finis, in the exercise of pure complacential Love, in Prayer, Praise or Contemplation, he hath some measure of fruition even in via, and a sensible foretaste of his future perfection, according to the degree of this his Love.*

There is a delight that cometh into the minde by the meer foresight and hope of what we shall be, and have, and do hereafter: And this cometh by the Means of Promise and Evidence: And there is also a Delight which cometh in upon the

Bene meritos quinquolas, nec exorari fas est, neq; est excusatio difficultatis: neq; æquum est tempore & die memoriam beneficii definire. Cicer.

Vos, vos appello, qui Mercurium, qui Platonem, Pythagoramq; sectamini: vosq; ceteros qui estis unius mentis, & per eandem vias placitorum inceditis unitam. Audetis ridere nos — Quid Plato vester nonne animo surgere suadet e terris, & circa Deum semper (quantum fieri potest) cogitatione at mente versari? Audetis ridere nos quod animarum nostrarum provideamus salutem? id est ipsi nobis? Quid enim sumus homines, nisi animæ corporibus clausæ? Vos enim nonne omnes pro illarum geritis incolumitatibus curas? Metus ille vos habet ne velut trabalibus clavibus affixi, corporibus hæreatis? Quid illi sibi velint secretarum arcium rumpi, quibus affami-

ni nescio quas portestares, ut sint vobis placida, neq; ad sedes remanentibus patrias obstacula impositionis opponant. Arnob. adv. Gentes, lib. 2. p. 14.

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present exercise of Love it self on God as present; when the soul in the contemplation of his infinite Goodness, is wrapt up in the pleasures of his Love: And this is a degree of fruition of our end, before the perfect fruition of it. And therefore take notice that there are these two wayes of our comfort in this life: 1. *Exploratio juris*, the tryall of our title; 2. *Exercitium amoris*; the feasting of the Soul in the exercises of Love.

§. 21. 3. The final perfect act of Love will not be in via, but when we have fully reacht our end.

§. 22. This final act is not well expressed by the common word [fruition] because it intimateth that we are the finis cui on selves, and that our own enjoyment of God as our felicity, is the finis ultimatus ultimus, which is not true.

§. 23. Yet is [fruition], one ingredient into our End, because our final act of Love is for our selves, though not principally.

Magistris, Diis & Parentibus, non potest reddi æquivalens. Aristot. 9 Ethic.

Laus & gratiarum actio debetur danti, non accipienti, Arist. 4. Eth.

§. 24. All the difficulties de fine hominis are best resolved by understanding that it is finis amantis, and what that is: The Nature of Love is an inclination or desire of Union or Adhesion: and therefore it includeth the felicity of the Lover, together with the attractive excellency of the Object; and is both gratia amantis & amati simul. But when the Lover is infinitely above the Object, the Lover is the chief end (for his own complacency) though the Object have the benefit: And when the Object is infinitely better than the Lover, the Object must be incomparably the chief end, cuius gratia potissimum: though the Lover will intend his felicity in fruition.

§. 25. But if any soul be so far above self-love, as to be drawn up in the fervours of Holy love, in the meer contemplation of the infinite Object, not thinking of its own felicity therein, its felicity will be never the less, for not intending or remembering it.

§. 26. Therefore the final act of Love, hath no fitter name than Love it self, or delightfull adhesion to God; the infinite Good, with full complacency in him.

§. 27. Though God must be loved as our Benefactor, yet the perfect goodness of his Will and Nature, as standing above all our Interest or Benefits, must be the principal reason and Object of our Love.

Qui sancti? qui Religionem colentes, nisi qui meritam Diis immortalibus gratiam, iustis honoribus, memori mente persolvunt? Cicer. pro Planc.

That

That we must love God more for Himself, than for our selves, is thus proved: 1. That which is most Amiable must be most Loved: But God is most amiable, and not we our selves: Therefore he must be Loved above our selves, (and consequently not for our selves, but our selves for him :) The *minor* is soon proved: That which is *most Good* is most Amiable: But God is most good: *Ergo*. And Goodness is the proper object of Love.

2. That which the Soul most Loveth it doth most devote it self to, and adhere to, and rest in: But we must more devote our selves to God, and adhere to him, and rest in him, than our selves: *Ergo*, we must Love him more.

3. That which is an Absolute Good, and is dependent on nothing, must be absolutely loved for it self: But such is God: *Ergo*. And that which is only a derivative, limited, dependent Good, and not made ultimately for it self, is not to be loved ultimately for it self: But such is man: *Ergo*.

4. That which is the Fountain of all Goodness and Love, must be the end of all: But that is God and not Man: *Ergo*.

5. To love God ultimately for our selves, is to deifie our selves, and take down God into the order of a Means, that is, of a Creature.

§. 28. Having proved, that God must be loved above our selves, we need no other proof, that not we, but God must be our ultimate end.

§. 29. Because we here see not God intuitively, but in his Works, we are bound with fervent desire to study and contemplate them, and therein to feast our love in beholding and tasting of his Love and Goodness.

As a Man will look on the Picture, the Letters, the works of his absent Friend, and retain the Image of him in his heart; so God, though not absent, yet unseen, expresseth himself to us in all his works, that we may studiously there behold, admire and love him.

§. 30. Therefore Gods Works must be more valued and studied, as they are the Glass representing the Image of his per-

If we must love good men for themselves, much more God. Ubi beneficium, si non alterius causa benigne facit. Ubi gratus, si non eum ipsum cui referunt gratiam, ipsi cernunt grati? Ubi illa sancta amicitia, si non ipse amicus per se amatur, toto pectore: qui etiam deferendus & abjiciendus est, desperatis emolumentis & fructibus: quo quid potest dici immanius? Cicero de leg. 1 p. 127.

Justitia nihil expetit præmii, nihil pretii: per se igitur expetitur: eademque omnium virtutum causa atque sententia est: Atque etiam si emolumenta, non suapte natura virtus expetitur, una erit virtus, quæ malicia rectissime dicitur. Ut enim quisque ad suum commodum refert maxime quæcumque agit, ita minime est vir bonus: ut

qui virtutem præmio metantur, nullam virtutem nisi malitiam putant. Cicero de Leg. 1. p. 127.

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fellions, and shewing us his chief essential amiableness, than as they are beneficial and useful to us, and so shew us only his benignity to us.

§. 31. Yet must self-love, and sense it self, and the sensible sweetness and experience of Mercies be improved to our easier taste of God's essential Goodness, and we must rise up from the lower to the higher object: and this is our chief use of sensible benefits.

Nihil homini metuendum, nisi ne felicitatem excludat. *Salon in Laert. p. 31.*

Summo Bono constituto in Philosophia, constituta sunt omnia: nam cæteris in rebus sive prætermisum, sive ignotum est quippiam, non plus incommodi, quam quanti quæque earum rerum est, in quibus neglectum est aliquid. Summum autem bonum si ignoretur, vivendi rationem ignorari necesse est: ex quo tantus error consequitur, ut quem in portum se recipiant, scire non possunt.

Cognitis autem rerum finibus (bonorum & malorum) inveniri vitæ via est conformatioque omnium officiorum. *Piso in Cic. de finib. lib. 5. pag. 182.*

Decretere summum bonum non potest. Mortalia eminent, cadunt, deteruntur, crescant, exhauriantur, implentur. Divinorum una natura est. *Senec. Epist. 66. p. 644, 645.*

Doubtless as the Soul, while it dwelleth with flesh, doth receive its objects by the mediation of sense, so God hath purposely put such variety of sensible delicacies into the creatures, that by every sight, and smell, and hearing, and touch, and taste, our souls might receive a report of the sweetness of God; whose goodness all proceed from. And therefore this is the life which we should labour in continually, to see God's goodness in every lovely sight, and to taste God's goodness in every pleasant taste, and to smell it in every pleasant Odour, and to hear it in every lovely word or sound; that the motion may pass on clearly without stop, from the senses to the mind and will, and we may never be so blockish as to gaze on the glass, and not see the Image in it; or to gaze on the Image, and never consider whose it is: or to read the Book of the Creation, and mark nothing but the words and letters, and never mind the sense and meaning. A Philosopher, and yet an Atheist or ungodly, is a monster; one that most readeth the Book of Nature, and least understandeth or feelth the meaning of it.

§. 32. Therefore God daily reneweth his mercies to us, that the variety and freshness of them producing renewed delight, may renew our lively feelings of his love and goodness, and so may carry us on in love, without cessations and declinings.

Our natures are so apt to lose the sense of a Good that is grown ordinary and common, that God by our renewed necessities, and the renewed supplies, and variety of mercies, doth cure this defect.

§. 33. Those therefore that turn God's mercies to the gratifying of their sensitive appetites and lusts, and forget him, and offend him the more, and love him the less, do forfeit his mercies by their inhumane and irrational ingratitude and abuse.

Which is the sin of all proud, covetous, voluptuous persons;

sons; the ambitious, fornicators, gluttons, drunkards, and lovers of sports, recreations, idleness, or any pleasure, as it turneth them from God.

§. 34. Above all other sin, we should most take heed of the inordinate love of any creature (for it self, or for our carnal self alone) because it is most contrary to our love to God, which is our highest work and duty. *Cœlestia semper spectato: illa humana contemnito. Cic. Soma. Scipi.*

§. 35. Those mercies of God are most to be valued; desired and sought, which shew us most of God himself, or most help up our love to him.

§. 36. We must love both our natural selves and neighbours, the bad as well as the good, with a love of benevolence, desiring our own good and theirs: But at the same time we must hate our selves and them, so far as wicked, with the hatred of Displeacency: and with the love of Complacency, must only so far love our selves or others, as the Image of Divine Goodness is in us or them.

I speak not of the meer natural passion of the parent to the child, which is common to man and beast: nor of the exercises of love in outward acts, for those may be directed by God's commands to go more to one (as a wicked child) that hath less true amiableness in him. But all holy love must be suited to the measures of the truest object.

§. 37. The love of God should be with all our soul, and with all our might; not limited, suppressed or neglected, but be the most serious, predominant action of our souls.

How ealie a matter is it to prove Holiness to be naturally mans greatest duty, when love to God, which is the summ of it, is so easily proved to be so. All the reason in the world, that is not corrupted, but is reason indeed, must confess without any tergiversation, that it is the most great and unquestionable duty of man to love God above all; yea, with all our heart and soul and might. And he that doth so, shall never be numbed by him with the ungodly, for those are inconsistent.

§. 38. The exercises of love to God in complacency, desire, seeking, &c. should be the chief employment of our thoughts.

For the thoughts are the exercise of a commanded faculty, which must be under the power of our will: and the ultimate end, and the exercises of love to it, should daily govern them.

Templum mentis a-mo, non marmoris, aurea in illo Fundamenta: manet fides structura nivali. Confurgit pietate nitens, regit ardua culmen: Justitia interius spargit sola picta rubenti Flore, pudicitiz pudor almus, & atria servat. Hæc domus apta mihi est, hæc me pulcherrima sedes Accipit, æterno cœlestique hospite digna, Prudent. Quicquid boni egeris in Deos refer: Bias in Laert.

When the Oracle of Delphos adjudged the Tripos to the wisest, it was sent to Thales, and from him to Anaxagoras, till it came to Solon, who sent it to the Oracle, saying, None is wiser than God. Laert. in Thales. So should we all send back to God the glory and praise of all good which is ascribed to us.

Numen divinum omni modo, omni tempore ipse cole, juxta leges patrias, & ita ut colant officia.
Dion. l. 52.

Aristippus rogatus alicuando, quid haberet eximium Philosophi? Si omnes inquit, leges intendant, equaliter vivimus.
Laert.
Oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore.
Hor.

them. And what a man loveth most, usually he will think of, with his most practical powerful thoughts, if not with the most frequent.

§. 39. *The love of God should employ our tongues in the proclaiming of his praise and benefits, and expressing our own admiration and affection, to kindle the like in the souls of others.*

For the same God who is so amiable, hath given us our speech with the rest of his benefits, and given it us purposely to declare his praise. Reason telleth us that we have no higher, worthier, or better employment for our tongues; and that we should use them to the best. The tongues of men are adorned with language, for charitable and pious communication, that they may be fit to affect the hearts of others, and to kindle in them that sacred fire, which is kindled in themselves. Therefore that tongue which is silent to its Maker's praise, and declareth not the Goodness, and Wisdom, and power of the Lord, and doth not divulge the notice of his benefits, condemneth it self, and the heart that should employ it, as neglecting the greatest duty it was made for.

§. 40. *The lives of Gods Beneficiaries should be employed to his praise and pleasure, and should be the streaming effects of inward love. And all his mercies should be improved to his service, from a thankful heart.*

All this hath the fullest testimony of reason, according to the rules of proportion and common right. To whom should we live, but to him from whom and by whom we live? What but our ultimate end should be principally intended, and sought through our whole lives? A creature that hath all from God, should in love and gratitude bring back all to him; and thus we make it more our own.

§. 41. *This Life of Love should be the chiefest Delight and Pleasure of our Souls, which all other pleasure should subserv, and all be absorbed which contradiceth it.*

Nothing is easier confessed by all, than the desirableness of Delight and Pleasure: and the most excellent object, which must be most beloved, must be our chief delight: for Love it self is a delighting act, unless some stop do turn it aside into fears and sorrows. Nothing can it self be so delectable as God, the chiefest Good; and no employment so delectable as loving him. This therefore should be our work and our recreation,

ation, our labour and our pleasure, our food and feast. Other delights are lawful and good, so far as they further these delights of holy love, by carrying up our hearts to the original and end of all our mercies and delights. But nothing is so injurious to God and us as that which corrupteth our minds with sensuality, and becometh our Pleasure instead of God.

§. 42. *The sense of the present imperfection of our Love should make us long to know God more, and to love him and delight in him, and praise him in perfection to the utmost extent of our capacities.*

If it be so good to love God, then must the highest degree of it be best: and reason teacheth us, when we feel how weak our Knowledge and Love is, to long for more; yea, for perfection.

§. 43. *Thus hath Reason shewed us the end and highest felicity of man, in his highest duty; To Know God, to Love him and Delight in him in the fullest Perfection, and to be Loved by him, and be fully pleasing to him, as herein bearing his Image, is the felicity, and the ultimate end of man. LOVE is mans final aī, excited by the fullest Knowledge, and God so beheld and enjoyed in his Love to us, is the final Object. And here the Soul must seek its Rest.*

Obj. But quæ supra nos nihil ad nos: God indeed is near to Angels, but he hath made them our Benefactors, and they have committed it to inferiour Causes: there must be suitableness as well as excellency to win love: we find no suitableness between our hearts and God. And therefore we believe not that we were made for any such employment. And we see that the far greatest part of mankind are as averse to this life of Holiness as our selves; and therefore we cannot think but that it is quite above the nature of man, and not the work and end which he was made for.

Ans. 1. Whether God have made Angels, or Rulers, or Benefactors, or what love or honour we owe them as his Instruments, is nothing to our present business. For if it be granted that he thus useth them, it is most certain that he is nevertheless himself our Benefactor, nor nevertheless near us. What nearness to us they have, we are much uncertain; but that he himself is our total Benefactor, and always with us, as near to us as we are to our selves, is past all question, and proved before.

Read Seneca, de vita beata, fully proving against the Epicureans, that wealth, honour and pleasure are not mans felicity, because they make him not better or bñ.

Sursum animum vocant iniuria sua: Erit autem illic, etiam antequam hac custodia exolvatur, si vitia sua deseruit, purusque ac lenis in cogitationes divinas emicuit. Senec. ep. 80.

Tutum iter est, jucundum est, ad quod natura te instruxit. Dedit tibi illa quæ si non deserueris, par Deo confurger. Patrem autem Deo. pecunia non facit. &c. Senec. ep. 13.

2. There neither is nor can be any object so suitable for our LOVE as God; he hath all *Goodness* in him, and all in the creature is derived from him, and dependeth on him; and he hath given us all that ever we our selves received, and must give us all that ever we shall receive hereafter. He is all-sufficient for the supply of all our wants, and granting all our just desires, and making us perfect: all that he doth for us, he doth in *Love*, as an intellectual free Agent; and he is still present with us, upholding us, and giving us the *very* Love which he demandeth: and he created us for Himself to be his *Own*, and gave us these faculties to know and love him. And can any then be a more *suitable* object of our love?

3. Do you not find that your understandings have a *suitableness* or inclination to *Truth* and *Knowledge*, and would you not know the *best* and *greatest* things? and know the *cause* of all the wonderful effects which you see: and what is this but to *know God*? And do you not find that your *Will* have a *suitableness* to *good* as such in the general? and to your *own felicity*? And do you not know that it should not be unnatural to any man to love the *best*, which is *best*, and especially which is *best for him*; and to love *him* best who is his greatest Benefactor, and most worthy of his love in all respects? And can you doubt whether God be most worthy of your *love*? All this is plain and sure. And will mens *averseness* to the love of God then disprove it? It is natural for man to *desire knowledge*, as that which perfecteth his understanding; and yet Boys are *averse* to learn their Books, because they are slothful, and are diverted by the love of play. What if your servants be *averse* and slothful to your service? doth it follow that it is not their duty, or that you hired them not for it? What if your wife and children be *averse* to love you? is it therefore none of their *duty* so to do? Rebels are *averse* to obey their Governours, and yet it is their *duty* to obey them. If your child or any one that is most beholden to you, should be *averse* to love and gratitude to you, (as thousands are to their Parents and Benefactors) will it follow that Nature *obliged them not* to it?

4. What can you think is *suitable* to your love, if God be not? is it lust, or play, or meat and drink and ease? A Swine hath a nature as *suitable* to these as you? Is it *only* to deal

ingenuously

Quod si pœna, si metus supplicii, non ipsa turpitudine, deterret ab injuriosa, facinorosaque vitâ, nemo est injustus: ac incauti potius habendi sunt improbi: Callidi, non boni sunt, qui utilitate tantum, non ipso honesto, ut boni visi sint, moventur. Cic. de leg. l. 1. p. 289.

ingeniously and honourably in providing for the flesh, and maintaining the fuel of these sensualities, by Buildings, Trading, Manufactures, Ornaments and Arts? All this is but to have a reason to serve your sense, and so the swinish part still shall be the chief: for that which is the *chief and ruling object* with you, doth shew which is the chief and regnant faculty. If *sensual objects* be the chief, than *Sense* is the chief faculty with you. And if you had the greatest wit in the world, and used it only to serve your guts, and throats, and lusts, in a more effectual and ingenious way than any other men could do, this were but to be an ingenuous beast, or to have an Intellect bound in service to your bellies. And can you think that things so little satisfying, and so quickly perishing, are more *suitable objects* for your love than God?

5. What say you to all them that are otherwise minded, and that take the Love of God for their work and happiness? They find a *suitableness* in God to their highest esteem and love; and are they not as fit Judges for the affirmative, as you for the negative?

Obj. They do but force themselves to some acts of fancy.

Ans. You see that they are such acts as are the more serious and prevalent in their lives, and can make them lay by other pleasures, and spend their days in seeking God, and lay down their lives in the exercise and hopes of Love. And that it is you that follow fancy, and they that follow *solid reason*, is evident in the reason of your several ways. That world which you set above God is at last called *Vanity* by all that try it: Reason will not finally justify your choice: but I have here shewed you undeniable reason for their choice and love; and therefore it is they that know what they do, and obey the Law of Nature, which you obliterate and contradict.

Obj. But we see the Creature, but God we see not, and we find it not natural to us to love that which we do not see.

Ans. Is not Reason a nobler faculty than sight? if it be, why should it not more rule you, and dispose of you? Shall no Subjects honour and obey their King but those that see him? You can love your money, and land, and friends when they are out of sight.

Obj. But these are things visible in their nature.

Q

Ans.

Complent bona corporis beatissimam vitam; sed ita ut sine illis possit beata vita existere. Ita enim parva & exigua sunt istae accessiones bonorum, ut sicut stellae in radio solis, sic istae in virtutum splendore, ne cernantur quidem. Atque haec ut verè dicitur parva esse ad beatè vivendum momenta ista corporis commodorum, sic nimis violentum est, nulla esse dicere. Qui enim sic disputant; oblii mihi videntur quia ipsi egerint principia naturae. Tribuendum est his aliquid, dummodo quantum tribuendum sit intelligat. Piso in Cic. de finib. l. 5. §. 101.

Utrum verò finem Aristotelis declaravit, esse usum virtutis in vita sancta & integritate. Hesych. Illust. in Aristot.

Piso ubi sup. in Cic. *saieth, That all the difference in this between the Stoicks and the Peripateticks and Academicks is but this, whether corporal things shall be call'd no Good at all, or only such little Goods as to be next to none, pag. 102, 103. To the shame of those nominal Christians, who know no greater good than they.*

Experiments of the difficulty of all this Duty, and

Answe. They are so much the more vile, and less amiable Your own Souls are invisible, will you not therefore love them? You never saw the life or form of any Plant or living Wight; you see the beauty of your Roses, and many other flowers, but you see not the life and form within, which causeth all that beauty and variety; which yet must be more excellent than the effect. Can you doubt whether all things which appear here to your sight, have an *invisible Cause* and *Maker*? or can you think him less amiable, because he is invisible, that is, more excellent?

6. In a word, it is most evident, that all this *averseness* of mens hearts to the Love of God, is their *sin* and *pravity*; and the *unsuitableness* of their nature is, because they are vitiated with sensuality, and deceived by sensible things: a disease to be cured and not defended. Their *sin* will not prove the contrary no duty.

7. And yet while we are in flesh, though God be not visible to us, his works are, and it is in them (the frame of the world) that he hath revealed and expos'd Himself to our love: It is in this visible Glass that we must see his *Image*, and in that Image must love him: and if we will love any Goodness, we must love his; for all is his, and as his should be loved by us.

Siquis est hoc robore animi atque hac indole virtutis, ac continentie, ut respuat omnes voluptates, omnemque vitæ suæ cursum labore corporis, atque in animi contentione conficiat, quem non quies, non remissio, non æquilibrium studia, non ludii, non convivii delectant, nihil in vita expetendum putet, nisi quod est cum laude & honore conjunctum; hunc, mea sententia, Divinis quibusdam bonis instructum atque ornatum puto. Cic. pro Cæ.

CHAP. XIII.

Experiments of the difficulty of all this Duty, and what it will cost a man that will live this holy life.

Hitherto I have proved that there is a GOD, of Infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness; the Creator, and consequently the Owner, the Ruler, and the Father or Chief Good of Man; and that Man as his creature is absolutely *his own*, and therefore should resign himself as his own to his disposal; and that he is absolutely his subject, and therefore should most exactly and diligently obey him; and I have shew'd particularly wherein; also that Man is his Total Beneficiary, and made to love him as his chief Good and End; and therefore should

should totally devote himself to him in gratitude and love, and desire him, seek him and delight in him above all the world, and live in his praises and continual service. All this is fully proved to be Man's duty. And now let us see on what terms he standeth in the world for the performance of it.

§. 1. There is in the present disposition of Man a great averfeness to such a life of Resignation, Obedience and Love to God, as is before described, even when he cannot deny it to be his duty, and to be the best, most honourable, and most felicitating life.

Too sad experience confirmeth this. The bad are so averse, that they will not be perswaded to it: the godly have such a mixture of averfeness, as hindeth them matter of continual conflict. It is this averfeness which serveth instead of arguments against it, or which is a pondus to the very judgment, and maketh it so hard to believe any arguments which go against so strong a contrary inclination.

§. 2. We find that the senses of men are grown masterly and inordinate, and are too eagerly set upon their objects, and hold down the mind from rising higher, and cause it to adhere to things terrene.

So that man's life now is like that of the bruits: it is things of the same nature that he valueth and adhereth to, and most men live to no higher ends but to enjoy their sensual pleasure while they may.

§. 3. We find that Reason in most men is so debilitated, that it cannot potently reduce it self into action, nor see that practically which speculatively it confesseth, nor clearly and powerfully observe those Perfections of God in his works, nor those Duties of man, which we are convinced to be true: but by inconsiderateness and dull apprehensions is almost as no reason to them, and falleth down before their sensuality.

§. 4. Hereupon men grow strangers unto God, and have no thoughts of him but dark, and dull, and ineffectual.

§. 5. The world is full of allurements to the flesh, and those Mercies which should raise the mind to God, are made the food of this sensuality, and the greatest means to keep it from him.

Sense is irrational, and fastneth on its object: and when Reason faileth in its office, there we are left like Dogs gnawing upon a Carrion, and in greediness fighting for it with each other; when we have separated the creature from God

Male de me loquuntur, sed mali: Movetur, si de me Male. Cato, si Latium sapiens, si duo Scipiones ista loquuntur. Nunc malis displicere, laudare est. Seneca. Videsur ne summa improbitate usus non sine summa esse ratione. Nec scena solum referta est his sceleribus, sed multo vita communis potius majoribus. Sencie domus unusquisque, sentit forum, sentit curias, campus, focii, provincia, ut quemadmodum ratione recte fiat, sic ratione peccatur: alterum & a paucis & raro alterum & saepe & a pluribus: ut satius fuerit nullam omnino nobis a Diis datam esse rationem, quam tanta cum perniciie datam. Ita Contra Deos in C. de Natur. Deor. 3. p. 111.

Vir bonus nec cito fieri, nec intelligi potest: Nam ille alter fortasse Phoenix anno quingentesimo nascitur. Nec est mirum, ex intervallo magna generat; mediocria & in turbam nascentia saepe fortuna producit: sed qui sciret quid esset vir bonus, nondum se esse credere, fortasse etiam fieri posse desperaret. Sen. ep. 42.

Diogenes said, He found good children at Lacedæmon, but good men no where in all Greece.

in our minds, and so deprived it of its life and beauty, which fitted it for another use. And when every place and state of life hath such baits as these, which hourly are alluring a mind so weakly fortifi'd against them, no wonder if they do prevail.

§. 6. Education, custom and ill example confirm these vicious habits with the most, and much encrease them.

§. 7. The best have some of this inordinate sensuality and weakness of Reason, and are imperfect in virtue, and are tempted by the world as well as others.

§. 8. Therefore no man can live to God according to his certain duty, who will not deny the desires of his flesh, and bring it into subjection, and live in vigilancy and daily conflict against its lusts.

Obj. "But the appetite of meat, and drink, and sleep, and ease, and venery, and sport, and pleasure, and gain, and honour, is natural to us: and that which is natural is no vice, nor to be denied or destroyed.

Ans. It is natural to have the appetite, but it is the disease of nature that this appetite is inordinate, and no otherwise natural than the Leprosie is to those to whom it is propagated by their Parents. But is it natural to you to have lust and appetite, and is it not natural to you to have Reason to moderate and rule them? If not, it is natural to you to be Brutes, and not natural to you to be men: What is more natural to Man than to be Rational? is it not his essential form? And whether is Reason or Appetite, think you, naturally made to be the predominant faculty? Should the Horse rule the Rider, or the Rider the Horse? The Soul and Body are much like the Rider and the Horse; bethink you which should naturally rule.

§. 9. The inordinacy of the fleshy appetite and phantasy, maketh it a continual pain to the flesh to be restrained and denied.

As it is to a head-strong, wilful Horse to be governed, the more inordinate the appetite is, the more it is pained by denial and restraint.

§. 10. The far greatest part of the world do live an ungodly sensual life, and the interest of the flesh is predominant in them.

Rari quippe boni: numero vix sunt totidem quot
Thebarum portæ, vel divitis ostia Nilii.
Juven.
Quæ ego scio, populus non probat: Quæ probat populus ego nescio. Sen. ep. 29.

Sad Experience puts this quite out of controverſie.

§. 11. Usually, the more Riches and Fullneſs of all Proviſions for the fleſh men poſſeſs, the more ſensual and vicious they are.

It is not *always* ſo; but that its *uſually* ſo, we need no proof but the knowledge of the World: nor need we take it from Chriſt only as a point of Faith, That its hard for a Rich man to enter into Heaven: And Reaſon telleth us, that when the love of the World above God is the mortal ſin, thoſe are moſt in danger of it, to whom the World appeareth moſt lovely: And they that have moſt temptations are in the greateſt danger to miſcarry.

§. 12. The Rich are commonly the Rulers of the World, who have the liberties, eſtates, and lives of others, much in their power.

I never yet knew or heard of that place, where the poor long ruled.

§. 13. Commonly, the more averſe men are to Godlineſs, and the more prone to ſenſuality; the leſs can they endure thoſe that would perſwade them to Godlineſs from their ſensual Lives; or that give them the Example of a holy ſelf-denying life.

For as it ſeemeth intolerable to them to leave their ſenſuality, and to betake themſelves to a contrary life, which they are ſo averſe to; ſo they take him as an enemy to them, that would draw them to it, and are furious againſt him, as a hungry Dog againſt him that would take away his Car-
rion. Experience puts this paſt all doubt (of which more anon.)

§. 14. Hence it cometh to paſs, that in all parts of the World, the fore-deſcribed life of Godlyneſs, is the matter of the common hatred, ſcorn and cruel perſecution of the ſensual and un-
godly.

The more exactly any man ſhall ſet himſelf to obey God, the more, he croſſeth the luſts and carnal Intereſt of the wicked; and the more he commonly ſuffereth in the World. So full of malice and prejudice is the World, againſt ſuch faith-
full Subjects of God, that they ſlander them and make them

Imperitia in omnibus
majori ex parte domi-
natur, & multitudo
verborum. *Cleobulus*
in *Laert.*

Offendet te ſuperbus
contemptu, dives con-
tumeliâ, petulans in-
juriâ, lividus ma-
lignitate, pugna con-
tentione, ventroſus &
mendax . . . vanitate
Non ſeres à ſuſpi-
cioſo timeri, à perti-
nace vinci, à deli-
cato ſaſtidiri. *Senec.*
de Ira. l. 3. c. 8.

Præſtat cum paucis
bonis adverſus malos
omnes, quàm cum
multis malis adverſus
paucos pugnare. *Au-
uſtbenes in Laert. l.*
6. c. 1.

*Seneca Epiſt. 87. ſcri-
bit, Tam neceſſarium
fuiſſe Romano popu-
lo naſci Catonem
quàm Scipionem:
Alter enim cum ho-
ſtibus noſtris, alter*

cum moribus, bellum geſſit. And if a Caro was at warre with the manners of the World, much
more will a true Saint, that is more fully acquainted with Sacred Verity.

seem the most odious sort of men: And so unreasonable are they and unjust, that the fullest evidence for their Justification, doth but seem to aggravate their faults; and nothing is so great a Crime as their highest Virtues! Or if their Justification be undeniable they rage the more, because they are hindered from making them suffer as deeply in their Names as in their Bodies. These things are no more questionable than the Wars of *Alexander* or *Cesar*, the World having longer proof and fuller evidence of them.

§. 15. *And ordinarily God himself so ordereth it, that his faithfullest Subjects shall be the deepest sufferers in this life.*

§. 16. *Therefore self-denial, mortification, contempt of the World, and patience under manifold sufferings from God and Man, are necessary to all who will be faithfull to God, in the unquestionable duties before described.*

* Qui toto dies precabantur & immolabant, ut sui liberi sibi superstites essent, superstitioni sunt appellati: Quod nomen patuit postea latius: Qui autem omnia quæ ad cultum Deorum pertinerent, diligenter pertractarent, & tanquam relegerent, sunt dicti Religiosi, ex relegendis, ut elegantes ex eligendo, à diligendo diligentes, ex intelligendo intelligentes: Superstitiosi & Religiosi, alterum vitii nomen, alterum laudis. *Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. p. 73.*

74.
et duare, hæc est opibus non tradere moribus. *Martial.*

Pittaci dictum est, Terdifficile est esse bonum. *Brufon.*

All *Cicero's Books de Finib.* show the worthlessness of Pleasure in comparison of Virtue.

It is tried Friendship and Obedience which is most valuable. And unwholsom pleasures though preferred by the foolish Patient, are forbidden by our wise Physician, that they hinder not our health, and greater Pleasures.

§. 17. *Therefore if Worldly fleshy pleasures were our end and chief Good, the best men would have the smallest measure of them.*

“Obj. But you restrain man further than God restraineth him, and binde him to more than God bindeth him to, and make superstition to seem his duty, and then raise these consequences from such Premises.

Ans. What I mean by sin and duty I have so fully opened before, and proved to be such by the light of Reason, that this Objection hath no place. Even the sober Heathens, the Greek Philosophers, and *Romane* Worthies found and confessed all this to be true. If there be any thing in the Life before described, which all sound Reason doth not justify and command, let him that is able manifest so much: If not, it is no superstition; to live as a man that is governed by God, and led by Reason; and to do that which all our faculties were made for. And for austerities, I have pleaded

for none, which are not become needfull to our own preservation and felicity: As a Patient will endure a strict dyer, and exercise, and blood-letting, and bitter Phylick for his health: It is not any affected unprofitable austerities, that I plead for; but those which are for our good, and fit us for our duty, and keep the flesh from rebelling against Reason, and keep Man from living like a Beast: Even less than many of the Philosophers plead for; and he that useth but thus much which is needfull, will finde it both opposed as unsufferable by the World, and murmured against by his suffering, and displeased Flesh; and that the Soul cannot do its duty, but at a considerable cost and trouble to the Body. Though there may be an evil masked and cunningly moderated, which men call Goodness, which may be had at a cheaper rate. But saith Seneca truly, *Non est Bonitas, pessimis esse meliorem.*

CHAP. XIV.

That there is a Life of Retribution after this.

TO know whether there be a Life after this, for men to receive Rewards or Punishments in, is a matter of greatest importance to Mankind, to be fully resolved in: upon which depend our Comforts, and our Religion, and without which we know not what to expect, to hope for, or to fear; nor what to intend and seek after through our lives, nor how to order our hearts or actions.

This therefore I shall inquire into by the help of Reason and Natural evidence, as one that would not be deceived nor deceive, in so great a matter. And I shall pass by those arguments which are commonly fetcht from the Souls immateriality, and independence upon matter, and other such like, which are commonly to be found in Physicks and Metaphysicks, as being not such as my present method leadeth me to; and shall make use of such as are the necessary consequences of the certain Truths already proved.

Object.

Senec. Consol. ad Marciam: Cum tempus advenerit quo se mundus renovaturus, — omni flagrantem materia uno igne, quicquid nunc exdposito lucet, ardebit — Nos quoque felices animæ, & æterna sortitæ, cum Deo visum erit, iterum ista moliri — Foli- cem filium tuum Marcia, qui ista (mortuus) jam novit, —

De *cur* *vix*, dupli-
 cesq; cursus animo-
 rum à corpore exe-
 centium: Nam qui se
 virtutis humanis con-
 taminant; & libi-
 dinibus se tradide-
 runt, is devium
 quoddam iter est,
 seculum à consilio
 Deorum. Qui au-
 tem se integros cas-
 tosq; servarunt, qui-
 busq; fuit minima
 cum corporibus con-
 tagio, suntq; in cor-
 poribus humanis vi-
 tam imitati Deorum,
 his ad illos à quibus
 sunt profecti, facile
 patet reditus. *Socra-
 tes, in Ciceroe Tus-
 cul. 1.*

Qui rectè & honestè
 curriculum vivendi à
 natura datum con-
 fecerit, ad astra fa-
 cile revertetur. Non
 qui aut immoderatè,
 aut intemperanter
 vixerit. *Cicero de Uni-
 vers.*

Object. But whatever Rationalities may be drawn from the Divine Attributes, to prove a future state. yet it depending wholly on the Divine Will, and the Divine Will being absolutely free, we can have no rational inducements to bring us to any sufficient knowledge of it, but by a clear Revelation of the Divine Will.

Ans. Is the Law of Nature no clear Revelation of Gods will? or is it a Law without any Rewards or Penalties? It depended on Gods will, whether man should be his Subject or no, obliged to obey him! But doth it follow there-fore that it cannot be proved? By making him a Rational free Agent, and sociable, placed among occasions of good and evil, God did reveal that it was his will that Man should be his Subject, and obey him! One action of God doth oft reveal his will concerning another. Those Attributes of God which signifie his Relation to us, do reveal much of his will, concerning what he will do with us in those Relations. And though his will be free, his perfections consist not with falshood and mutability. If in freedom you include [indetermination] then when we prove the determination of it *ad unum*, you will plead no longer that it is free; no more than it is yet free whether he will make the World.

§. 1. I. He that is the most Righteous Governour of the World, making a just difference by Rewards and Punishments, between the obedient and the wicked, which yet he maketh not in this life, will certainly make it after this life: But God is the most Righteous Governour of the World, making a just difference by Rewards and Punishments, between the obedient and the wicked, which yet he maketh not in this life: Therefore he will make it after this life.

That God is the Governour of the World (in a proper sense, by Laws and Moral Government) is proved: And that he is Righteous, is contained in the Perfections of his Nature. To deny either of these is to deny him to be God. That his Laws of Nature have not only Precepts of Duty, but sancti- ons of Reward and Punishment, is also proved: And further may be thus. 1. If there be no Rewards or Punishments, there is no Judgement or Execution: But there is Judgement and Execution: for they are parts of Government. *Ergo* —

2. Without

2. Without Rewards and Punishments, Precepts would be vain to such as us, and uneffectual as to their ends. But God hath not made his Laws in vain;—Ergo.

Obj. *Governours use not to give men Rewards for their Obedience: Subjects must obey without Reward.*

Ans. It is not the Name but the Thing that we enquire of: Call it a *Benefit* if you had rather: All Government is upheld by Rewards and Punishment. Reward is either that which is common to all obedient Subjects, or such as is specially proper to some: All Subjects that are faithfull, have title to protection, and approbation, and justification against all false accusations; and to their share in that peace and felicity of the Common-wealth, which is the end of the Government: And some Commonwealths having far greater felicities than others, accordingly the Subjects of them have their right and part: And this is the *common reward* or *benefit* of obedience and fidelity. Besides which, some great exploits are usually rewarded with some special *premium*. In humane Kingdoms as such, the End is no higher than the Beginning: Temporal Governours give but temporal Rewards: The felicities of the Kingdom, which are the ends of Government, as they are from Man are but temporal; and our share in them is all our Reward from men: But the original and end of the Kingdom of God are higher, and of further prospect: The benefits of fidelity are greater, as shall be further proved.

But let it be noted, that this Objection saith nothing against a life of *Punishment*. Governours never leave their Precepts without this sanction. And he that believeth future Punishment, will easily believe a future Reward.

Let it also be noted, that *Paternal Government* hath evermore Rewards in the strictest sense; that is, a special favour and kindness shewed to the Child that is specially obedient; and so the rest according to their measures. But the Kingdom of God is *A PATERALL KINGDOM* as is proved. That God will make in his *Retributions* a just difference between the good and bad, is proved from his *Justice* in Government: If his *Laws* make no difference, then men are left at liberty to keep or break them, nor can it rationally be expected that they should be kept: Nor could he be said

R

improbo bene esse non potest. Cicero *Par.*
Impii apud inferos poenas luunt. Cicero *Philic.* 2. de Legib.
Impiis apud inferos sunt poenae preparatae. Cicero 1. de Invent.

Sic habeto; te non esse mortalem, sed corpus hoc. Cicero *sem. scip.*

Cicero saith, that their worshipping of Hercules, and other Heroes, doth imply, that Animi omnium sunt immortales, sed Bonorum Divini. Cicero 2. de Legib.

Bonorum mentes mihi Divinae atque aeternae videntur, & ex hominum vita ad Deorum religionem sanctionemque migrare. Idem.
Deorum providentia Mundus administratur, illdemque consulant rebus humanis, neque solum universis, verum etiam singulis. Cicero 1. de Divinat.

fo

Perfusus hoc fit à
 principio hominibus,
 Dominos esse omni-
 um rerum ac mode-
 ratores Deos: eaq;
 quæ gerantur, eorum
 geriditione atq; nu-
 mine — Et qualis
 quisq; sit, quid agat,
 quid in se admittat,
 quâ mente, quâ pie-
 tate colat Religio-
 nem, intueri, Pio-
 rumq; & impiorum
 habere rationem, Ci-
 cero de leg. 2.



so much as to love or approve, or justify the obedient more than the rebellious: But so unholy a Nature, and so indif-
 ferent between sin and duty, and so unwise and unjust in go-
 verning, is not to be called God. Either he justly differenceth,
 or he doth not Govern.

That God maketh not a sufficient differencing Retribu-
 tion in this life, is the complaint of some, and the confession
 of almost all the World: The bad are commonly the greatest,
 and the Lords and Oppressors of the Just: The *Turks*, the
Tartarians, the *Moscovites*, the *Persians*, the *Mogull*, and more
 such brutish Monarchs, who use the people as the slaves of
 their pride and lust, do take up the far greatest part of the
 Earth. Few places are so good, where Goodness exposeth
 not men to sufferings, from the rabble of the vulgar, if not
 from the Governours; slanders and abuses are the common
 lot of those that will differ from the carnal, wilde, rebellious
 Rout. And poverty, pain, sickness, and death, do come alike
 to all. The sensual, that have wit enough, so far to bridle
 their lusts, as to preserve their health, do usually live longer
 than more obedient men: And they deny themselves none
 of those fleshly pleasures, which the obedient do continually
 abstain from.

Obj. But do you not ordinarily say, that Vice brings its
 punishment with it in its natural effects? and Obedience its
 Reward? Is not the life of a Glutton and Drunkard punished
 by poverty, and shame, and sickness? And is not Godliness a
 pleasure in it self? If it be our highest end and Happiness to
 love God and please him, then sure the beginnings of it here,
 must have more good, than all the pleasures of sin? and so God
 maketh a sufficient difference here.

Ans. Some Vices that are sottishly managed, do bring
 poverty, shame and sickness: but that may easily be avoided
 by a vicious wit: Gluttony and drunkenness may fall short
 of sicknesses. Fornication and adultery and incest may be
 managed with greater craft. Pride and ambition may at-
 tain dominion and wealth: Theft may be hid, and cheating
 and fraud may make men rich, and free them from the pinch-
 ing wants, and cares, and the temptations to discontent
 and contention, of the poor. Malice may delight it self
 in secret revenges, in poysonings, in murderings, and such like,
 with-

without any worldly hurt to the transgressor. A *Tiberius*, a *Nero*, a *Caligula*, a *Domitian*, a *Commodus*, a *Heliogabalus*, a *Sardanapalus*, may be on the Throne, when a *Socrates*, a *Seneca*, a *Cicero*, a *Cato*, a *Demosthenes* is put to death; yea, when a *Paul* or *Peter*, an *Ignatius*, a *Cyprian*, are sacrificed to their bloody rage.

Yet it is true, that all this while they want the dignity and comfort of the Just: But while they *value* it not, and *feel* not the want of it, they take it not for a punishment, but choose it as a felicity.

And as for the present Rewards of Virtue, to speak impartially, I verily think that if there *were* no life to come, Virtue and Holiness were rationally more eligible: But that is much because *God is an End above our selves!* And for *our own content*, in many, Holiness would give the minde more pleasure, than all fleshly pleasure, and worldly greatness could counterpoise. But with many others, whose afflictions are very heavy, and pains and poverty very great, and who are grievously tormented by cruel persecutors; and perhaps a Melancholy constitution may forbid them much delight, it is hard to say, that if they durst let loose themselves to all sin, which maketh for their fleshly interest, their Pleasure would not be much greater. While the Soul is in flesh, it unavoidably partaketh of the pain or pleasure of the flesh: Therefore the torment of the Scourge, or Strangury, or of a Rack or Strappado will reach the Soul: And the operations of the Soul being in and by the body, a tormented body will hinder those Contemplations which should feed our Joy, and also hinder the Joy of those Contemplations: Most Christians enjoy little comfort in Holiness, through the very cares of this life, and the weakness of Grace, and power of Corruptions, and doubts and fears which do attend them: Much less would they have much comfort, if they were here tormented, and miserable in body, and had no hope of another life. In some sense we may say, that Heaven is begun on Earth, because Holiness is begun: But the Heaven on Earth is the hope and reflection of the Heaven indeed, and is soon gone if that be gone, as the light here beareth when the Sun is set: God seen and loved in a glass doth more differ as to us from God as seen and loved in the imitation of

That there is a Life of Retribution after this.

his Glory, than the heart of man is now able to conceive. The difference may be well called specifical as to our actions, yea transcendently such. Let any man in torment without any hope of Heaven be Judge.

And though Honestly without the Pleasure and Comforts of it, be still *better* and more eligible, yet while mans Reason and Virtue is so *weak*, and his sense and appetite so strong, and his body hath so much power upon his minde, it is very few that the meer Love of Virtue would prevail with, if that Virtue were never to come to a higher degree than this.

It is undoubtedly true, that the Delights of Holiness, are incomparably more desireable, as we have them in this life, than Kingdoms and all the pleasures of the flesh: But that is principally because that this life is the passage to a better, and hath relation to so glorious a reward: The least forethought of future Blessedness, may weigh down all the riches and pleasures of the World. But take away the respect to the life to come, and weak man would meet with no such comforts.

It is true also, that Virtue and Piety is most desirable even for it self: But that is especially as it will be *it self* indeed, in a life of fuller *perfection* than this: For here it is so weak, and clogged with so many corruptions, and infirmities, that the comfort of it is little perceived: But as a Childe in infancy hath less pleasure than a Bruite, for all his Reason; and as young Scholars for a time, do meet with more trouble than pleasure in their Learning, and half-witted Artists are oft more incommodious than none; and no one would much seek after Arts or Learning for all its excellency, if they had not hopes to ascend above that troublesome smattering degree: Even so in the present Case, though the least Virtue be in it self more valuable than all sensual pleasure, yet considered as *Good to us*, we should never be able to preferre it, if we had not hopes of a higher measure, than most of the truly virtuous and obedient, do here attain.

Either it is fleshly, worldly pleasure; or it is the pleasing and enjoying of God in Holiness and Love; which is Mans ultimate end. If it be the former, then certainly the sensual and wicked are in a better condition than the obedient: For they have much more of that kind of delight; while the

the best are oft tormented and persecuted by their cruelty. But if it be the *latter*, then it is sure to be enjoyed hereafter, seeing we have here so small a measure, and also finde that all the Virtue and Holiness of this life, consisteth much more in *desire*, and *seeking*, than in *delightfull* enjoying: And our *Delights* are for the most part, the effects of *Hope*, of what we shall possess hereafter, more than of the sense of our present happiness.

There is no righteous Governour on Earth, that will suffer (if he can help it) his disobedient Subjects to persecute those that most carefully obey him, and to make them a common scorn, and to imprison them, torment them, burn them at Stakes, or banish them, and then say, That their obedience is in its own nature so much better than disobedience, that it is Reward enough of it self. It is not the work of a Ruler only to see that no man be a loser by him or his service in point of commutative Justice; but to see that by distributive Justice such a difference be made between the obedient and disobedient, as the difference of their actions do require, in order to the ends of Government. Justice giveth every one his due. Mercy it self when it remitteth a penalty, doth it for the same ends, and upon such reasonable considerations of repentance, confession, satisfaction, reparation, (according to power) that it may be called a *Just Mercy*: God is such a Lover of Holiness, that he will in his Government *manifest* that Love; and such a hater of sin that he will *signifie* his hatred of it to the *sinner*.

Moreover, the Body it self is part of the Man, and that part which hath no small interest in the sin: It seemeth therefore unjust that the *Bodies and sensitive* powers of the disobedient should have all kinde of pleasures, and the *Bodies and sense* of the obedient have the pain of Fasting, self-denial, persecutions, cruelties, and no further Judgement to make a more equal Retribution.

In a word, I think there are few that compare the life of an Emperour of *Turkie*, or *Tartary*, or any wicked sensual Worldling, with the life of many a thousand persecuted and tormented Saints, but will confess, that no Distributive Justice doth make in this life, so sufficient a difference, as may make men know the Justice of the Governour, the

Animus est ingeneratus à Deo, ex quo verè vel agnatio nobis cum consensibus vel genus vel stirps appellari possit. Cicero 1. de Legib.

Quum Pompeio res infeliciter cederent, & ad Cæsarem inclinaret victoria, Cato dicebat, in rebus Divinis multum esse caliginis; quod Pompeio præter jus agentis fuissent omnia prospera; causam reipublicæ tuenti nihil succederet. Plutarch. in Catone.

Plato dicebat, Deum nullo usquam modo injustum esse sed planè justissimum: Nec ei similis inveniri posse quicquam, quam qui inrer nos justissimus est. Is. Thaci.

How like a Christian was that of Anaxagoras, in Laert. p. 87. Nic non modo generis gloria & opibus, verum animi quoque magnitudine clarissimus fuit: Quippe qui universum patrimonium suis sponte concessit. Quo cum ab eis infimularetur negligentia, Quid ergo, inquit, nomine vos ista curatis? Deinde ab eis profectus, ad spectandum rerum naturam se contulit, rei & publicæ & privatæ omnino negligens; adeo ut euidam se ita compellenti, Nullane tibi Patriæ cura est? dixerit, Mihi vero patriæ cura est, & quidem summa; digitum in cælum intendens. Bene merenti, bene profuerit; male merenti par erit. Plant. Τὸς ἀγαθὸς ἀγαθὰ ποιεῖ, dictum Cleobuli. Phocilidis. Μὰ καὶ εὖ ἔχουσιν ὁμοίαν ἰσὺν ἔς τὸ πένος. Qui indignum honore afficiunt, stultitiz opinionem habent. Sic.

desirableness of a holy state, or the danger of the contrary: it was the observation of this that made most of the Atheists of the world think, that there was no God, or that he exercised no moral Government over men: and that made even the innocent often to stagger, and tempted them to think their labours and sufferings were all in vain, till they look'd before them to the end.

And if God's Justice make not a sufficient difference here, it is certain that there is *another* life where he will do it; because else he should not be just, his Laws would be delusory, and his Government would be defective, and successful only by deceit.

Obj. "God is not obliged to do Justice to men any more than to any other creatures: he suffereth the Dog to kill the Hare, the Deer, and innocent Sheep; the Kite to kill the harmless Doves and Chickens; the ravenous Birds, and Beasts, and Fishes, to devour and live upon the rest; and Man upon all: and he is not bound to do them Justice."

Ans. The Bruits are no subjects capable of *moral Government*, and consequently of *Propriety*, of *Right* or of *Wrong*. God that made them incapable of *Government*, thereby declared that he *intended* them not for it. Let no man here play with ambiguities, and say, that *God governeth all the creatures*. The word [*Government*] is taken equivocally, when it is applied to a dead or brutish subject, a Ship, a Coach, a Horse, a Dog; and meaneth not the same thing which we discourse of. It is *Moral Government* by Laws and Judgment which we treat of. When God had made Man a Governable Creature, he thereby declared his will to be himself his Governor, which is all the obligation that God is capable of, is to actions *ad extra*. He therefore that made the rational world his *Kingdom*, did thereby engage himself to govern them in Justice: there is therefore no comparison between the case of men and bruits, who never were subjects, but *utensils* in his Kingdom.

§. 2. II. *If there were no retribution in the life to come, the secret sins and duties of the heart and life would be under no sufficient Government. But the secret sins and duties of the heart and life are under a sufficient Government: Therefore there is a Retribution in the life to come.*

This Argument is a particular instance, to clear the former general Argument. The Major is proved by experience; the Heart is the Fountain of Good and Evil, man cannot see it, and therefore pretendeth not to govern it, or make Laws for it; if they did, it would be all in vain. The heart may be guilty of Atheism, Blasphemy, Idolatry, Malice, Contrivements, and desires of Treason, Murder, Incest, Adultery, Fraud, Oppression, and all the Villany in the world, and no man can know or punish it: and God doth not do it ordinarily in this life, with any sufficient act of Justice. So also all those sins which men are but able to hide, as secret Murders, Treasons, Revenge, Slanders, Fraud, &c. do escape all punishment from man. And God hath no observable ordinary course of outward Justice in this world, but what he exerciseth by men, (though extraordinarily he sometime otherwise interpose.) And how easie and ordinary it is for subtil men to do much wickedness, and never be discovered, needs no proof. The like we may say in some measure of those *secret duties* of heart and life, which have neither reward nor notice in this life, and if observed, are usually turned into matter of reproach.

The Minor needeth no more proof, when we have proved already that God is our Governour: It is certain, that the secret acts of heart and life are as much under his government as the open, and therefore shall have equal retribution.

§. 3. III. *If there were no life of retribution after this, the sins of the Great ones and Rulers of the world, and all others, that by strength could make their part good, would be under no sufficient Justice. But the sins even of the greatest and strongest are under sufficient justice: Therefore there is a life of retribution after this.*

The Major is clear by experience: The sins of all the Sovereigns of the earth are rarely under sufficient justice in this life. If there were no punishment hereafter, what justice would be done upon a *Tamerlan*, a *Bajazet*, a *Mahumed*, a *Dionysius*, an *Alexander*, a *Cesar*, a *Marius*, a *Sylla*, a *Sertorius*, and many hundred such, for all the innocent blood which they have shed, for their pride and self-exalting. What justice would be done on Kings, and Emperours, and States, that have none above them, for all their lusts and filthiness,

Qui largiuntur indignis ea quæ dignis conferri debebant, tris committunt absurdas, nam & ipsi jacturam faciunt, & in bonos contumeliosi sunt, & malos roborant, materia viciarum suppeditant. Ariston.

Stultissimum est existimare omnia justæ esse quæ scita sunt in populorum institutis, aut legibus. Eriam si quæ sint Tyrannorum leges, si 30 illi Athenis leges imponere voluissent? aut si omnes Athenienses delectarentur tyrannicis legibus, num idcirco hæ leges justæ haberentur? Nihil credo magis illa quàm interrex noster tulit, ut Dictator quem vellent civium, indicta causa, impune posset occidere. Est enim unum jus quod devincta est hominum societas, &c. Cic. de leg. 1. p. 229. Idem undique in infernum descensus est; said Anaxagoras to one that lamented that he must die in a strange Country. Laert. in Anax. g.

Næ illi falsi sunt qui diversissimas res pariter expectant, voluptatem & præmia virtutis. *Sen. u. l.*

Ut ex barba capillos detonsos negligimus; ita ille divinis animos egressurus, quo receptaculum suum conferatur, ignis illud exurat, an feræ distrahant, an terra contegat, non magis putat ad se pertinere, quam secundinas ad editum infantem. *Sen. ep. 93.*

Maximum est argumentum naturam ipsam de immortalitate animorum tacite judicare, quod omnibus curæ sint, & maxime quidem, quæ post mortem futura sunt. *Cic.*

Cum natura cæteros animantes abjecisset, ad pastum, solum hominem erexit, & ad cæli quasi cognationis domiciliique pristini conspectum excitavit. Tum speciem ira formavit oris, ut in eâ penitus reconditos mores effingeret. *Cic. 1. de legib.*

thiness, their intemperance and sensuality, their oppression and cruelty? I know that God doth sometimes punish them by Rebels, or by other Princes, or by sickness in this life: but that is no ordinary course of justice, and therefore not sufficient to its ends: Ordinarily all things here come alike to all. And what justice would be done upon any Rebels or Robbers that are but strong enough to bear it out? Or upon any that raise unrighteous Wars, and burn, and murder, and destroy Countries and Cities, and are worse than plagues to all places where they come, and worse than mad dogs and bears to others? If they do but conquer, instead of punishment for all this villany, they go away here with wealth and glory.

The Minor is past question: Therefore certainly there is another life, where conquering, rewarded, prospering, domineering sin shall have its proper punishment.

§. 4. IV. *If God rule not man by the hopes and fears of certain Good and Evil hereafter, he ruleth him not according to his Nature: But God doth rule man according to his Nature: Ergo.*

The Minor needeth no proof: The Major is proved by experience: The nature of man is to be most moved with the hopes and fears of Good and Evil after death: Otherwise death it self would comparatively seem nothing to us. No other creature hath such hopes and fears: If you ask, how I can tell that? I answer, as I can tell that a Tree doth not hear, and a Stone doth not feel or see, because there is no appearance of such a sense, whose nature is to make it self manifest by its evidences where it is: Bruits shew a fear of death, and love of life, but of nothing further; of which there is evidence enough to quiet a mind that seeketh after truth, though not to silence a prating caviller. This will be further improved under that which followeth.

§. 5. V. *If the world cannot be governed according to its nature, and God's Laws, without the hopes and fears of Good and Evil after death, then the objects of such hopes and fears is certain truth. But the Antecedent is true: Therefore so is the Consequent.*

That the nature of man requireth a Moral Government, and not only a Physical motion, is already proved. Physical motion only determineth the agent to act, and produceth
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the act it self *quoad eventum*. Moral Government doth institute for the subject a *debitum agendi, & habendi*, and judgeth him accordingly. If there were no Government but Physical motion, there were no *debitum* in the world, neither *officii, pramii vel pænæ, vel jus possidendi, vel injuria*: no right or wrong. For Physical motion doth equally produce the act in perjury, murder, treason, adultery, as in good deeds: and it never produceth an act which eventually never is: Therefore there should be nothing a *Duty* but what cometh to pass, if Physical motion were all the Government. Government then there must be; and what God requireth of all by nature I have shewed before. Now that there is a moral impossibility of the performance of this in any sincerity, so as to intimate any laudible Government of the world, I shall further prove.

1. If according to the present temper of man, there be no *motives*, which would ever prove sufficient to resist all the temptations of this life, to keep us in true obedience and love to God, unto the end, without the hopes and fears of Good and Evil after death; then cannot the world be governed according to God's Laws, without such hopes and fears of futurity. But the Antecedent is true: *Ergo*, so is the consequent.

If God had prescribed man a course of duty in his Laws, (as to obey and love him upon terms of fleshly suffering) and had not given man such motives as might rationally prevail for the performance; his Laws had been all in vain. He that hath made Holiness our indispensable duty, hath certainly left us motives and rational helps to perform it. But so many and great are the temptations of this life, and so strong is our sense, and so great are the sufferings of the obedient, that in this our imperfection we could never go through them, without the motives which are fetch'd from another life. 1. It would weaken the hands of the *best*, as to their duty, it would embolden them to sin, it would give victory to all strong temptations. Let every Reader but consult with his own soul, and (though it be granted that virtue *should* be chosen for its own sake, how dear soever it may cost, yet) let him without lying say, what he thinketh he should be and do in case of temptations, if he knew that he had no life to live but this.

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Piso in Cic. de Sen.
l. 5. p. 199. Speaking
of corporal and sensu-
ative good; *scilicet*,
Quibus tantum præ-
stat Mentis excellens
perfectio, ut vix col-
ligari possit quid in-
terferat. So that the
perfection of the Mind
is the perfection of the
Man.

Ex ipsa vici discedi-
mus tanquam ex ho-
spitio, non tanquam
ex domo: Commo-
randi enim nobis na-
tura diversorium,
non habitandi do-
mum dedit. Cic. in
Cat. Maj.

Atque haud scio an
pietas adversus Deos
sublata, fides etiam
& societas humani
generis & una excel-
lentissima virtus ju-
sticia tollatur. Cic. de
Nat. Deor. p. 4.

Pietas est fundamen-
tum omnium virtutu-
rum. Cic. pro Plan.

Zenophon reports
Cyrus as saying, If
all my familiars were
endued with piety to
God, they would do
less evil to one an-
other, and to me. 1. 8.
Pietate adversus De-
os sublata, fides etiam
& societas humani
generis, & una ex-
cellentissima virtus
justitia, tollatur ne-
cesse est. Cic. de Nat.
Deor. l. 1.

Lento gradu ad vin-
dictam sui, Divina
procedit ira: tandi-
tareque supplicii
gravitate compensat.
Valer. Max. de Dio-
nys. l. 1. c. 3.

I am not sure, but I will freely confess what I think most
that now are honest would be and do. First, They would
observe how little difference God maketh between the ob-
edient and disobedient in his providence, and how ordina-
rily his present judgements are not much to be feared. And
hence they would think, that he maketh no great matter of
it, what they either are or do: and so their very love of
Virtue would be much debilitated: Nay, the sufferings of the
virtuous would tempt them to think, that it is no very de-
sirable way: and though still they would have something
within them, which would tell them, that honesty, and
temperance, and piety are good; yet the natural love of them-
selves is so deeply planted in them, and so powerful, that in
most great temptations it would prevail. They would re-
sist upon lying and perjury, rather than lose their liberty, or
livelihood, or reputation. They would do any thing which
the Rulers bid them, or any one that is stronger than they,
rather than suffer much for their innocency. I think they
would not scramble much for riches, or high places, be-
cause a quiet life best pleaseth them; but if they had a way
to any delightful seat, or pleasant accommodation, they
would stretch their consciences hard to get it: And to escape
poverty, and suffering, and death, they would do I know
not what. And if their interest required them to do another
mischief, in order to the publick good, (for revenge I suppose
them not much enclined to) they would be as Brutus, and
would be confident of the success of subtil and concealed con-
terprises: they would no further resist any great temptation
to please their appetites in meats and drinks; or their lust,
in lust, or ease, and sports, and gaming, and such vain pa-
ssimes, than some other carnal interest contradicting did forbid
them. And though naturally some men prefer knowledge
before all worldly pleasures, yet considering how short a time
they should be the better for it, and how many restless
hours they must lay out for it, they would rather let it go
and take up with the ease and pleasure of the flesh. Third
fear, would be their life; for when all the comforts of this
life of flesh are laid in the one end of the ballance, what should
weigh them down but something greater? So that if some
little restraint of will any might be made by former custom, I
appeal

appeal to the conscience of the Reader, whether he thinks, that the fore-proved duties of *Resignation, Obedience, and Love to God* above all, would ever be performed (by any considerable number at least) if they knew that they had no life to live but this.

2. Yea, no tolerable Government at all could be kept up, (I speak not of God's Physical motion by Omnipotency.) For, 1. The *Rulers* of the world, that have *none above them* would have little or no restraint; and *their examples* would form the *people* to all abomination. If they feared insurrections, they would oppress them the more to disable them. And what a world must it be, when *Lust* is the *Law* to all the *Governours*? And the *people* would have nothing but the hopes and fears of temporal good or evil, to restrain them from any *Treason or Rebellion or villany*. And all those that *Princes* cannot please, would plot, revenge or play their game another way: and subtil men would think it easie to poison or murder secretly *Princes and Nobles*, and any *enemy* that stood in the way of their own designs, if once they were out of fear of a life to come.

3. And all secret villany would be committed without fear: (secret adulteries, theft, lying, perjury) and common honesty could not be maintained; for every man's self-interest would be his *Law*, and prevail against all the principles of honesty. And all that men would strive for, would be either to strengthen themselves in their wickedness, that they might be out of fear of humane Justice; or else to hide it from the cognisance of man: Thus would the world be turned into a resemblance of Hell, and men be as much worse than wild beasts, as their natures were better which are corrupted, and all would be in wickedness and confusion, without the hopes and fears of another life.

Obj. But in all this you argue against experience: Hath there not been Government and order kept up among Heathens? and is there not a Government at this day in all the Kingdoms and Common-wealths throughout the world?

Ans. In all this I speak according to experience: For, 1. Almost all the world believe a life to come: all the *Christians*, all the *Mahometans*, and all the *Jews*, and almost all or most of the known *Idolaters and Heathens*: their very

Nam quid faciet
homo in rebus
qui nihil timet nisi
sestom vel judicem?
Quid in deserto loco
nactus quon multo
auro spoliare possit
imbecillum auge to-
lum? &c. Cic. de leg.
1. pag. 214.

*A fortnight after the
writing of this Lon-
don was burnt.*

Qui nihil alterius
causa facit, & meti-
tur suis commodis
omnia, videtur credo
quid sit acturus—
si negabit illi vitam
erepturum, & aurum
ablatum, non quod
turpe judicet, sed
quod metuat ne ema-
ner, id est, ne malum
falsum. Cic. ibid.
Thales dicta in hoc.
Sic, Animas esse im-
mortalis. Antiquissi-
mum omnium en-
clium Deo: Ingenius
enim est Pulcherr-
imum, mundus: &
Deo enim factus:
Maximus locus: &
est enim omnia: & de-
locutione: & de-
nati per 2. & de-
discurrit, &c.

Stoici dicunt esse
Dæmones quibus in-
sit hominum misera-
tio, inspectores re-
rum humanarum :
Heroes quoque solu-
tas corporibus sapi-
entum animas.
Laert. in Zenone.

Idolatry intimateth this, when they number their deceased Heroes with their gods. And though the power of this belief is debilitated with the most, (and therefore piety and virtue proportionably perisheth) yet that common dull belief of it which they have, being in a business of unspeakable consequence, doth restrain them so far as they are restrained.

2. Those that believe it not, are yet in an *uncertainty*; and the possibility of rewards and punishments hereafter, keepeth up much of the order that is left.

3. Those few Countries which believe that there is no life to come, (or rather those *persons* in some Countries) do proportionably increase or excel in wickedness : they give up themselves to sensuality and lusts, to pride, and covetousness, and revenge, and cruelty ; and are usually worse than others, as their belief is worse ; what maketh Cannibals more savage than other people ? What made a *Nero*, a *Helio-gabalus*, &c. such swine ? what made *Rome* it self at that pass, that *Seneca* saith, more died by poison of servants hands, (and secret murders) than by Kings : (even in days of such great and common cruelty.) All was, because mens consciences were from under the hopes and fears of another life : and if all were so, then all would live accordingly.

But it is another kind of life which the Law of God in Nature doth enjoin us ; it is another kind of life, which I before proved to be all mens duty : and whether the world have sufficient means and motives to *such* a life, and could be governed but like men, without the hopes and fears of futurity, let sober and considerate reason judge ?

Obj. Can it be any worse then it is already ? what vice or villany doth not every where abound, for all the belief of a life to come ?

Ans. If it be so bad for all that belief, what would it be without ? if the enervating of it by the lusts of the flesh do loose the reins, and leave the world in so much wickedness, what would it be if their hopes and fears of another life were gone ? Now men have a secret witness in their breasts, which checketh and restraineth them : Now they have Kings and Rulers, who having some belief of a life to come, do form their Laws accordingly, and govern the common people with some respect to that belief. Now there are many

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Qui ea committit
quæ leges prohibent,
& de quibus suppli-
cia sunt, is ea multo
magis committet, de
quibus nullum sup-
plicium est. *Aristot.*

1. *Met.*

Obj. At non apud
omnes proficiunt le-
ges.

Resp. Nec philoso-
phia quidem ; nec
ideo inutilis & for-
mandis animis ineffi-
cax est. *Sen. ep. 95.*

(through the mercy of God) who are serious in that belief, and live accordingly ; who are instructors, restraints and examples to the rest. And from these is that order which is kept up in the world : But if all were as those few, that have overcome this belief, the world would be a Wilderness of savage Beasts, and would be so full of impiety, villany, perfidiousness, bloodiness, and all confusion, that we should think it a greater sign of goodness in God to destroy it, than to continue it ; and should think of his Government according to the effects, or should hardly believe he govern'd it at all.

I come now to prove the consequence of the Major Proposition, that *the object* of those hopes and fears are certain truths, which are so necessary to the government of the world : and this needeth no other proof but this.

If God can govern the world without a course of deceit and lying, then the objects of these necessary hopes and fears are true : But God can govern the world without a course of deceit and lying : *Ergo*.

The Major is evident, because to govern by the hopes and fears of falsehoods, or things that are not, (when those hopes and fears are not only of God, but made necessary to Government) is to govern by deceit and lying : or if it had not been by falsehood uttered, but falsehood permitted, the Minor is certain.

For if God cannot govern without such a course of deceit, it is either for want of *Power*, or of *Wisdom*, or of *Goodness* ; that is, *Holiness*, and *Benignity* of Will. But the Omnipotent wanteth not Power, and the Omniscient wanteth not Wisdom, to find out true and suitable means ; and he that is *Optimus*, wanteth neither *Holiness* to love truth and hate falsehood, nor *Benignity* to love his Creature : and therefore needeth no such means.

And he that believeth that God himself doth govern the world by a cheat, even by the hopes and fears of fictions, will sure think it best to imitate his God, and to govern, and trade, and live accordingly.

This argument was *à necessitate ad ordinem*, the next shall be only from God's actual government.

§. 6. VI. If God do de facto govern the world by the hopes and fears of Good and Evil in another Life, then the object of those

utiles esse has opiniones quis neget, cum intelligat quam multa firmetur iurando : quantum salutis sint fœdera religionis ; quam multos divini supplicii metus, à scelere revocaret ; quamque sancta sit societas civium, inter ipsos Dii immortalibus interpositis, cum iudiciis, tum testibus.

Cic. de leg. 2. p. 136, 137.

Nisi Deus istis corporis custodiis liberaverit, ad cælum aditus patere non potest. Cic. Somn. Scip.

Laetius saith of Bion Borist. That he had learned of impious Theodorus to deny God, in his health; but falling into unhealthfulness he repented of his sin against God. Ac si quidem id dogma tueri perstitisset, merito dicendus esset sensibile ut visum fugisset, etsi male visum esset. At nunc tamen longo morbo tabescens, ac mori pertimescens, qui Deos non esse dixerat, phanum non viderat, mortalius qui illudebat veris dum diis immolarent — Peccavi dixit, delictis partice — Stultus qui mercede voluerit Deos esse. Quasi tunc Di essent, quum illos non demum esse arbitratetur.

these hopes and fears is certain: But God doth de facto govern: Ergo.

The Major is proved as before: for that which proved that God can govern without falshood, proved also that he doth govern without it. It belongeth only to the Impotent, the Ignorant, or the Bad to use such means.

Obj. May not a Parent or Physician honestly deceive a Child or Patient for his recovery to health? why then may not God do so?

Ans. 1. They do it through insufficiency to attain their end by a better means: but the Omnipotent and Omniscient hath no such insufficiency. 2. They may not lie or utter any untruth to do it, though they may hide some truth by words which he is apt to mistake. But if the world be governed by such hopes and fears of futurity, it is hard to think whence they should fetch the object, but from some divine revelation in nature. 3. A whole course of Government of all the rational world, by so sorry an instrument as deceit and falshood, is more inconsistent with the nature and perfections of God, than a particular act of deceit in a work of necessity and charity is with the nature of imperfect man.

The Minor is proved in the answer to the last objection, and by the common experience of the world.

Obj. How little doth the hopes and fears of another world do with the most? Do you not see that fleshly interest ruleth them, and therefore they are what the Great ones would have them be, who can help or hurt them?

Ans. 1. I have proved how much worse it would be that restraint which these hopes and fears make were taken off. 2. That this restraint is general in all Nations almost of the earth, though the prevalency of sin do much enfeeble it. 3. That Rulers themselves are under some of these restraints, in their Law-making and Judgement. Though fleshly interest much prevail against it, there are some remnants of secret hopes or fears in the consciences of rulers, which keep up so much good as is yet left, and keep men from those villanies, in which they might hope to escape all sufferings from men.

S. 7. VII. If God himself kindle in the best of men desires to know him, love him, and enjoy him perfectly hereafter, then such

such desires shall attain their end: But God himself doth kindle such desires in the best of men: Ergo—And consequently there is such a Life to come.

Here 1. I must prove that the best men have such desires: 2. That God kindleth them: 3. That therefore he will satisfy them.

1. And for the first, the Consciences of all Good men are my witnesses; whose desires to know God better, to love him and please him more, and to enjoy his Love, is as the very pulse and breath of their souls. For this they groan, and pray, and seek; for this they labour, wait and suffer: If you could help them to more of the Knowledge and Love of God, you would satisfy them more than to give them all the wealth and honours of the World. Their Religious lives, their labours, prayers, contemplations, and sufferings, prove all this, and shew for what they long and live.

“*Obj.* But this is caused by the power of a deluded fancy, which seeketh after that which is not to be had: “What if you fall in Love with the Sun? Will it prove, that “you must be loved by it, see it and enjoy it, in the life to “come?”

Ans. 1. To the similitude: Either the Sun is a rational free Agent, or not. If it be, it is either the chief Agent, or a dependent Instrument: If it were the first (as it is not) I should owe my self totally to it, in the exercise of all the powers given me, as is aforesaid: And if it gave me such Desires, I might suppose it was not in vain. But if it give me nothing but as an Instrument or dependent Cause, I owe it nothing but in subserviency to the first Cause: But in such subserviency, if God had commanded me to love and honour it, as a Lover of Mankind, and a Rational Benefactor, and had placed any of my duty or felicity, in seeking perfection in that love and honours, I should obey him, and expect an answerable benefit: But if it be no intelligent Agent, or I cannot know that it is so, then I can owe it no other respect but what is due to a natural Instrument of God.

2. To the matter: That these desires are not from a deluded fancy, but the work of God I prove: 1. In that I have fully proved them already to be natural, by the

For as the Sun is not seen without the Sun, nor the Aire heard without the Air, but the Eye that is full of the light, seeth the light, and the Ear full of air heareth the resounding air: So God is not known without God: but a mind full of God only, is lifted up to God, so far as is illumined with the light of God, he knoweth God, and is filled with the beat of God he himself after him. Ficin. c. 2. p. 15.

It is a most improbable thing, that God would give up all the best men in the World to deceit, in so great a matter, and them that are most faithful to the Truth, and would save all the Epicures, Brunhards, Fornicators, proud and perjured Atheists, from this error, if it were an error, to believe a life to come.

Οὐδὲ σέβει, καὶ παρ-
τα πρᾶξις εὐδίας.
Gr. Com.

Supplicii facilius pias
a Diis supplicans

Quam qui scelestus
est, invenit veniam
sibi. *Plaut. Rud.*

Τὸν χρεῖων ἔχει
τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ
Θεός.

Ἐν παντὶ Καίρον,
καὶ τύχης ῥοπλὴν
αἶσαν. *Memor.*

Nec unquam Bono
quicquam mali evenire
potest, nec vivo
nec mortuo, nec res
ejus a Diis negli-
guntur. *Cicero Tus-
cul. 1.*

Law of Nature: To love God with all the heart and might, and consequently to *desire* to love him, and please him, and enjoy him in perfection, that is in the utmost of our capacity, is a proved duty. 2. In that the Best men are the possessors of it; And the more all other Virtues and Obedience do abound, the more this aboundeth. And the more any are vicious, impious, sensual, worldly, the less they have of these desires after God. 3. They encrease in the use of holy means appointed by God: and they decay by evil means. All sin is against it, and all obedience doth promote it. 4. It is found most suitable to the tendency of our faculties, as their only perfection: The only true advancement of Reason, and rectitude and felicity of the Will. If it be not by God, that the Love and Desires of God are kindled in us, then no good is to be ascribed unto God: For we have here no greater good.

Now that God will *satisfie* these desires is proved; In that he maketh nothing in vain, nor kindleth any such desires as shall deceive them, and make all *their lives* a meer delusion. Yea, and do this by the very best of men. None of this is consistent with the perfections of God.

§. 8. VIII. *If there were no life of Retribution after this, Obedience to God would be finally mens loss and ruine: But Obedience to God shall not be finally mens loss and ruine: Ergo, there is another Life—*

The Major is proved before: However it would be lost in point of Honesty, it would be worst to thousands in point of personal *Utility*. Even to all those that forsaking all the sinfull pleasures of this World, do conflict with their flesh, and keep it under, and suffer the loss of all outward comforts by the cruelty of Persecutors, and it may be through melancholy or weak fears, have little comfort from God instead of them; and at last perhaps be tormented and put to death by cruelty. Few will think this desirable for it self.

And that our Obedience to God shall not be mens *final* loss and ruine, needeth no proof but this; that he hath made our *self-love* a Principle inseparable from our nature, and maketh use of it in the Government of the World; and com-

commandeth nothing but what is finally for our good ; and so conjoyneth the pleasing of him and our own felicity inseparably in our end : His Regiment is paternal, His Glory which he seeketh by us, is the Glory of his Goodness communicated and accumulated on us. This taken in with the Wisdom and Goodness of his Nature, will tell any man, that to be a *loser* finally by our Obedience to God, is a thing that no man need to fear : He doth not serve himself upon us to our hurt ; nor command us that which will undo us. He neither wanteth Power, Wisdom, nor Goodness, to make us gainers by our duty. It is the desire of natural Justice in all, *ut bonis bene sit, & malis male* : If I finde but any duty commanded me by God, my Conscience and my sense of the Divine perfections, will not give me leave to think that I shall ever prove finally a loser by performing it, though he had never made me any promise of reward : so far the Law of Nature hath a kinde of Promise in it, that if he do but say, Do this, I will not doubt but the doing of it is for my good ! And if he bid me but use any means to my own happiness, I should blaspheme if I suspected it would tend to my loss and misery, and was made my snare.

§. 9. IX. *The biggest Love and Obedience to God, is never a work of imprudence or folly, nor ever to be Repented of: But such they would be to many, if there were no life to come : Ergo—*

By imprudence and folly, I mean that course which tendeth to our own undoing as aforesaid : No man shall ever have cause to repent of his fidelity to God, and say, I did foolishly in ruining my self by it. This argument being but a meer confectary of the former, I pass over.

§. 10. X. *If no man living be certain that there is no future life of Retribution, then it is certain that there is such a life: But no man living is certain that there is no such life: Ergo, it is certain that there is.*

The Major is proved thus: If all men be in Reason obliged to seek the happiness and escape the punishments of another life, before all the treasures and pleasures of this World, then it is certain that such a Life of happiness and punishments there is: But if no man be certain, that there is no such life, the bare probability or possibility that there is such, doth in reason oblige

Sicut non potest quicquam ignis propinquatione fieri frigidissimum, ita non potest homo quia solus haret Deo sapientissimo, beatissimoque stultissimus ex hoc, miserrimusque evadere: Neque potest Deus qui summa veritas & bonitas est, humanum genus, prolem suam decipere. *Marfil. Ficin. de Rel. Coris. 6. s. p. 13.*

Aristo hoc unum tenuit, præter vitia atque virtutes negavit rem esse ullam aut fugiendam aut expectandam, *Piso in Cicer. de fin. l. 5. p. 103.*

Ea paranda viatico, quæ cum naufragio simul enatarent: ait Antisthenes in Laert. l. 6. c. 1.

Id ib. dixit, Eos qui cuperent immortales esse, oportere pietè vivere & justè.

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oblige all men to seek it, above all the World: Ergo, it is certain that such a life there is.

Dii boni! quid est in hominis vita diu? Mihi ne diuturnum quidem quicquam videtur, in quo est aliquid extremum. Cum enim id advenit, tum illud præterit, effluxit: Tantum remanet quod virtute & rectè factis sit consecutus. Horæ eundem cedunt, & dies, & menses, & anni, nec præteritum tempus unquam revertitur: nec quid sequatur sciri potest. Cicer. Cat. Maj.

Nemini explicatum potest esse, quomodo sese habiturum sit corpus, non dico ad annum, sed ad vesperrum, Cicer. 2. de fin.

Saith Plutarch, de Tranquil. Anim. Alexander wept because he was not Lord of the World; when Cræces having but a wallet and a shreadbare Cloak, spent his whole life in mirth and joy, as if it had been a continual Festival Day.

My argument is from our *Obligation to seek it before all*, to the *certain being of it*. 1. That no man is certain that there is no life to come, I need not prove, as long as no man ever proved such an opinion, and the boldest Atheists or Infidels say no more, than that they *think* there is no other life, but all confess that they have no assurance of it.

2. If so, then that the *possibility or probability* obligeth us to regard it in our *hopes, fears, and endeavours* before all this World, is evident from the incomparableness of them, or great disparity of the things. When *most* of the World think there *is another life*, and there is so much for it as we here lay down, and a few Atheists say only [we do not believe it, or it is not likely, though it be not a thing that we are certain of] now Reason commandeth every man that loveth himself, to prefer it before all earthly things. Because we are *fully certain* beyond all doubt, that all earthly things are of short duration, and will quickly leave us: and when they are gone, they are to us as if they had never been: They are a shadow, a dream, a something which is next to nothing: To say, It will shortly have an end, doth blot out the praise, and embitter the pleasures of all below. What the better are all generations past, for all the wealth and fleshly pleasures which they ever received in the World? There is no wise man, but would preferre the least probability of attaining full felicity, and escaping death and torments, before the certainty of possessing a pin or a penny for an hour. The disparity is much greater between things temporal and everlasting, than any such similitude can reach. All the Christians, and all the Mahometans, and most of the Heathens of the World do hold the Immortality of the Soul; and the perpetuity of the Happiness or misery hereafter: The Atheist is not sure of the contrary: and he is sure that a few years or hours will put an end to all his *temporal* pleasures, and equal those that lived here in pleasure and in pain: And therefore that at the worst his loss or hazard of the pleasures of sin for the hopes of eternal pleasure, is not a thing considerable: If those that dissent from him prove in the right, the sensual

list is utterly undone for ever: He must live in endless pain and misery, and must lose an endless unspeakable joy and glory which he might have possessed as well as others: But if he himself prove in the right, he gets nothing by it but the pleasing of inordinate concupiscence for a few years; and will die with as much emptiness of content as if he had lived in continual pain. Now this being the true case, no sober reason can deny, but that *wisdom* obligeth every man to labour for an *uncertain, endless Glory* with *Angels* more than for the certain pleasures of the World, which are of so short continuance; and to do more to scape *uncertain everlasting misery*, than a *certain trouble* to the flesh for so short a time: And thus a life of Godliness spent in seeking future Happiness, and in escaping future Punishment, is naturally made the *duty* of all men in the World.

“*Obj.* But you seem here to forget that you had before made Godliness to be a Mans loss and undoing, if so be there were no life to come? when now you make the loss and hurt to be as nothing.

Ans. 1. I spake before especially of those that suffer *persecution* for their fidelity: I speak here especially of all the multitude of the World, who get nothing but the pleasures of sin by their sensuality. 2. When I speak of all the pleasures, profits and honours of this World, and life it self as next to nothing, I do not say that they are *simply nothing*. They are *nothing* compared to everlasting Joy or Misery: But they are *something* to him that shall have no more: The ease and life of a poor Bird or Beast is naturally desirable to it: One of the best of Christians said, that *If in this life only we had hope in Christ, we were of all men most miserable*: and yet, that *The sufferings of this present time, are not worthy to be compared to the Glory which shall be revealed in us*. There is no contradiction between these two; that these short-lived pleasures are not worth one thought in comparison of the life to come: and yet that they would be considerable, if there were no other to be had and hoped for.

3. And now the consequence is proved in what is said before: If it should by common Reason and Nature be made *all mens duty* in the World, to seek to attain a happiness which is not to be attained, and to scape a misery which

Plato dixit suam esse, Deo similem fieri. Virtutem sufficere quidem ad bene beatumque vivendum; ceterum instrumentis indigere, corporis bonis, robore, sanitate, integritate sensuum & ceteris id genus: Exterioribus item, puta opibus, &c. Lat. in Platone.

Arbitratur & Deos humana cernere atque curare — & demones esse — Porro in Dialogis Justitiam, Divinam legem arbitrans est, ut ad justè agendum potentius suaderet, ne post mortem penas improbi lucrent. *Id. ibid.*

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never was or will be unto any, and this with the chief *care* and labour of their lives, then the whole life of Man should be vanity and a lie: Nature should have formed him for mere delusion; to tire him out in following that which is not: The World should not only be totally governed by deceit, but formed principally for such a life: And whereas indeed it is the *Worldling* that pursueth vanity, and spendeth his life in a dream or *shew*; this opinion would make men *wisdom, and honesty, and piety*, to be the vanity, dream and shew. But none of this can be imputed to the most wise and gracious God: He need not set up a false, deceitfull hope or fear before his Creatures to keep them in obedience; nor hath he appointed their lives for so vain a work.

Abeunt omnia unde orta sunt. Cicer. Cato Maj. Boni viri sunt Deorum simulachra. Diogen. in Laert.

Surely if the world was made for Man, then Man was made for more than the world. Du-Plessis Verit. Christ, Relig. Præfat.

§. II. XI. If the perfection of mans faculties to which Nature formed him, be not attained in this life, then is there another life where it is to be attained. But the Antecedent is true: Ergo, so is the Consequent.

The reason of the consequence is, because God who maketh nothing in vain, made not man in vain, nor his natural inclination to his own perfection. His will is signified by his works: As a man that makes a *knife, or sword, or gun, or ship*, doth tell you what he maketh it for, by the usefulness and form of it; so when God made man with faculties fitted to *know* him, and *love* him, he shewed you that he made him for that use, and that therein he would employ him.

Obj. It would perfect the wit of a Brute if it were raised as high as a Mans; and yet it followeth not, that so it shall be.

Ans. I deny the antecedent: It would not perfect him in his kinde, but make him another thing of another kinde. Man is more than a perfect Brute, and a Brute is not an imperfect man: But I speak of perfecting man in his own kinde, according to his Nature.

Obj. A Chicken hath a desire to live to full maturity, and yet you kill it before: And Grass and Plants may be cut down before they come to perfection.

Ans. I speak in my argument of the species of man, and the objection speaketh only of some individuals: If there be no higher stature for any Chicken or Plant to grow up to, then that is the state of its perfection. Its natural inclination

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tion to a perfecter state doth shew that nature formed it for a perfecter state, and that such a state there is to be attained, however by accident it may be killed or cut down before it do attain it, which never befallerh *all the kind*, but some *individuals*. So I confess that by ill accidents (by sin) men may fall short of *their natural perfection*. But *natures inclination* sheweth that there is such a state.

And the Antecedent is manifest, 1. In our *nature*. 2. In all *mens experience*.

1. We feel in our natures a capacity of knowing all that of God which I have before laid down, and that it is improvable by further light to know much more: We feel that our hearts are capable of *loving* him, and of delighting in the contemplation of the glory of his perfections: And we find all other things so far below the tendancy of our faculties, and the contentment of our minds, that we know that *this is it* that we were made for, and *this* is the proper use that our *Understandings* and *Wills* were given us for. 2. And we find that we attain not any *such perfection* in *this life* as we are capable of and do desire; but that our encrease of virtue and holiness is an encrease of our desires after more; and the better any man is, the more he still desireth to be better; and the more he knoweth, and loveth, and delighteth in God, the more he desireth it in a far higher degree. And even of our *knowledge of nature* we find, that the more we know, the more we would know; and that he that knoweth the *effect*, would naturally fain *know the cause*; and that when he knoweth the *nearer cause*, he would know the *cause of that*, and so know the *first cause*, God himself. And the little that we here attain to of Knowledge, Love and Delight, is far short of the perfection in the same kind which our faculties encline unto.

§. 12. XII. *Another illustration or confirming argument may be gathered from the great disparity which God hath made between Men and Beasts: If God had intended us for no more knowledge and fruition of himself hereafter than the Beasts have, then he would have given us no more Capacity, Desire or Obligation to seek it than the Beasts have: But he hath given us more Capacity, Desire and Obligation to seek it: Ergo.*

A Beast hath no knowledge that there is a God, no thoughts

Seneca Epist. 73. pag. (mihi) 671. Iust. Miraris hominem ad Deum ire? Deus ad homines venit: immo (quod propius est) in homines venit: nulla sine Deo mens bona est: Semina in corporibus humanis divina dispersa sunt: quæ si bonus cultor excipit, similia origini produunt; & paria his ex quibus orta sunt, surgunt: si malus, non aliter quam humus sterilis ac palustris, necat; ac deinde creat pergamenta pro frugibus. Beata vita est convenienti naturæ suæ: Quæ non aliter contingere potest, quam si primum sana mens est, & in perpetua possessione sanitatis suæ. Senec. de vita beat. c. 3.

Nullum est animal præter hominem quod habet ullam noticiam Dei. Cic. 2. de Leg.

Dii immortales sparserunt animos in corpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur, quique cœlestem ordinem contemplantes, imitarentur eum, vitæ modo & constantia. Cic. Cat. Maj.

Ex terra sunt homines, non ut incolæ & habitatores, sed quasi spectatores superarum rerum atque celestium: quarum spectaculum ad nullum aliud animantium genus pertinet. *Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 2.* Non temere, nec fortuito, sati & creati sumus: sed profecto fuit quædam vis, quæ generi consuleret humano: nec id gigneret aut aleret, quod cum omnes labores exanclavisset, tum incideret in mortis malum sempiternum. *Cic. 1. Tus.*

Mors his terribilis est, quorum cum vita omnia extinguuntur. *Cic. Parad. 1.*

Read Cic. 1. 3. de Nat. Deor. where Cotta would prove, that God did man a mischief by making him rational.

thoughts of a Life to come, no desire to know God, or love him, or enjoy him; no obligation to take care for another life, nor to provide for it, nor once to consider whether there be any such or not: Because he is not made for any life but this. And if God had made Man for no more, he would have disposed and obliged him no further: We have an understanding to know it, and thoughts, and hopes, and fears, and cares about it, which are not all in vain; and we are plainly in reason obliged to this, and more than we do; and that Obligation is not vain.

§. 13. XIII. *If there were no Life of Retribution hereafter, Man were more vain and miserable than the Brutes by far, and his Reason would but more delude him, and torment him: But the Consequent is absurd: Ergo, so is the Antecedent.*

The Major is easily proved by our great experience: for the world consisteth partly of men that believe another life, and partly of them that do not: and Reason maketh them both the more miserable. For the former sort, which is the most of the world, their Reason telleth them, that it is their duty to labour for a happiness hereafter, and to fear and prevent a future misery: and so their expectation would be their meer delusion, and their lives would be all spent and ordered in delusion: Like a company of men that should run up and down to prepare for a transplantation into the Moon, and should cut down timber to build there, and provide a stock of cattle to store the grounds there, and buy and sell Lands there; such would be the life of man in preparing for another world: and he would be under a double calamity: One, by all this fruitless labour, and another by his fear of future misery, if his labour by temptations should be frustrate, and he should miscarry. To have Reason to lead a man in such a delusory life, and to torment him with the fears of what may befall him after death, is sure to be by reason more unhappy than the beasts, that have none of this.

And for the *Atbeists*, they are more unhappy too, so far as they are rational and considerate. For they have no more happiness than the beasts to comfort them, while they look for none hereafter: and they have in all the way the foresight of their end: they fore-know their great probability of sickness, and painful tormenting diseases: they fore-know the

the certainty of their death : they know how all their sport and pleasure will end, and leave them in dolour, and how their corps must be rotting and turn to dust : they fore-see abundance of crosses in their way : they are troubled with cares for the time to come. A beast hath none of this fore-knowledge, and none of the fore-thoughts of pain or dying, but only fearfully flieth from a present danger. Moreover the poor Atheist, having no certainty of the truth of his own opinion, (that there is no other life) is oft haunted with fears of it, and especially when approaching death doth awake both his reason and his fears : he then thinks, O what if there *should be* another world, where I must live in misery for my sin ! In despight of him, some such fears will haunt him. Judge then whether the use of reason be not to make man a more deluded and tormented creature than the bruits, if so be there were no life after this ?

But this cannot stand with the methods of our Creator : To give us so great an excellency of nature, to make us more vain and unhappy than the beasts. When he maketh a creature *capable and fit* for higher things, he declareth that he *intendeth* him for higher things.

Obj. But even here we have a higher kind of work and pleasure than the Bruits : we rule them, and they serve us : we dwell in Cities, and Societies, and make provision for the time to come.

Ans. Those Bruits that dwell in Woods and Desarts serve us not : and our ruling them is a small addition to our felicity : Pride it self can take little pleasure in being the Master of Dogs and Cats. Rule doth but adde to care and trouble : *ceteris paribus*, it is an easier life to be ruled than to rule. And if we take away their lives, it is no more than we must undergo our selves : and the violent death which we put them too hath usually less pain, than our languishing age, and sickness, and natural death. And it is as pleasant to a Bird to dwell in her nest, as to us to dwell in Cities and Palaces ; and they sing as merrily in their way of converse, as we in our troublesome Kingdoms and Societies : If present pleasure be the highest of our hopes, they seem to have as much as we ; or if there be any difference, it is counter-balanced by the twenty-fold more cares, and fears, and labours, and mental troubles

Thus Man who is the perfectest of Animals should be the most imperfect, and he that is the wisest should be the most deluded.

Dicunt Stoici Malum, impium esse & sine Deo: quod duplici ratione accipitur; sive quod Deo contrarius dicatur, sive quod aspernatur Deum: id tamen malis omnibus non convenire: Pios autem & Religiosos esse sapientes: peritos enim esse Divini juris omnes. Porro pietatem scientiam esse Divini cultus: Diis item eos sacrificia facturos, castosque futuros: Quippe ea quæ in Deos admittuntur peccata detestari, Diisque charos ac gratos fore, quod sancti iustique in rebus Divinis sint: solos vero Sacerdotes esse sapientes, &c. *Lært. in Zenone. (How christian-like is all this spoken)* Nec enim tantum mali est peccare principes (quanquam est hoc magnum per seipsum malum) quantum illud, quod permulti imitatores principum existunt. Nam licet videre, si velis replicare memoriam temporum, qualescunque summi civitatis viri fuerunt talem civitatem fuisse: Quæcunque mutatio morum in principibus existerit, eandem in populo secururam. *Cic. de*

troubles which we are more liable to. And our knowledge doth but encrease our sorrow, (of which next.)

§. 14. XIV. *If there were no life of Retribution, the wiser any man were, the more miserable would be he, and knowledge would be their plague, and ignorance the way to their greatest pleasure: But the consequence is absurd: Ergo, for the antecedent.*

The reason of the consequence is manifest in what is said: the Ignorant have nothing to disturb them in their sensual delights. The liker to beasts they can be to eat, and drink, and play, and satiate every lust, and never think of a reckoning, or of death it self, the more uninterrupted would be their delights; the fore-thoughts of death or any change would not disturb them: their folly, which maketh them over-value all the matters of the flesh, would encrease their pleasure and felicity: for things delight men as they are esteemed, rather than as indeed they are. But the more wise and knowing men would always see vanity and vexation written upon all the treasures and pleasures of the world; and in the midst of their delights would fore-see death coming to cut them off, and bring them to a dolorous end. So that undoubtedly the most knowing would be the most miserable; and though Nature delight in knowing much, it would but let in an inundation of vexatious passions on the mind.

But Knowledge is so great a gift of God, and Ignorance so great a blemish unto Nature, that it is not by sober reason to be believed, that so noble a gift should be given us as a plague, and so great a plague and shame of nature as ignorance is, should be a blessing or felicity.

§. 15. XV. *If the Kings and temporal Governments of the world do extend their Rewards and Punishments as far as to temporal prosperity and adversity, life and death, in respect to the present ends of Government, and this justly; then is it most and just that the Universal King extend his benefits and punishments much further, for good or evil, as they have respect unto his own Laws and Honour: But the antecedent is true: Ergo, so is the consequent.*

Kings justly take away mens lives for Treason: They that look but to the present temporal good or hurt of the Common-wealth, do think that no temporal punishment or reward

reward can be too great for some crimes, and for some achievements. Read but the Statute-books, and this will be soon found.

And that the offences which are against the Infinite Majesty deserve incomparably sorer punishments, than any against men as such, is past all question. As also that love, and fidelity, and duty to God, is incomparably more laudable.

§. 16. XVI. *If there were no life of retribution after this, it would follow, that man is more to be feared and obeyed than God, and so hath the far greater and bigger hand in the Moral Government of the world: But the consequent is absurd and blasphemous: Ergo, so is the Antecedent.*

The argument is clear and past all contradiction. The reason of the Major or consequence, is, Because (though God can destroy any wicked man at his pleasure, yet) all the world's experience sheweth us, that ordinarily in this life he doth no such things: If a strange judgment overtake some wicked man, it is an *unusual thing*, and next to a miracle: And usually all things come alike to all; the good and the bad die of the same disease: the deceitful and the wicked prosper in the world as much as others; if either suffer more, usually it is the best. *Videtis quam prospera navigatio à Diis datur sacrilegis*, saith *Dionysius*. Thunder-bolts strike so few, that it is scarce rational much to fear them. If one fall under some extraordinary judgement, many hundred scape.

But on the other side, *Kings* and *States* do ordinarily do execution on those that displease them, and break their Laws: The case of a *Daniel* is so rare, that it would be no rule to direct a rational course by: If the King should forbid me praying as he did *Daniel*, or command me to worship his Image, as he did the other three witnesses, reason and self-preservation would require me to obey him: for its ten to one but he would execute his wrath on me, and its an hundred to one God would not deliver me here. God suffered thirty or forty thousand to be murdered at once by the French Massacre under *Charls 9.* He suffered two hundred thousand to be murdered by the *Irish* Papists: He suffered many to be burned in *Queen Mary's* days: He suffered yet greater Havock to be made of the poor *Waldenses*. and *Albigenses*: He suffered most cruel inhumane torments, and

Laert. in Timon. saith, That Philarchus the Historian reports of Praxilus the Philosopher, that he was of so constant a mind, that he suffered himself to be unjustly executed as a Traitor, and would not use one word of supplication for his life: But that's not the common temper of Mankind.

Altaspectare si voles, atque hanc sedem & æternam domum contueri; neque sermonibus vulgi te dederis, nec in præmiis humanis spem posueris rerum tuarum: suis te illecebris oportet ipsa virtus trahat ad verum decus. *Cic. in Soma. Scip.*

The very doubting of the life to come maketh multitudes take this course in our age: preferring that which they have in hand, before that which they suppose uncertain.

Rursus vero si animæ lethi adeunt januas (Epicuri ut sententia definitur) nec sic causa est competens cur expeti philosophia debeat, etiamsi verum est, purgari has animas, atque ab omni puras vitiositate præstari: Nam si communiter obseunt, non tantum est erroris maximi, verum stolidæ cretariæ, frangere ingenitos appetitus, cohibere in angustis vitam, nihil indulgere naturæ, non quod cupidines iusserint & instigaverint facere, cum nulla te præmia tanti laboris expectent, cum dies mortis advenierit, & corpora libus fueris vinculis exolutus. Arnob. adv. Gentes, l. 2.

death, upon thousands of innocent persons, to change the new-planted Religion in Japan. He therefore that careth for his life and peace, will think it far safer to venture on the present executions of God, than of his King, or Enemy, or any one that is strong enough to ruine him: If I lived under the Turkish Empire, and were commanded to deny Christ, and to renounce my Baptism, and to subscribe that my Baptismal Vow doth not oblige me, or any way to lie, or be perjur'd, or sin against God; self-preservation would bid me, [Venture on the sin, for it is an hundred to one but God will spare thee; and it is an hundred to one but that the Prince will punish and destroy thee if thou obey him not] How few that knew there were no life to come, would not rather venture to please a Tyrant, or a Robber than God, and more fear to displease them? and would not by perjury, or any commanded villany, save himself from their fury and cruelty? and would not study more to flatter and humour them, than to obey their God? And so Man should have the chief government of the world, while Man's rewards and punishments were so much more notable than God's, Man would be feared and obeyed before God: that is, Man would be taken for our God. These things are clear undeniable truths. If there were no life to come, self-love and reason would make man more obedient to Man than God, and so make Gods of flesh and blood. But whether this be the tendency of the Government of God, let Reason judge.

§. 17. XVII. A very probable argument may be fetched from the number and quality of intellectual spirits: He that looketh to the vast, and numerous, and glorious Orbs which are above him, and thinks of the glorious receptacles of a more glorious sort of creatures, and then considereth that we are intellectual agents, made to love and honour God as well as they; and considers further both the Benignity of God, and the communion which those other Orbs have with us, will think it probable, that we are to progress towards perfection: and that we that are so like them, may be capable of their happiness.

§. 18. XVIII. If in this life God have little of the praise and glory of his works, from those whom he created for it, but contrarily be much dishonoured by them; then there is another life in which he will be more honoured by them: But the antecedent is true: Ergo, so is the consequent.

What

What a glorious fabrick hath God set man to contemplate? and how little of it is here known? so that Philosophy is found to be but a searching and wrangling about things which no man reacheth; and yet an inquisitive desire we have. And therefore sure there is a state in which these works of God shall be better known of us, and God shall have the honour of them more than now. His Laws also prescribe us excellent duties, and his Servants are very excellent persons, according to his own description: But our infirmities, our errors, or divisions, our miscarriages and scandals do so dishonour him and his ways, that the glory of them is much obscured, and blasphemers reproach him to his face, and Godliness (which the Law of Nature teacheth) is derided as a foolish thing, and as the meer effect of superstitious fear. Now though all this doth no hurt to God, yet he is capable of wrong who is incapable of hurt. And it is not to be believed, that he will finally put up all this at his creatures hands, and never vindicate his honour, nor never more shew the glory of his Grace, his Image, his Justice and Judgments, than he now doth.

§. 19. XIX. *The constant testimony of conscience in all men, that have not mastered Reason by Sensuality, and the common consent of all that are worthy to be called Men, in all Ages and Countries upon earth, doth shew that the life to come is a truth which is naturally revealed, and most sure.*

Plato oft saith, that the wicked are punished after death.

Antisthenes 7. Tome had a Book, de his quæ sunt apud inferos. Laert. l. 6. c. 1.

§. 20. XX. *The enemy of Souls doth (against his will) give man a four-fold reason to judge, that there is a life of Reward and Punishment hereafter: viz. 1. By Compacts with Witches. 2. By Apparitions. 3. By Satanical Possessions. 4. By all kind of subtil importunate temptations, (which evidence themselves.)*

1. Though some are very incredulous about Witches, yet to a full enquiry the evidence is past question, that multitudes of such there be. Though many are wronged, and some may be thought so foolish or melancholy, as not to know what they say against themselves; yet against such numerous and various instances, these exceptions do but confirm the generall truth, that such there are. I have said so much of them in two other Writings, that I shall now say no more but this: That those Judges ordinarily con-

* Saints Rest; Part 2. and unreasonableness of Infidelity.

That there is a Life of Retribution after this.

By the Doctrine of
Idols, false Gods that
were sometimes men,
and their Sacrifices,
the Devil confesseth a
Life to come.

demn them to die, who themselves have been most incredulous of such things: that so great numbers were condemned in *Suffolk, Norfolk and Essex*, about twenty years ago, that left the business past all doubt to the Judges, Auditors, and Reverend Ministers, (yet living) who were purposely sent with them for the fuller inquisition. That the testimonies are so numerous and beyond exception, recorded in the many Volumes written on this subject, by the *Malleus Maleficorum, Bodin, Remigius*, and other Judges who condemned them, that I owe no man any further proof, than to desire him to read the foresaid Writings: wherein he shall find Men and Women, Gentlemen, Scholars, Doctors of Divinity, of several qualities and tempers, all confessedly guilty, and put to death for this odious sin. And he shall find what compacts they made with the Devil; promising him their Souls or their service, and renouncing their Covenant with God. All which doth more than intimate, that men have Souls to save or lose, and that there is an Enemy of Souls who is most solicitous to destroy them; or else to what end would all this be? When people are in wrath and malice, desirous of revenge or in great discontents, or too eagerly desirous after overhasty knowledge in any needless speculation, the Devil hath the advantage to appear to them, and offer them his help, and draw them into some contract with him (implicit at least, if not explicit) I have myself been too incredulous of these things, till cogent evidence constrained my belief. Though it belong not to us to give account, why Satan doth it, or why upon no more, or why God permitteth it, yet that so it is in point of fact, it cannot be rationally denied. And therefore we have so much sensible evidence, that there is a happiness and misery after this life, which the Devil believeth, though Atheists do not.

2. And though some are as incredulous of Apparitions, yet evidence hath confuted all incredulity. I could make mention of many: but for the notoriety I will name but two; which it is easie to be satisfied about:

The one is the Apparition in the shape of Colonel *Bowen* in *Glamorganshire*, to his Wife and Family, speaking, walking before them, laying hold on them, hurting them in time

time of Prayer (the man himself then living from his Wife in Ireland, being one that from Sect to Sect had proceeded to Infidelity if not to Atheism, and upon the hearing of it came over; but durst not goe to the place). The thing I have by me described largely and attested by learned godly Ministers, that were at the place; and is famous, past contradiction.

2. But (to name no more) he that will read a small Book called *The Devil of Mascon*, written by Mr. *Perreand*, and published by Dr. *Peter Moulin*, will see an instance past all question: The Devil did there for many months together at certain hours of the day, hold discourse with the inhabitants, and publickly disputed with a Papist that challenged him, and when he had done, turn'd him and cast him down so violently, that he went home distracted: He would sing and jest and talk familiarly with them as they do with one another: He would answer them questions about things done at a distance; and would carry things up and down before them, and yet never seen in any shape: All this was done in the house of the said Mr. *Perreand* a Reverend faithful Minister of the Protestant Church, in the hearing of persons of both Professions, Papists and Protestants that ordinarily came in, for above three months at *Mascon* a City of *France* (And at last upon earnest Prayer it ceased.) Mr. *Perreands* piety and honesty was well known; and attested to me by the Right Honourable the Earl of *Orrery*, now Lord President of *Munster* in *Ireland*, and attested to the World by his most learned, worthy, honourable Brother Mr. *Robert Boyle*, in an Epistle before the Book; neither of them persons apt to be over-credulous of such unusual things, yet both fully satisfied of the truth of this story by Mr. *Perreands* own Narratives, with whom they were very familiar.

See the other Testimonies cited in my *Saints Rest*, Part 2.

Q. But how doth this signifie that there is any future state for man.

Ans. 1. Commonly, these Apparitions do expressly refer to some sin or duty which are regardable in order to a further Life. Sometimes they come to terrifie Murderers or other great Offenders: and sometimes the Devil hath killed men out-

In Ireland, it was testified by the Oaths of many witnesses, that after the Protestants had been murdered at Portdown-Bridge, a long time together, a Spectrum appeared in the River like a person naked, standing in the water up to the middle, and crying, Revenge, Revenge. See Dr. Jones, and Sir John Temples books.

right : (which yet were no more painfull than another death, if it fetcht not their souls into a greater misery) sometimes they are used to tempt people to sin, to witchcraft, to revenge, to idolatry and superstition (to which use they are common among many of the *Indians*) : And all this intima-
teth some further hurt which sin doth men after this present life; which they take not here for their pain, but their pleasure. 2. Many of these Apparitions say, that they are the *souls of such* and such persons that have lived here : If it be so, then the question is granted. And whether it be so, I suppose is to us uncertain : For why a condemned Soul may not appear as well as Satan, notwithstanding that both of them are in that state of misery which is called Hell, I yet could never hear any sure proof. But (because this is uncertain) 3. At least it sheweth us, that these evil Spirits are neer us, and able to molest us, and therefore are ordinarily restrained, and that their natures are not as to any elevation so distant from ours, but that a converse there may be; and therefore that it is very probable, that when the souls of the Wicked are separated from their bodies, they shall be such as they, or have more converse with them; and that the good Spirits shall be the companions of the souls of men that here were not far unlike themselves. When we perceive that we live among such invisible Spirits, it is the easier to believe that *we shall* live with such of them hereafter, as we are most like.

See what I have cited,
Saints Rest, Part 2.
cap. 7.

3. I may adde to these the instance of *satanical Possessions* : For though many diseases may have of themselves very terrible and strange effects, yet that the Devil, I mean some evil Spirit, doth operate in many is past all contradiction : some will speak Languages which they never learnt : some will tell things done far off : some will have force and actions which are beyond their proper natural ability : Most great Physicians, how incredulous soever, have been forced to confess these things : and abundance of them have written particular instances.

And the manner of their transportations, their horrid blasphemies against God, with other carriages, do commonly intimate a life to come, and a desire that Satan hath to dishonour God, and destroy the souls of men as well as their bodies.

4. And

4. And lastly, the *Temptations* and suggestions of Satan, yea, and oft his external contrived snares, are such as frequently give men a palpable discovery of his agency, that there is indeed some evil Spirit that doth all this to the hurt of Souls. Were there no such Tempter it were scarce credible that such horrid inhumane Villanies should ever be perpetrated by a rational Nature, as Histories credibly report, and as in this Age our eyes have seen. That men should ever, even against their own apparent interest, be carryed on obstinately to the last, in a wilfull course of such sins as seem to have little or nothing to invite men to them, but a delight in doing hurt and mischief in the World. Whence is it that some men feel such violent importunate suggestions to evil in their mindes, that they have no rest from them, but which way soever they goe, they are haunted with them till they have committed it, and then haunted as much to hang themselves in desperation. Whence is it that all opportunities are so strangely fitted to a sinners turn, to accommodate him in his desires and designs? And that such wonderfull successive trains of impediments are set in the way of almost any man that intendeth any great good work in the World? I have among men of my own acquaintance observed such admirable frustrations of many designed excellent works, by such strange unexpected means, and such variety of them, and so powerfully carryed on, as hath of it self convinced me, that there is a most vehement invisible malice permitted by God to resist Mankind, and to militate against all Good in the World. Let a man have any evil design, and he may carry it on usually with less resistance. Let him have any work of greatest *Natural importance* which tendeth to no great benefit to Mankind, and he may go on with it without any extraordinary impedition: But let him have any great design for *Common good*, in things that tend to destroying sin; to heal divisions, to revive Charity, to increase Virtue, to save mens Souls, yea or to the publick common felicity, and his impediments shall be so multifarious, so far fetcht, so subtil, incessant, and in despite of all his care and resolution, usually so successfull, that he shall seem to himself to be like a man that is held fast hand and foot, while he seeth no one touch him: or that seeth an

hun-

Polybius often saith, that many excellent men have attempted great and excellent works; but very few have ever been so happy as to perform them; and of those that have gone a little way, but few have finished them.

He that did but well study the plain strife between Christ and Satan, about knowledge and ignorance in the world, and how maliciously Satan keepeth the Gospel from the Infidel world, and locketh up the Scripture in an unknown tongue among the Papists, and bindeth Preachers in all the world, will see that there is certainly a Kingdom of Darkness and a Kingdom of Light, which strive for Souls.

hundred blocks brought and cast before him in his way, while he seeth no one do it. Yea, and usually the greater attempts to do good shall turn to the clean contrary, even to destroy the good which was intended, and drive it much further off. How many Countreys, Cities, Churches, Families, who have set themselves upon some great Reformation, have at first seen no difficulties almost in their way? And when they have attempted it, they have been like a man that is wrestling with a Spirit? Though he see not what it is that holdeth him, when he hath long sweat, and chafed, and tired himself, he is fain to give over; yea, leave behind him some odious scandal, or terrible example, to frighten all others from ever meddling with the like again. I have known that done which men call a Miracle, a sudden deliverance in an hour, from the most strange and terrible Disease, while by Fasting and Prayer men were present begging the deliverance: And presently the Devil hath drawn the persons in such a scandalous sin, that God had none of the honour of the deliverance, nor could any for shame make mention of it, but it turned to the greater dishonour of piety and prayer, though the wonder was past doubt. I have known men wonderfully enlightened and delivered from courses of Error and Schisme, and being men of extraordinary worth and parts, have been very like to have proved the recovery of abundance more: And they have been so unresistibly carryed into some particular Error on the contrary extream, that all the hopes of their doing good hath turned to the hardening of others in their Schisme, while they saw those Errors, and judg'd accordingly of all the reasons of their change. But especially to hinder the successes of godly Magistrates, and Ministers, in their reformings, and their Writings for the winning of Souls, it were endless to shew, the strange unexpected difficulties which occur, and lamentably frustrate the most laudable attempts. Nay, I have known divers men that have had resolute designs, but to build an Alms-house, or a School-house, or to settle some publick charitable work, that when all things seemed ready, and no difficulty appeared, have been hindered in despite of the best of their endeavours, all their dayes, or many years; Yea men that purposed but

to put it in their Wills, to do some considerable work of Charity, have been so delayed, hindered and disappointed, that they were never able to effect their ends. By all which it is very perceivable to an observing minde, that there is a working invisable Enemy still seeking to destroy all Godliness, and to hinder Mens salvation.

"Perhaps you will say, that if this be so, you make the Devil to be stronger than God, and to be the Governour of the World, or to be more in hatred to goodness, than God is in love with it.

I answer, No: but it appeareth that his Enmity to it is implacable, and that he militateth against God and mans felicity, and that sin hath so far brought this lower World under Gods displeasure, that he hath in a *great measure* forsaken it, and left it to the will of Satan: Yet hath he his holy seed and Kingdom here, and the purposes of his Grace shall never be frustrated, nor the Gates of Hell prevail against his Church: And if he may forsake *Hell totally* as to his *felicitating presence*, he may also penally *forsake Earth* as to the greater number, whilst for ought we know, he may have thousands of Orbs of better Inhabitants which have not to forfeited his love, nor are not so forsaken by him.

I have been the larger in proving a Life to come, of Retribution to the good and bad, because all Religion doth depend upon it, and I have my self been more assaulted with Temptations to doubt of this, than of Christianity it self, though this have more of Natural Evidence. And I have set down nothing that I am able rationally to confute my self (though every Truth is liable to some snarling exceptions of half-witted and contentious men.) No man that confesseth a Life to come, can question the necessity of a Holy Life: But I have thought meet first to prove, that a *Holy Life* is our unquestionable duty (as the *prima cognitum*) and thence to prove the certainty of the future state: For indeed, though God hath not hid from us the matter of our Reward and Punishment, Hopes and Fears, yet hath he made our *Duty plainer* in the main, and proposed it *first* to our knowledge and consideration. The *Eternity* of the future state, I have not here gone about to prove: because I reserve it for a fitter place, and need the help of more than

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natural

Virtutis merces ac finis optimum quiddam est, divinum & beatum. *Aristot. 1. Eth. c. 9.*

Virtutum omnium jucunda non sunt actiones nisi quatenus suis copulantur conjunctionibus. *Aristot. 1. Eth. c. 9.*

Virtus excolit hominem & super altum morales collocat nec ea que bona aut mala vocantur, aut cupit vitare, aut expavescit. *Senec. Ep. 88.*

That there is a Life of Retribution after this.

natural light, for such a task. But that it shall be of so much weight and duration, as shall suffice to the full execution of Justice, and to set all straight, that seemed crooked in Gods present Government, this *Nature it self* doth fully testifie.

Three sorts of men will read what I have written: 1. Some few (and but very few) of those whose Consciences are so bloody in the guilt of their debauchery, that they take it for their *interest* to hope that there is no life but this. 2. Those whose Faith and Holiness, hath made the World to come, to be their *interest*, happiness, hope, desire, and only joy. 3. Those that only understand in generall, that it is the highest interest of humane Nature, that there be a full felicity hereafter; and see it a most *desireable* thing, though they know not whether it be to be expected or not. The first sort, I may fear are under such a Curse of God, as that he may leave their Wills to master their Belief, as their Lusts have mastered their Wills, and lest they be forsaken of God, to think that true which their wicked hearts desire were true; and that the Haters of God and a holy Life, should be left to dream that there is no God, nor future Happy Life.

The second sort have both *Light, Experience* and *Desire*, and therefore will easily believe.

The third sort are they whose *Necessities* are great, and yet conjunct with hope of some success. Though *have interest* should command no mans understanding, because a thing may be *desireable*, which is neither certain nor possible; yet I must needs say, that Reason and self-love should make any man, (that is not resolved in wickedness) exceeding glad to hear of any *hopes*, much more of *certainity*, of a life of Angelical Happiness and Joy, to be possess'd when this is ended. And therefore the enquiry should be exceeding willingly and studiously endeavoured. I shall conclude this point with a few serious Questions, to those that deny a future Life of Retribution.

Qu. 1. Whether he that taketh a man to be but an ingenuous kinde of Beast, can take it ill to be *effemed* as a Beast? May I not expect that he should live like a Beast, who thinketh that he shall die like a Beast? Is such a man

Tria sunt quæ ex animæ providentia accipit corpus animalis: ut vivat, ut decore vivat, & ut immortalitas illi successione quæritur. *Macrobius. 7. Saturn.*

Animarum originem manare de coelo, inter rectæ philosophantur indubitatæ constare esse sententiæ. Et Animæ dum corpore utitur hæc est perfecta sapientia, ut unde orta sit, de quo fonte venerit, recognoscat. *Macrobius. sup. somn. scip. l. 1. c. 9.*

fit to be trusted any further in humane converse, than his present fleshly interest obligeth him? May I not justly suppose that he liveth in the practice of fornication, adultery, lying, perjury, hypocrisie, murder, treachery, theft, deceit, or any other villany, as oft as his interest tells him he should do it. What is a sufficient or likely motive to restrain that man, or make him just, who believes not any life after this? It seemeth to me a wrong to him in his own Profession, to call him an *Honest man*.

2. If you think your selves but ingenuous Beasts, why should you not be content to be *used* as Beasts. A Beast is not capable of true Propriety, Right or Wrong: He that can master him, doth him no wrong, if he work him, or fleece him, or take away his life. Why may not they that can master you, use you like Pack-horses, or Slaves, and beat you, and take away your lives.

3. Would you be only *your selves* of this mind, or would you have *all others* of it? If your *selves only*, why envy you the Truth (as you suppose) to others? If all others, what security shall Kings have of their lives? or Subjects of their lives or liberties? What trust can you put in Wife, or Child, or Servant, or any man that you converse with? Will you not quickly feel the effect of their opinions? Had you not rather, that the enemy who would murder you, the thief who would rob you, the lyar that would deceive you, did believe a Judgement and life of Retribution, than not?

4. If there be no Life after this, what business have you for your Reason? and all your noble faculties and time, that is worthy of a man; or that is not like Childrens games or Poppet-plays? What have you to do in the World, that hath any weight in the tryal, any content or comfort in the review, or will give solid comfort to a dying man? Were it not better lie down and sleep out our days, than waste them all in dreaming waking? O what a silly Worm were Man! what should he find to do with his understanding? Take off the poise of his ultimate End, and all his Rational Motions must stand still, and only the brutish motion must go on, and Reason must drudge in the Captivity of its service.

Maximum argumentum est, naturam ipsam de immortalitate animorum tacitum judicare, quod omnibus curæ sunt, & maximè quidem, quæ post mortem futura sunt. *Cicero Tuscul. Quæst. 1. p. 220.*

Platonici dicunt, Beatum esse hominem frucentem Deo; non sicut corpore, vel seipso frui animus, aut sicut amicus amico; sed sicut Lux Oculis. *August. de Civ. Dei.*

But these Questions, and more such, I put more home in my Book, called *A Saint, or a Bruit*. If conscience tell you, that you can put no trust in your friend, your wife, your servant, or your neighbour, if they believe that there is no life but this: surely the same conscience may tell you, that then the thing is true, and that the God of infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness hath better means enough than de- ceits and lies to rule the world by.

Hear what the conscience of the *Epicure* saith in *Cicero*, *Academ. Quest. l. 4. p. (mibi) 44. Quis enim potest, cum existimet à Deo se curari, non & dies & noctes divinum numen horrere, &c.* its true of the guilty: But what greater joy to the upright, godly, faithful Soul.

CHAP. XV.

Of the intrinsic Evil of Sin, and of the perpetual Punishment due to the Sinner by the undoubted Law of Nature.

A hoc anima conjuncta corpori est, ut fruatur scientiis & virtutibus: si autem cum fervore magno se invenerit, benigne recipietur à suo creatore; sin autem se- cus, relegabitur ad inferna. *Plat. in Tim.* Animus recte solus liber, nec dominationi cujusquam parens, neque obediens cupiditati. Recte in- victus, cujus etiam si corpus constringatur, animo tamen vincula injici nulla pos- sunt. *Cic. 3. de finib.* Deus animum ut Do- minum & imperan- tem obediens præ- fecit corpori. *Cic. de universis.*

§. 1. **I**T seemed good to the most wise Creator to give Man with Reason a Liberty of Will, by which he is a kind of first cause of its own determination in comparative moral acts; though he hold the power in full dependance upon God, and perform each act as an act in genere by the influx of his Maker, and do all under his perfect government. And these great Principles in his Nature, his Power, his Reason, and his free self-determining Will, are the Image of God, in which as Man he was created, which advanced by the perfections of Forti- tude, Wisdom and Moral Goodness, are also in Holiness the Image of God's Perfections.

When a man deliberateth whether he shall do this sin or not, (as lie or murder) he cannot act in general without God, but that he chooseth this act rather than another, may be without any more of God, than his giving and main- taining his free-choosing power, and his universal influx before mentioned, and his setting him among such objects as he acteth upon. Neither do those objects, nor any Physical ef- ficient.

efficient motion of God, or any creature besides himself, determine his will effectually to choose the evil and refuse the good. It is not true, that nothing undetermined can determine it self to act; this is but to deny God's natural Image on the Will of Man. The Will cannot determine it self without the conduct of an Intellect, and without an Object *in esse cognito*, nor without Divine sustentation and universal influx: But it can determine it self to the moral species, which is but the mode of action, to this rather than that in the comparative proposal, without any pre-determining efficient: (for such none of the former are.)

And God having made such a self-determining creature, took delight to govern him according to his nature, by the sapiential moral means of Laws; of what he doth more to cause Good than Evil, and other such incident questions, I must now put them off to a fitter place.

§. 2. God planted in man's mind a natural inclination to Truth and Goodness, and to his own felicity, and an averseness to falsehood, and to evil, and to his own misery and hurt; that these lying deeper than his liberty of choice, might be a pondus to his motions, and help him the more easily and steadfastly to obey, and to adhere to and prosecute his proposed happiness and end.

§. 3. Accordingly God formed his holy Law, with a perfect fitness to these faculties and inclinations, furnishing it wholly with truth and goodness, and fitting all things in it to the benefit of man: (as is proved before.)

§. 4. This Law had a sufficient promulgation, being legible on the face of the whole Creation, (within our view) and specially on the nature of man himself, from whence his duty did result.

§. 5. And God was pleased to make as legible the most rational powerful motives to love and obedience, that can be imagined by man, that no tempter might possibly bid the ten thousandth part so much for our love and obedience as he bid bid, and assured us of himself.

§. 6. From all this it is most evident, that God made us not sinners, though he made us men; but that man, being defensible, abused his liberty, and turned from God, and brought corruption and misery upon himself.

*Casti placent superis; pura cum mente venire
Et manibus pura sumite fontis aquam.
Tibul.*

*Pone Deos, & quæ tangendo sacra profanas;
Non bene coelestia impia dextra colit.
Ovid.*

Morbi perniciosiores, pluresque quam corporis. Cic. 3. Tuscul.

§. 7. He that will understand God's Justice right, and consider of these forty intrinsic evils that are in sin, which nature it self declareth.

1. In its formal nature, it is the violation of a perfect righteous Law.

2. It is a contempt or denial of God's governing authority over us.

3. It is the usurping of the government of our selves, which we denied to God.

The Athenians punished not only the total violation of a Law, but even of a clause or part of a Law.

4. It is a denial or contempt of the wisdom of God, as if he had erred in the making of his Laws, and knew not so well what is just, and meet, and good for us, as we our selves, and were not wise enough to govern a lump of animated clay.

5. It is an exalting of our folly into the Throne of the Divine Wisdom, as if we had more wisdom than he that made us, and knew better what is just and meet, and what is fit and good for our selves, and could correct God's Laws, and make our selves a better Rule.

6. It is a denial or contempt of the Goodness of God, as if he had ensnared us by his Law, and envied our happiness, and forbade us that which would do us good, and put us upon the which, will do us hurt, and so would seduce us into calamity, and were an enemy to our welfare.

Piso in Cic. de fin. l. 5. p. 203. saith of the Epicureans, Quinetiam ipsi voluptuarii diverticula querant, & virtutes habent in ore totos dies, &c. which sheweth, that virtue was commended even by the voluptuous.

7. It is a preferring our naughtiness before His Goodness; as if we could do better in regulating our selves than God, and could make a better choice for our selves than his Laws have made. And as if our wills were fitter than God's to be the Rule of good and evil.

8. It is a denial or contempt of his Holiness and Purity, which is contrary to sin as health to sickness: as if by our deeds we would persuade the world, that God is as Satan, a lover of sin, and an enemy to Himself and Holiness.

9. It is a denial or contempt of God's propriety, as if we were not his own, and he had not power to dispose of us as he list: or it is a robbing him of the use and service of that which is absolutely his own.

10. It is a claiming of propriety in our selves, as if we were at our own disposal, and might do with our selves and our faculties as we list.

11. It is a belying or contempt of the great and gracious promises

Promises of God, and of the wonderfull mercy which he manifesteth in them; by which he doth binde and allure us to Obedience: As if he did not mean as he speaketh, or would not make good his Word to the Obedient.

12. It is a falsifying or contempt of his dreadfull Threatnings, as if he did not intend any execution of them, but made them only as a deceitfull terror to frighten men from sin, for want of better means.

13. It is a denial or contempt of the dreadfull future Judgement of God, as if he would never call men to any account, nor judge them according to his Laws.

14. It is a denying the Veracity of God, as if he were a Lyar and Deceiver, and did not intend the things which he speaketh; As if his Precepts were but a false pretension, and he were indeed indifferent what we did, and were not to be believed in his predictions, promises; or threats.

15. It is a contempt of all the Mercies even of this life, which flesh it self doth overvalue; As if protection, provision, deliverances, comforts, were not so much to be regarded, as our Concupiscence; nor were not of weight enough to bind us to obey so mercifull a God; and as if Ingratitude were no Crime.

16. It is a contempt of those Castigatory Afflictions, by which God driveth men from sin, by giving them a taste of the bitterness of its fruits.

17. It is a contempt of all the examples of his Mercy and his Judgements upon others: by which he hath shewed us how good he is, and how just a punisher of sin.

18. It is a contempt of all the inward motions and strivings of God, which sinners oft feel perswading them to forbear their sin, and to seek after God.

19. It is a contempt of Conscience, which beareth witness for God against their sins.

20. It is a contempt of all the Instructions and advise of wise and good men, who are required by God and Nature to warn men, and perswade them from their sins.

21. It is a contempt of the Example of all Obedient Virtuuous Persons, whose Lives instruct them and reprove them.

22. It is a contempt of Virtue it self, which is contrary to sin, and whose proper worth commandeth Love.

23. It is a contempt of Gods Omnipresence, when we will in his very presence; and of his Omniscience, when we will when we know that he seeth it.

24. It is a contempt of the Greatness and Almightiness of God, when a silly Worm dare sin against him, who upholds the World, and can do Justice on him in a moment; as if we could make good our part against him.

25. It is a contempt of the attractive Goodness of God, by which he is Mans End and Happiness: As if all the Goodness and Love of God, were not enough to counterpoise the base and truitish pleasures of sin: and to drive the rational Soules God (It was his Efficient Goodness which I spake of before.)

26. And thus it declareth, that we are so farr vrid of Love to God: For Love is desirous to please.

27. It is a setting up the sordid Creature for our End, as if it were more attractive and amiable than God, and fitter to content and delight the Soul.

28. It is a contempt of all that glorious Happiness of the Life to come, which God hath warranted the righteous to expect: As if it were not all so good as the desling transitory pleasures of sin, and would not recompence us for all that we can do or suffer for God.

29. It is the sitencing and laying by our Reason by inconsiderateness, or the perverting and abusing of it by Error, in the greatest matters, for which it was given us; and so it is a voluntary drunkenness or madness, in the things of God and our felicity.

30. It is a setting up our senses and appetite above our Reason, and making our selves in use, as Beasts, by setting up the lower bestial faculties to rule.

Minus malum est
seritas & immanitas
quam vitium, est
terribilior. Aristot. 7.
Eth. c. 6.

31. It is the deformity, monstrosity, disorder, sickness and abuse of a Noble Creature, whom God made, in our measure, like himself, and so a contemptuous defacing of his Image.

32. It is a robbing God of that Glory of his Holiness, which should shine forth in our hearts and lives, and of that complacency which he would take in our Love, Obedience, Perfection and Felicity.

33. It is the perverting and Moral destruction, not only of our own faculties, (which were made for God); but of all the World which is within our reach: Turning all that against
God,

God and our happiness, which was given us for them. Yea, it is worse than casting them all away, while we use them contrary to their nature, against their Owner and their end.

34. It is thus a breach in the Moral order and harmony of the world, and as much as in us yerks, the destroying of the world; As the dislocation or rejection of some parts of a Clock or Watch, is a disordering of the whole; and as a wound to the hand or foot is a wrong to the body. And it is a wound to every Society where it is committed; and an injury to every individual, who is tempted or afflicted by it.

35. It is a contradicting of our own professions, confessions, understandings and promises to God.

36. It is a preferring of an inch of hasty time before the durable life to come, and things that we know are of short continuance, before those of which we can see no end.

37. It is the preferring of a corruptible flesh and its pleasure, before the Soul, which is more noble and durable.

38. It is an unmercifulness and inhumane cruelty to our selves, not only defiling Soul and body, but casting them on the displeasure and punishing justice of their great and terrible Creator.

39. It is the gratifying of the malicious Tempter, the enemy of God and of our souls; the doing his will, and receiving his image instead of God's.

40. And all this is done voluntarily, without constraint, by a rational free-agent, in the open light, and for a thing of nought. Besides what Christians only can discern, all this the light of Nature doth reveal to be in the malignity of sin.

§. 8. Sin being certainly no better a thing than is here described, it is most certain that it deserves punishment.

§. 9. And reason telleth us, that God being the Governour of the world, and perfect Government being his perfect work and glory in that relation, it is not meet that in such a Divine and perfect Government so diabolical an evil be put up, and such contempt of God and all that is good be past by without such execution of his Laws as is sufficient to demonstrate the justice of the Governour, and to vindicate his Laws and authority from contempt: nor that it be pardoned on any terms, but such as shall sufficiently attain the ends of perfect Government.

The ends of Punishment are, 1. To do justice and fulfil the Law, and truth of the Law-giver. 2. To vindicate

Nil peccant oculi, si non animus oculis imperet. Sen. Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se

Crimen habet, quantum major qui peccat habetur. Juv.

Omnino ex alio genere impotentia est, ex alio vitium: Vitium enim omne sua culpa ignarum est, non ignara impotentia. Aristot. 7 Eth.

c. 8. Vicia nostra voluntate necesse est suscipi. Aristot. 3 Eth. c. 5.

Quæ crimini dantur vicia in nostra potestate sunt. Aristot. 3 Eth. c. 5.

Sceleris etiam poenæ tristis, & præter eod eventus qui sequuntur, per se maximè est. Cic. 2. de legum.

the honour of the Governour from contempt and treason.
3. To prevent further evil from the same offender. 4. To be a terrour to others, and to prevent the hurt that impunity would encourage them to. 5. And if it be but merely castigatory, it may be for the good of the sinner himself: but in purely vindictive punishment it is the Governour and Society that are the end.

Ἄγχι τὸ θῆναι τὴν
κακὴν πρὸς τὸν δὲ
κλυ. Οὐδ' ὅτι
δὸς τὴν κακὴν ἐν δαί-
μονιν. Καὶ ἴσως ὁ
φύλος, καὶ ἴσως
καὶ ζῆλος. Menand.

Nemo malus felix.
Juv.

Malo benefacere tan-
tundem est pericu-
lum, quantum bono
malefacere. Plaut.
Pen.

Noxæ par poena
est, ut in suo vitio
quisque plectatur.
Cic. 3. de leg.
Injusti judicis est be-
ne agentem non re-
munerare, & negli-
gentem non corripe-
re. Sen. de benef.
Turpe quid ausurus,
te, sine recte, time.

Ansa.

Veterem ferendo in-
juriæ, invitas no-
vam. Cic. Nec. Attic.
4. 22.

1. It is true, that as the immediate sense of the Precept (e.g. *Thou shalt do no murder*) is not *de eventu*, [*it shall not come to pass*] but *de debito*, [*Thy duty is to forbear it*]; So also the immediate sense of the Penal part is not *de eventu*, (e.g. *If thou murder thou shalt be put to death*) but *de debito*, *death shall be thy due*, *thou shalt be Reus mortis*: So that if it do *non evenire*, it is not presently a falsehood. But it is true, that when the Sovereign makes a Law, he thereby declareth that this Law is a Rule of Righteousness, that it is *Norma officii & judicii*: that the Subject must do according to it, and expect to be *done by* according to it: that it is the Instrument of Government. Therefore these two things are declared by it. 1. That *ordinarily* Judgment and execution shall pass according to it. 2. That it shall never be *extraordinarily* dispensed with, by Sovereignty, but upon terms which as well declare the Justice of the Governour, and discourage offenders from contempt, and are as fit to preserve the common good, and the honour of the Sovereign. So that *thus far* a Law doth assert also the *event*; which I put to prevent objections, and to shew that truth and justice require the ordinary execution of just and necessary Laws.

2. And should they be *ordinarily* dispensed with, it would intimate, that the Ruler did he knew not what in making them; that he repented of them as unjust; or over-saw himself in them; or fore-saw not inconveniences; or was not able to see them executed: it would also make him seem a deceiver, that affrighted Subjects with that which he never intended to do; which Omnipotency, Omniscience and perfect Goodness cannot do, what ever impotent ignorant bad men may do.

3. And the offender must be *disabled* (when penitency sheweth not the change of his heart) that he do so no more: and therefore death is *ordinarily* inflicted.

4. And

4. And especially offences must be prevented, and the honour of the Sovereign and safety of the people be preserved : If Laws be not executed, they and the Law-giver will be despised ; others will be let loose, and invited to do evil, and no man's right will have any security by the Law. Therefore it is a Principle in Politicks, that *Pana debetur reipublicæ* ; it is the Common-wealth to which the punishment of offenders is due, that is, it is a means which the Ruler oweth them for their security. And Cato was wont to say, *Se malle pro collato beneficio nullam reportare gratiam, quàm pro maleficio perpetrato non dare panam*, Plutar. Apoth. Rom. He had rather miss of thanks for his kindnesses and gifts, than of punishment for his faults. And was wont to say, that *Magistratus qui maleficos prohibere possent, & tamen impunitate donarent, lapidibus olruendos esse, ut Reipub. perniciosissimos*. A hundred such sayings are in Cicero, Offic. 3. *Quotusquisque reperietur qui impunitate propositâ abstinere possit injuriâ*. *Impunitas peccandi maxima est illecebra* : De Natur. Deor. 3. *Nec domus, nec Respubl. stare potest, si in ea nec recte factis præmia extent ulli, nec supplicia peccatis*. In Verrem 5. est *utilius unius improbi supplicio multorum improbitatem coercere, quàm propter multos improbos uni parcere*. Offic. 1. *Non satis est cum qui lacefferit, injuria sua penitere, ut ipse nequid tale posthac committat, & ceteri sint ad injuriam tardiores*. This is the common sense of all that know what it is to govern.

Obj. But God is so good, that all his Punishments tend at last to the sinners good, and are meerly castigatory.

Ans. God is so wise, that he knoweth better than we what is good and fittest to be done. And God is so good, that for the honour of his Government, and Holmets, and Goodness, he expresseth his hatred of sin, to the final ruine of the sinners. And he is so wise and good, that he will not spare the offender, when the penalty is necessary to the good of the innocent, to prevent their falls. The Objection is a surmise not only groundless, but notoriously false.

§. 10. He that would know how far punishment is necessary to the ends of Government, must first know how far the Penal Law it self is necessary ; for the first and chiefest benefit to the Common-wealth is from the Law, and the next from the Execution.

All Laws were made for these two causes, Both that no man might be suffered to do that which is unjust; and that transgressors being punished, the rest might be made better. Demosth. Or. 2. cont. Aristog. It is your part who are Judges to preserve the Laws, and to make them strong and valid: for it is by the benefit of these that good men are better than the bad. Id. ib. Or. 1.

The Government is useless which hath not nerves and force against the wicked and injurious, and in which pardon and the request of friends can do more than the Laws. Id. Or. de fals. leg.

Let no man be thought of so great authority as to escape unpunished, if he breaks the Laws. Id 3. Olynth. Puniendis peccatis tres esse causas existimatum est 1. Cum adhibetur poena castigandi & emendandi gratia; ut is qui deliquit attentior fiat correctior; 2. Quum dignitas ejus authoritasque in quem peccatur tuenda est, ne prætermissa animadversione contemptum ei pariat. 3. Propter exemplum ut ceteri metu poenæ terrentur. Gell. l. 6.

The first benefit is to constrain men to duty, and to restrain them from doing ill. This is done immediately by the fear of punishment, (with the expectation of the benefit): This fear of punishment is to be caused by the rational expectation of it, if they do offend. This expectation is to be caused by the commination of the Law. When the Law saith, [He that sinneth shall suffer] the Subject avoideth sin for fear of suffering. Therefore the Subject must believe that the Lawgiver meaneth as he speaketh, even to govern and judge in Justice according to that Law: and he that can but make the Subject believe, that the Governour doth but affright men with a lie, and meaneth not to execute his penalties, shall easily make his Laws of none effect, and turn loose offenders to presumptuous disobedience. Therefore the fore-belief of execution is necessary to the efficacy of the Law, which else is but as a Mawkin to affright away birds, and sit to work on none but fools. And if it be so necessary a duty to the Subject to believe that the Law shall be the *Norma judicii*, and shall be executed; then in our present case it is certainly true: For God cannot lie, nor make it the duty of the world to believe a lie, nor need so vile a means to keep the world in order. So that it is most evident, that if the Law be necessary, the execution of it is ordinarily necessary; and either the execution, or some means as effectual to the ends of Government, is ever necessary.

§. 11. Therefore he that would know what degree of punishment it is meet and just for God to execute, must first know what degree it is meet for him to threaten, or make Due by Law: or rather how much he hath made due: Because what God should do, is best known by what he actually doth.

If a temporal, short, or small measure of Penalty be sufficient to be threatened in the Law, for the present attaining of the ends of Government, then such a punishment is sufficient in the execution. But if the threatening of an endless punishment in another world be little enough; in *sin genere*, to prevail now with Subjects for order and obedience, then the execution will be therefore necessary by consequence.

§. 12. It followeth not therefore that Punishment or Rewards must cease, if the ends be past in natural existence, because Moral means may in time be after their end, to which they were appointed

appointed to operate in esse cognito; and that penalty which is perpetuated may be a means to the ends already attained: that is, the threatnings, and the expectation of them; and then the honour of the Ruler's veracity and justice bindeth him to the execution.

§. 13. What ever reward or punishment is annexed to sin by the Law, is offered with the duty and sin to the subjects choosing or refusing; and no man is in danger of any punishment but he that chooseth it, in its self or in its annexed cause. And be that will have it, or will have that which he is told by God is annexed to it, (especially if it be deliberately and obstinately to the last) hath none to blame of cruelty towards him but himself, nor nothing to complain of but his wilful choice.

Obj. "But it were easie with God to confirm man's will
"so, that the threatning of a temporal punishment might
"have ruled him.

Ans. It is easie with God to make every man an Angel, and every beast or worm a man: but if his wisdom think meet, below men to make such inferiour things as Beasts; and below Angels or confirmed Souls to make so low a rank of creatures as Men, that have Reason, and undetermined and unconfirmed Free-wills; what are we that we should expostulate with him for making them no better, nor ruling them in our way?

§. 14. Sin doth unquestionably deserve a natural death and annihilation.

This all men grant that believe that God is our Governour, and that there is any such thing as *His Laws*, and *Man's sins*. If treason against a King deserve death, much more rebellion and sin against God. Life and being is God's free gift: if he take it away from the innocent, he taketh but his own: therefore there can be no doubt but he may take it away from the guilty who abuse it.

§. 15. If such a penalty were inflicted, God is not bound to restore that sinner to being again whom he hath annihilated, (if it be not a contradiction): And when this penal Privation would be everlasting: Therefore an endless Privation of Being and all mercies is the sinners due.

All this I know of no man that doth deny.

§. 16. God is not bound thus to annihilate the sinner, but

In judicando vel corrigendo hæc est lex: ut aut eum quem punire emendet; aut pena ejus ceteros meliores reddat; aut sublati malis securiores ceteri vivant. Sen. de Clem.

Animas vero ex hac vita cum delictorum sordibus recedentes, æquandas his qui in abruptum ex alto præcipitque delapsi sunt, unde nunquam sit facultas resurgendi. Ideo utendum est concessis vitæ spatiis, ut sit perfectæ purificationis major facultas. Macrob. de Somn. Scip. l. 1. c. 13.

Sua quemque fraus,
 & suus error maximè
 vexat, suum quemque
 scelus agitat, amen-
 tiæque afficit, suæ
 malæ cogitationes
 conscientizque animi
 terrent. Hæ sunt im-
 piis assidue dome-
 sticæque furæ, quæ
 dies noctesque pœnas
 à secleratisimis re-
 perunt. *Cic. pro Rosc.*
 Improbis nunquam
 finit eum respirare,
 nunquam quiescere.
Cic. de fin.
 Impiis pœnas luunt,
 non tam iudiciis,
 quàm angore confi-
 centiz, fraudisque
 cruciatu. *Id. 2. de*
Leg.
 Animi conscientia
 improbi semper cru-
 ciantur, tum etiam
 pœnarum timore. *Id. 2.*
de fin.
 Impiis apud inferos
 sunt pœnæ prepara-
 tæ. *Id. 1. de leg.*
 Hic geminæ æternum
 portæ, quarum altera
 datur
 Semper lege patens,
 populos Regesque re-
 ceptat. *Val. Flac. 1.*
Claud. 2. Ruf. de in-
feris ita loquitur.
 Huc post emeritam
 mortalia secula vi-
 ram
 Deveniunt, ubi nulla
 manent discrimina
 fati
 Nullus honor, va-
 noque exutum no-
 mine Regem
 Perturbat plebeius
 egenus —

may continue all his natural Being, and leave him under the deserved privation of well-being, depriving him of all other Mercies.

This is undeniable; that it is in God's choice whether he will take away his Being it self, or only all the Mercies which are necessary to his well-being: for he that had nothing before but by free gift, may be deprived of any thing which was none of his own, if he forfeit it by abuse. Nay, we live upon such a continued emanation from God, as the beams from the Sun, that it is but God's stopping of his streams of bounty, and we perish, without any other taking away of mercies from us.

§. 17. *Nature teacheth men to choose a great deal of (tolle-
 rable) pain and misery, rather than not be at all: even so much
 as will not utterly weigh down the love of life, and of vital
 operations.*

I say not (as some) that the greatest torment or misery is more eligible (or less odious) than annihilation. But it is certain, that a great deal is. We see abundance (how ever the Roman and Greek Philosophers scorned it as baseness) who are blind, or lame, or in grievous pains of the Gout and Stone, and many that are in miserable poverty, begging their bread, or toiling from morning to night like horses, and yet seldom taste a pleasant bit, but joy in distracting cares with labours; and yet they are all unwilling to die: Custom hath made their misery tolerable, and they had rather continue so for ever than be annihilated. If then God may annihilate even the innocent, (supposing he had not promised the contrary) then may he lay all that pain, and care, and labour on them, which they would themselves prefer before annihilation. For it is no wrong to one that hath his reason and liberty to give him his own choice.

§. 18. *It is just with God to lay more misery on a sinner,
 than on one that never deserved ill: and to lay more on him
 for his sin, than he would choose himself, before annihilation.*

Whether God may without injustice inflict more misery on the innocent, than he would himself prefer before annihilation, some make a question, and deny it. For my part, I see no great difficulty in the question.

But it is nothing to that which I am proving; it is not God's

God's usage of the *innocent* but of the *guilty* which we are speaking of: and that he may make them more miserable *who deserve it*, than his *lowly* made them before any *guilt*, or than a *just man* would choose to be rather than be annihilated, I see no reason at all to doubt. Penalty is involuntary: and no man ever said that it was unjust to lay more upon a malefactor than he himself was willing of, and would choose before a condition, which without his fault he might have been put into.

So then we have already proved, 1. That God may punish a man everlastingly. 2. And with a greater penalty than annihilation.

§. 19. *God may leave a sinner his being, and (in particular) deprive him of his favour, and all the joys and blessedness which be refused by his sinning.*

§. 20. *And he may justly withhold deny him those corporal mercies, (meat, drink, honour, pleasure, health, ease, &c.) which be over-valued and abused, and preferred before God and greater blessings.*

All this I think no man doth deny that acknowledgeth a God.

§. 21. *He that is continued in his natural being, and is deprived of God's favour, and of his future happiness for ever, and understandeth what it is that he hath lost, and is also deprived of all those natural benefits which he desired, must needs be under continual pain of sense as well as of loss: for all this want must needs be felt.*

§. 22. *He that in all this misery of loss and sense, doth remember how it was that he came to it, and how base a thing be preferred before his God; and his felicity, and for how vile a price he sold his hopes of the life to come, and how odiously he abused Godly sin, (as it is before described) cannot choose but have a continual torment of conscience, and heart-gnawing repentance in himself.*

§. 23. *He that is under utter despair of ever coming out of this condition, will thereby have his torment yet more increased.*

All these are natural undeniable consequents.

§. 24. *A Body united to so miserable a self-tormenting forsaken Soul, cannot have any peace and quietness. seeing it*

Facinorum mala flagellantur à conscientia cui plurimum tormentorum est, eo quod perpetua illam sollicitudo urget ac verberat. Sen. ep. 97. Conscientia aliud agere non patitur, ac subinde respicere ad se cogit. Dat penas qui meruit. Sen. ep. 105.

** Facinorosa conscientia instat ulceris in corpore, penitentiam relinquit in anima lancinamem jugiter ac pervellentem. Plut. de Tranquil.*

Maxima est factæ injuriæ poena secisse: nec quisquam gravius afficitur, quam qui ad supplicium penitentiae trahitur. Sen. de Ira. l. 3. c. 29. It is one of Pythagoras's sayings, That a bad man suffereth more by the scourge of his own conscience, than one that is beaten with rods, and chastised in his body. Stob. serm. 24.

Quod quisque fecit, patitur: autorem scelus Repetit, suoque premittitur exemplo nocens. Sen. Her. for. Sed nemo ad id sero venit, unde nonquam. Cum semel venit potuit reverti. Id. ibid.

is the Soul by which the body liveth, and bath its chiefest pain or pains.

§. 25. Thus sin doth both as a Natural and as a Moral Meritorious cause bring on dissatisfaction, grief, vexation, desertion by God, and privation of felicity and peace.

§. 26. For as long as a sinner is impenitent and unsanctified, (that is, loveth not God as God) nor is recovered from his carnal mind and sin, it is both morally and naturally impossible that he should be blessed or enjoy God.

For, as it is only God that efficiently can make happy, because nothing worketh but by him; and so sin eternally undoeth the sinner, by making him unfit for favour, and making him an object of displicence and justice; so it is only God that finally can make happy, all things being but Means to him, and unfit of themselves to give Rest to the inquisitive seeking mind. And God is enjoyed only by Love, and the sense of His Love and Goodness: therefore the soul that loveth not God, and is not suited to the delightful fruition of him, can no more enjoy him, than a blind man can enjoy the light, or an ox can feast with a man.

§. 27. He that is under this punishment and despair, will be yet further removed from the love of God, and so from all capacity of happiness: for he cannot love a God who he knoweth will for ever by penal justice make him miserable.

He that would not love a God who aboundeth in mercy to him in the day of mercy, will never love him when he seeth that he is his enemy, and hath shut him for ever out of Mercy, and out of Hope.

§. 28. God is not bound to sanctifie the mind and will of such a self-destroying sinner, who hath turned away himself from God and Happiness.

And without a renewed Mind it is morally and unnaturally impossible that he should be happy. He that would not use the Mercy that would have saved him, in the day of mercy, cannot require another life of mercy and trial, when this is lost and cast away, nor can require the further help of grace.

§. 29. If sin as sin have all the malignity and demerit before proved, much more the aggravated sins of many; and most of all a life of wickedness, which is spent in enmity against God and

Nihil est miserius
quam animus homi-
nis conscius, &c.
Plaut.

Jam aderit tempus,
cum se etiam ipse
oderit, Plaut. Bac.

Nam quis
Peccandi finem po-
suit sibi, quando re-
cepit
Erectum semel attri-
ta de fronte rubo-
rem?
Quisnam hominum
est quem in contem-
tum videris? Juven. 3.

and Godliness, and in a course of sensuality and rebellion; with the obstinate, impenitent, rejecting of all the counsel, calls and mercies which would reclaim the sinner, and this to the last breath.

It hath before been manifested, that all wilful sin hath this malignity in it, that in effect it denieth that there is a God, or pulleth him down as much as in the sinner lieth, and it setteth up the Devil in his stead, and calleth him God, or maketh God to be such a one as the Devil is; and also maketh an Idol of the sinner himself. For it denieth God's Power, Wisdom, Goodness, Propriety, Sovereignty and Love; his Truth, and Holiness, and Justice: and maketh him on the contrary impotent, unwise, bad, envious, unholy, false, unjust, and one that hath no authority to rule us; with much more the like.

But a life of enmity, rebellion and final impenitency (which is the case of all that perish) much more deserveth what ever humane nature can undergo.

§. 30. He that consenteth not to God's Government is a Rebel, and deserveth accordingly: and he that consenteth to it, consenteth to his Laws, and consequently to the Penalty threatened: and therefore if he break them, he suffereth by his own consent, and therefore cannot complain of wrong.

All that understand God's Government and Laws, and consent to them, are not only under the obligation of governing-power, but also of their own consent: and it is justly supposed that they consented on good and rational grounds, not knowing where they could be better: on hopes of the benefits of the Government, and the Reward, they necessarily consented to the Penalties.

§. 31. He that never consenteth to the Law, and yet is under the obligation of it, hath Life and Death, the Blessing and the Curse, Felicity and Misery set before him in the Law: Felicity is annexed to obedience, and misery to disobedience; and the Law-giver telleth us, that accordingly he will judge and execute, and he offereth every man his choice. He therefore that after this doth choose the sin which misery is annexed to, doth choose the misery and refuse the happiness: and therefore it is no wrong to cast him into misery, though everlasting, as long as he hath nothing but what he chose, and loseth nothing but what he re-
Z

In omni injuria per-
multum interest, u-
trum perturbatione
aliqua animi quæ
plerumque brevis est,
an consilium fiat: Le-
viora enim sunt ea,
quæ repentino ali-
quo motu accidunt,
quàm ea quæ præme-
ditata & præparata
inferuntur. Cic. 3.
Offic.

Volenti non fit in-
juria.

Neque enim civitas
in seditione beata
esse potest, nec in
discordia dominorum
domus: Quo minus
animus à seipso diffi-
dens, secumque dis-
cordans, gustare par-
tem ullam liquidæ
voluptatis & liberæ
potest. Torquatus E-
picur. in Cic. de fin.
l. 1. p. 86.

jected,

jected, and that with wilful obstinacy to the very last.

A sinner in this case hath nothing but blasphemy to say against the Justice of his Maker: for what can he say? He cannot say that his Maker had not Authority to make this Law, for his authority was absolute. He cannot say that it was too cruel, hard and unjust a Law; for it was made but to deter him, and such as he, from such sin, to which he had no greater temptations than the toyish vanities of a fleshly life. And he himself hath declared by the event, that the Law was not terrible enough to deter him: if it would not seem against so small and poor a bait, he himself doth justify the terribleness of it by his contempt. God saith, I threaten Hell to thee, to keep thee from sin: The sinner saith by his life and practice, The threatening of Hell is not enough to keep me from sin. And shall the same man say, when execution cometh, it is too great? No sinner shall suffer any thing but what he chose himself, in the causes of it. If he say, I did not believe that God was in good earnest, and would do as he said; this is but to blaspheme, and say, I took God for a liar, and deceiver, and a bad, and unwise, and impotent Governour. If he say, I did not know that sin (even final impenitency in an ungodly life) deserved so ill, common reason, and all the world will rise up against him, and the light of nature will shew him to his face, that all the forty points of malignity were in sin, which I mentioned before; and therefore that the Law of nature had a sufficient promulgation.

Having thus shew'd what punishment God may inflict without the least imputation of injustice, let us next enquire of Reason, what he will inflict.

§. 32. *When it is at God's choice whether he will annihilate a sinner, or let him live in misery, Reason telleth us, that the latter is more suitable to the ends of Government: because the living offender will not only be still a spectacle in the eyes of others, as a man hang'd up in chains, but will also confess his folly and sin, and his conscience will justify his Judge, and so God's Justice will be more glorious and useful to its ends.*

That which is not, is not seen nor heard: the annihilated are out of sight. And the mind of man is apt to think of a state of annihilation as that which is as a state of rest, or ease, and

It is an odd fiction of Cicero, that men for sin shall be turned into women: Atque ille qui rectè & honestè curriculum vendi à natura datum confecerit, ad illud astrum, quod aptus fuerit revertetur: Qui autem immoderatè & intemperanter vixerit, eum secundus ortus in figuram muliebrem transferet, & si merum quidem finem vitiorum faciet (as he is less likely) gravius etiam jactabitur, & in suis moribus simillimas figuras peccatum & ferarum transferetur. Neque malorum terminum prius aspiciet, quam illam sequi cæperit conversionem, quam habebat in se, &c.— eum ad primam & optimam conversionem pervenerit. Cic. de universis. p. (mibi) 358.

and feeleth no harm, and so is not terrible enough, (as shall be further said anon.) The living sufferer therefore is rationally the fittest monument of God's Justice.

§. 33. *It must reasonably be expected, that a Soul which is made apt to perpetual duration, should perpetually endure: and that the Soul enduring, the misery also should endure, seeing it was due by the Law of Nature, (as is proved.)*

Perpetual duration is necessary to no creature, their Beings being but contingent and dependent on the will of God, But perpetual duration of a dependent being is certain, when the first Being doth declare *his will* that it shall be so: and the natural way by which God declareth his *will* concerning the use of any thing, is by the nature and usefulness of it: because he maketh all things wisely, and nothing in vain. Therefore when he maketh the nature of an *Angel* or *spiritual being*, apt to perpetual duration, as being not mixt of separable Principles, nor corruptible, he thereby declareth his *will* for its duration, because he gave it not that durable nature in vain.

Two Arguments therefore I now offer to prove, that man's Soul is of perpetual duration: 1. Because it is such in its operations, (and therefore in its essence) as the superiour Spirits are which are so durable: for they are but *Intelligences* and *Free-agents*, fitted to love God, and delight in him, and praise him; and so is *man*. 2. Because (as is fully proved before) it is made to be happy in another life: and that proveth that it dieth not with the Body: and that proveth that its nature is incorruptible, and that proveth that it shall be perpetual, unless any sin should forfeit its being by way of penal deprivation: and that is improbable, both because God hath fitter ways of punishment, and intimateth in its corruptible nature that this is not his intent, and because the state of future reward is like to be a confirmed state.

§. 34. *Experience telleth the world, that so great is the folly and obdurateness of man, and the force of present sensual allurements, that nothing less than a perpetual misery, worse than annihilation, is rationally sufficient to be the Penalty of that Law, which is the instrument of governing the world: and therefore it is certain that so much is in the Law, and so much shall be executed.*

Magna est peccandi
 illecebra spes impu-
 nitatis. *Cic. pro Mil.*
The Light of Nature
taught men, that God
would not accept the
sacrifices of the wis-
hed, much less admit
them to his glory.
 Donis impii ne pla-
 care Deos audeant
 Platonem audiant, qui
 vetat dubitare qua sit
 mente futurus Deus,
 cum vir nemo bonus
 ab improbo se donati
 velit. *Cic. de L'g.*
l. 2. p. 244.
The Epicurean con-
fesseth, Quod si qui
satis opibus hominum
sibi contra conscien-
tiam sepi esse & mu-
niri videntur, Deo-
rum tamen numen
horrent, easque ipfas
solicitudines, quibus
animi noctes diesque
exeduntur, à Diis
supplicii causa im-
portare putant. Cic.
de fia. l. 1. p. 84.
 Nullum conscium
 peccatorum tuorum,
 magis timueris quàm
 remetipsum : alium
 enim potes effugere,
 te autem nunquam :
 Nequitia ipsa est sui
 poena. *Sen.*

Those thieves and murderers that have confirmed their infidelity, and overcome all the expectations of another world, will as boldly venture their lives to rob and kill, as if they were of little worth : yea, when they know that they must die, how desperately go they to the gallows, and how little make they of their lives : Its true, (as was aforesaid) that nature abhorreth death ; but we see among Souldiers, that he that at first is timerous, when he hath been used a while to kill men, or to see them kill'd by thousands, groweth senseless, almost regardless of his life, and will make as it were a jest of death. And when it is so ordinary a thing with men to kill birds, and fishes, and beasts, for their daily food and pleasure, why should they not easily bear their own, if they look for nothing after death ? A beast loveth his life as well as we, and our death is no more painful than theirs, and we should have as much courage as a beast. Especially men that live a poor and miserable life on earth, would little fear that death which endeth it ; and so humane Government it self would be in vain. He that would have an instrument to revenge him on his enemy, to kill his Governour, or do any villany in the world, if it were not for fear of another world, might find enow among Poor villains, that by misery or melancholly are a-weary of their lives. At least as long as they run but a hazard, like a Souldier in fight, and may possibly scape by craft, or flight, or friends, or strength, what wickedness will they not commit ? What Prince so just that hath not some rebellious Subject, or some Enemy that seeks his life ? What man so good that is not maliced by some ? Who hath mony or an estate, which one or other doth not desire ? and if there were nothing but death and annihilation to restrain men, what Prince, what person, had any security of his life or estate ? If a Rogue once grow but sensual and idle, he will deliberately resolve, [I will venture my life to live in pleasure, rather than live in certain toil and misery ; a short life, and a sweet, is better than a longer which is miserable, and must end at last.] We see, if once men be perswaded that they shall die like beasts, that they are not much troubled at it, because they think that when they have no being, they shall have no fear, nor care, nor grief, nor trouble, nor pain, nor want. And though

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right improved Reason, which hath higher expectations, makes a greater matter of the loss of them; yet sensual men so brutish themselves, that they grow contented with the felicity of a Brute, and are not much troubled that they have no more. Annihilation therefore certainly is a penalty utterly insufficient, even to keep any common Order in the World (as I proved before): And therefore it is certain, that the penalty inflicted hereafter will be greater than Annihilation: And if so, it must contain, with the Being of the Creature, a suffering worse than the loss of Being.

§. 35. *The Belief of a Hell or endless punishment, being that which is de facto the restraint of the Obedient part of the World, and that which proveth too weak with the Disobedient part, it thence followeth, that a Hell or endless punishment will be inflicted.*

The Reasons I have given before, 1. Because that Experience sheweth that the *Threatning of Hell* is necessary in the Law: therefore it self is necessary in the execution. 2. Because God doth not govern the World by deceit.

§. 36. *God will inflict more punishment for the final rejection of his Government, than Kings do for treason and rebellion against thousands.*

There is no proportion between God and Man, and between a fault against God, and against Man: Therefore if racks, torments, and death, be justly inflicted for Treason against a King, much more may be expected for rebellion against God.

Obj. *But mens sins do God no hurt, as they do the King.*

Ans. They do *wrong*, where they do no hurt. It is not for want of Malignity in *sin*, but through the perfections of God, that they do not hurt him: But they *displease* him, and injure him, and they hurt the World and the sinner himself, who is not his own. A Child is to be corrected for many faults, which do his Father no harm. It is not *hurting* God that is the Cause that sin is punished.

Obj. *But God is mercifull as well as just.*

Ans. True, and therefore he shewed mercy to sinners in the day of Mercy: And it is for the contempt and abuse of mercy that he condemneth them: If the Mercy abused had been less, the sin and punishment had been less. A mercifull

Peccati dolor & maximus & æternus est. Cic. Att. 11. Itaq; non ob ea solum incommoda quæ eveniunt improbis, fugiendæ improbitatem putamus, sed multo etiam magis, quod cujus in animo versatur, nunquam finit eum respirare, nunquam quiescere; inq. Torquatus Epicureus in Cic. ne fin. 1. 1. p. 85.

King and Judge will hang a Murderer or Traytor. Mercy to the good requireth punishment of the bad. Gods Attributes are not contrary. He is mercifull to the due Objects of mercy, and hath penal Justice for the Objects of that Justice.

Obj. But after this life, the ends of punishment cease: therefore so will the punishment: For there will be none in the next World to be warned by it, nor any further sin to be restrained; unless it be a Castigatory Purgatory for the sinner himself.

Ans. 1. I have proved that the Law was necessary to the Government of this World: And if it was necessary that God say, [everlasting death shall be the wages of sin] then his Truth and Justice make the execution necessary afterwards.

2. When this life is ended, we look for a New Heaven and a New Earth wherein dwelleth righteousness: And the penalties of the sinners of this World, may be a means of that righteousness of the next; as the punishment of the Devils is a warning to us, and proposed to us for our terror and restraint.

3. How little know we, whether thousands of the Orbs which we see are not inhabited; and whether the penalties of Earthly sinners, may not be a warning to any of those superiour Worlds. God hath not acquainted us with all the uses that he can make of sinners punishments: And therefore when Nature telleth us what is due, it is folly to say it will not be, because God hath no use for it.

Obj. But Hell is a cruelty which expresseth tyranny rather than wise justice.

Ans. That's but the voice of Folly, partiality and guilt: Every thief that is hanged is like enough to think the same of his own Punishment and Judge. If you think it such a cruelty, why was not the threatening of it enough to govern you, and to counterpoise a Feather, the trifles of sordid fleshly pleasure: Why did you choose it, in the choice of sin? were you not told of it? and was not Life and Death offered to your choice? Would you choose that which you think it is cruelty to inflict? who is it that is cruel to you but your selves? Why will you now be so cruel to your own souls, and then call God cruel for giving you your choice? O sinners,

Ulc fulmina paucorum periculo cadunt, omnium metu; sic animadversiones magnarum potestatum, terrent latius quam nocent. *Senec.*

Solons counsel for the felicity of the Commonwealth was, ut boni premiis invitentur, & mali poenis coercantur. *Cicer. ad Brut.*
Oderunt peccare mali formidine poenae. *Hor.*

ners, as you are wise, as you are men, as ever you care what becometh of you for ever, *have mercy upon your selves*, and do not refuse, and obstinately refuse the mercy of God, and then call him *unmercifull*? Have pity on your own Souls! Be not so cruel against your selves as to run into endless misery for nothing, and then think to lay the blame on God! God calleth now to you in your sin and wilfulness, and intreateth you to have mercy on your selves, and then he will have mercy on you in the day of your distress: But if you will not hear him, but will have none of his mercy now, wonder not if in vain you cry to him for it then.

Obj. *But I would not so use an Enemy of my own.*

Ans. 1. He doth not deserve it; for you are not Gods. 2. You are not Governours of the World, and so his fault respecteth not any such Law and Judgement of yours, by which the World must be governed. 3. Nor have you the Wisdom and Justice of God, to do that which is right to all. Yet are you not bound your selves to take complacency in the evil of your Enemies, but to use just means to bring him to a better minde and state.

§. 37. *The sum of all here proved is, that all sin deserveth endless misery, and naturally induceth to it; and that all ungodly impenitent souls shall certainly undergoe it; and that none can be saved from this misery, but by turning to God, and being saved from their sins.*

declinat. Quamvis enim vir lenis & benevolæ voluntatis inhumanum esse crediderit capitali animas sententiâ condemnare; non est tamen absônè suspicatus jaci eas in flumina torrentia flammatarum globis, & cænos voraginibus tetra. *Arnob. adv. Gent. li. 2. p. 14.*

Dat ille veniam facile, cui venia est opus. *Sen. Agam.*
Audetis ridere nos cum Gehennas dicimus & inextinguibiles ignes, in quos animas dejecti ab eorum hostibus cognovimus? Quid Plato vester in volumine de animæ immortalitate? Nonne Acherontem, nonne Stygem, &c. nominat? in quibus animas asseverat volvi, mergi, exuri? Nec ejus autoritas plurimum à veritate

CHAP. XVI.

Of the present sinfull and miserable state of this World.

See the Citations in
Marg. Cap.

*Blas in Laert. inquit,
Ira amandum quasi
odio simus habituri:
Plurimos enim esse
malos: And though
Cicero in Lxl. says,
That it is a Sentence
sapiente plane indig-
na, it is his mistake
of the sense of it. For
it is true, that in well-
grounded Friendship
we must avoid suspi-
cion, (which is all
that Cicero pleads
for): but yet we must
know Men to be Men,
and mutable: and all
just Love is not
well grounded inti-
mate Friendship.*

§. 1. **T**Hough all men may know all this before said to be their duty, and sin to be so evil, and to deserve such punishment, yet none do live perfectly without sin, according to the Law of Nature.

I have heard but of few that pretend to such perfection, and those few have confuted their own pretences, and been the furthest from it of many others: And therefore this I have no need to prove.

§. 2. The greatest part of the World do bend their minds and lives to the satisfying of their flesh, and live in ungodliness, intemperance, and unrighteousness, neglecting God and future happiness, and that Holy life which is the way thereto.

This being a matter of publick or common fact, doth need no other proof, than acquaintance with the people of the World.

§. 3. Yea, there is an aversness and enmity in them, to the life which God in Nature doth prescribe them; and a strong inclination to a fleshly Life.

There needeth no other proof of this, than the wonderfull difficulty which we find in perswading men to change their Lives, to live to God, and to forsake their sensuality and worldliness; and the abundance of Reason and labour that is lost upon them, when we cannot so much as make them willing.

§. 4. It is evident in the effect, that much of this cometh wth us into the World.

1. How else should it be so universal as it is? How should it be found in all sorts of Constitutions and Complexions? and in every Countrey and Age till now? 2. How should it work so early in Children as commonly it doth? 3. How cometh it to prevail against the best Education, Helps and Means? Certainly all of us feel from our childhood too much of the truth of this?

§. 5. This

Of the present sinfull and miserable state of this World.

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§. 5. This natural pravity is quickly increased, by the advantage of sensuality, which is active before Reason cometh to any power of resistance, and so getteth stronger possession by Custom, and groweth to a confirmed habit.

§. 6. And if vicious Education by vicious Parents be added, and bad company second that, and the vulgar course, or Rulers countenance concurr, the corrupt inclination is quickly more radicated, and next to a Nature.

§. 7. Many so farr prevail against the light and law of Nature, as to grow strange to God and to themselves, to their end, and their work. Even to doubt whether there be a God, or whether they have any other life to live, and whether Holiness be good and necessary, and sin be bad and deserve any punishment.

§. 8. There is a great deal of sottish unteachableness on the minds and wills of men, which bindereth their conviction and reformation.

§. 9. There is a great deal of senseless stupidity and hard-heartedness on men, which maketh them sleepily neglect the greatest things which they are convinced of.

§. 10. There is in most a marvellous Inconsiderateness, as if they had not their Reason awake to use; so that they will not soberly and seriously think of the things which deepest concern them.

§. 11. Most men are so taken up with the concernments of their Bodies, that their Minds are pre-occupied and made unfit for higher things.

All this is proved if we walk but in the World with open eyes.

§. 12. The Love of the World and fleshly pleasure, is so powerfull in the most, that they love not the Holy Law of God, which forbiddeth them that sensuality, and commandeth them a holy and temperate life.

They are like Children that cry for what they love, and will not be restrained by telling them that its unwholsom: Reason signifieth nothing with them, as long as Sense and Appetite gainsay it: They are angry with all that crosseth their Appetites, though it be to save their Lives: The Sense is become the predominant power in them, and Reason is dethroned, and hath lost its power: Therefore Gods Law

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In uno annulo omnes boni principes possunt insculpi, inquit quidam in Paphis. Aurel.

Seneca saith, That a good man is a Paganis, born once in five hundred years. Ep. 42,

Lucian. in Tim. inquit, Boni possessio est, quæ haud facile inveniri potest; ut quæ jam dudum è vita concesserit: Adco obscura & pusilla, ut illam vel Lynceus vix dupl. inveniat.

Diogenes crying, O homines adeste! ubi a crowd came about him, drove them away, saying, Homines vocavi, non sterquilinias.

Aristippus being asked, Quid esset admirandum in vita? answered, Vir probus & moderatus? quoniam etsi inter multos improbos agat, non tamen pervertitur. Senec.

is

Of the present sinfull and miserable state of this World.

is unacceptable and hatefull to these brutish people; because it is quite against their inclination, and that which the Flesh doth call their Interest and Good.

§. 13. Therefore they love not those who press them to the Obedience of this Law, which is so ungratfull to them; and who condemn their sin by the holiness of their lives; and that awaken their guilty Consciences by the serious mention of the Retributions of the life to come.

Hence was Diogenes his searching Athens with a Lanthorn to find a man.

All this is bitter to the taste, and the Reasonableness, necessity and future benefits, are things that they are much insensible of.

And when Themistocles had a Farm to sell, he bid the Cryer tell it as his great commendation, that there was an honest Neighbour dwelt neerer, intimating the paucity of such.

§. 14. Therefore they love not God himself, as he is Holy, and Governeth them by a Holy Law, which is so much against their inclinations; as he forbiddeth them all their sinfull pleasure, and threatneth damnation to them if they rebel: Especially as his Justice will execute this: Indeed their aversion from God in these respects, is no less than a Hating Him as God.

§. 15. These Vices working continually in mens hearts, do fill them with deceiving thoughts, and distracting passions, and inquietness, and engage them in self-troubling ways, and deprive them of the Comforts of the Love of God, and of a Holy life, and of the well-grounded hope of future blessings.

Ut Scarabzi & vulgures unguentis offenduntur,—ita non omnibus placet optima. Plutarch.

Vir bonus & sapiens qualem vix repperit unum.

Millibus à cunctis hominum consultus Apollo. &c. Virg.

Vitio nostra quæ amamus defendimus; & malum ex excusare quam excutere. Sen. Ep. 117.

Though they have such a present pleasure as prevaileth with them, it bringeth speedy smart and trouble: Just like the pleasure of scratching to a man that hath the Itch, which is quickly recompensed with smart if he go deep: Or like the pleasure of drinking cold water to a man in a Fever, or a Dropsie, which increaseth the disease. Sin is their sickness, and corrupteth their appetites, and though it have its proper pleasure, it depriveth them of the pleasures and benefits of health.

§. 16. These vices also so deprave sometimes, making every wicked man to be principally for HIMSELF and for his LUSTS, that they are commonly distracted with envy, malice, contention, persecutions, the fruits of Pride, and Covetousness and sensuality; and these diseases are still troubling them, till they work their ruine where they do prevail.

§. 17. The same vices set Kingdoms and other Commonwealths together in bloody Warrs, and cause men to study to destroy one another, and glory in the success, and fill the World with

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with rapine and violence by Sea and Land, and make it seem as necessary to their own preservation, to kill one another as their enemies, as to kill Toads and Serpents, Wolves and Tygers, and much more; and with much more care, and cost, and industry it is done.

§. 18. If any wise and charitable persons would heal these vices, and reconcile these contentions, and perswade persons and Nations to a holy, sober, peaceable course, they are commonly bated and persecuted, they seldom succeed, nor can their counsel be heard, through the multitude and fury of the vicious, whose folly and violence beareth down all.

§. 19. And God himself doth give the sinfull World a taste of his displeasure by painfull sicknesses, consuming Plagues, Famines, Poverty, and many the like Calamities, which fall upon mankind.

§. 20. But his sorest Judgements are the forsaking of Mens souls, and leaving them in all this folly and disorder, this sin and misery, to destroy themselves.

The principal Mercies and Punishments of this Life, are found on the Souls of men themselves. The greatest present Reward of Obedience, is when God doth more illuminate the mind, and send in more of his celestial beams, and shed abroad his Love upon the heart, and fill it with the Love of Goodness, and delight it in himself, and confirm the will against temptations: And the greatest punishment is when God in displeasure for mens disobedience, doth withdraw this grace, and leave men to themselves, that they that love not his grace should be without it, and follow their foolish self-destroying lusts.

§. 21. God cannot pardon an incapable subject, nor any but on terms consistent with the honour of his Justice, Laws, and Government! Nor is there any that can deliver a sinner from his punishment, upon any other terms whatsoever.

§. 22. The conclusion is, that the sin and misery of Mankind in Generall is great and lamentable, and their recovery a work of exceeding difficulty.

"Obj. All this sheweth, that mans Nature was not made for a Holy life, nor for a World to come:
"Else their averiness to it would not be so great and common.

Abfurdum est putare eum qui ab aliquibus ex bono malus fuerit factus, eundem ab illis iterum ex malo bonum fieri posse. Dion. Hal. 1. 1.

Ubi divitiarum honores sunt, & eas gloria, imperium, potentia, hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi innocentia pro malevolentia duci incipit. Salust. in Catilin.

Ælian. var. hist. l. 13. *saitb*, that Theodora a whore told Socrates, that he could draw away none of her followers, but she could draw away his at her pleasure; and he answered, Non minus: Tu siquidem ad declivem tramitem omnes rapis; ego vero ad virtutem cogo, ad quam arduus plerisque insolitus est accessus.

Animi morbi sunt cupiditates immenses, inanes, divitiarum, gloriæ dominationis, libidinosarum etiam voluptatum accedunt ægritudines, molestiæ, merores, quæ animos exedunt conficiuntque curis. *Cic. 1. de finib.*

In naturalibus desideris pauci non peccant. *Arist. 3. Eth.*

God only can recover
lapsed men?

Nemo magnus sine
aliquo afflatu Divi-
no unquam fuit. *Cicer.
de Nat. Deor. 3.*

Of the Paucity of the
good, and the abound-
ing of wickedness, al-
most all Poets, Orators,
Philosophers and Hi-
storians openly com-
plain.

Pauci quos æquus a-
mavit,
Jupiter aut ardens
evexit ad æthera vir-
tus,

Ans. This is fully answered before: It is proved, that Nature and Reason do fully bear witness against his wickedness and declare his obligations, to a better life, and his capacity of higher things: and that all this is his rebellion against Nature and Reason! And it no more proveth your Conclusion, than your Children, or Servants averfines to obedience, peace and labour, proveth that these are not their duty, or Subjects rebellion proveth that they are not obliged to be loyal.

“*Obj.* But it is incredible that God should thus far forsake
“his own Creation.

Ans. 1. There is no disputing against the light of the Sun, and the experience of all the World: It is a thing visible and undenyable that *this case they are de facto* in, and therefore that *thus farr* they are forsaken: It is no Wisdom to say, that *is not*, which all the World seeth to be so, because we think it unmeet that it *should* be so. 2. Is it incredible that God doth further than this forsake the wicked in the World of punishment? If he may further forsake *Hell*, he may *thus far* forsake Earth, upon their great provocations. We have no certainty of it, but it is not at all unlikely, that the innumerable fixed Starrs and Planets are inhabited Orbs; who have dwellers answerable to their nature and preeminence: And if God do totally forsake Hell, as to his Mercy; and next to Hell, do *much* forsake a sinfull Earth that is likest and neereft unto Hell, and do glorifie his more abundant Mercy upon the more holy and happy inhabitants of all, or almost all the other Orbs, what matter of discontent should this be to us. 3. But God hath not left even this dark and wicked Earth it self, without all remedy, as shall be further shewed.

Read *Cicero's* third Book *de Nat. Deor.* and you will see in *Cotta's* speech, that the notoriously depraved Reason of man, and the prevalency and prosperity of wickedness, was the great argument of the Atheists, against God and Providence; which they thought unanswerable, because they looked no further than this life, and did not foresee the time of full universal Justice. And whereas *Cotta* saith, that if there be a God, he should have made most men good, and prevented all the evil in the World, and not only punish men when

it is done, I shall answer that among the objections in the Second Tome; and I before shewed, how little reason men have to expect that God should make every man as good as he could make him, or make man indefectible; or to argue from mans sin against Gods goodness: The free Creator, Lord and Benefactor, may vary his creatures and benefits as he seeth meet, and may be proved good, though he make not man Angelical, and though he permit his sin, and punish him for sinning.

In vitia alter alterum tradimus: quomodo ad salutem revocari potest, quem nullus retrahis, & populus impellit? Senec. Ep. 19.

Serpunt vitia & contactu nocent, & in proximum quemq; transiliunt. Id. de Tranq. vit.

Nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur; optimus ille

Qui minimis urgetur. Horat. 1. Ser. 3.

Unicus; dedit vitium natura creato. Propert.

Quid ulcus leviter tangam? Omnes mali sumus. Senec.

Si cupis bonus fieri, primum crede quod malus sis. Epist. Enob. i.

Novi ego hoc seculum moribus quibus sit: Malus bonum malum esse vult ut sit sui similis: turbant, miscent, mores mali, rapax, avarus, invidus, sacrum profanum, publicum privatum habent: Hiulca gens: hæc ego doleo; hæc sunt quæ excruciant; hæc dies noctesq; tibi canto ut caveas. Plaut.

Nisi enim talis (mala) esset natura hominum, non anteponerent vindictam sanctitati & lucrum justitiæ, invidentes alienæ potentie non lædenti: sed volunt homines vindictæ cupiditate communes leges dissolvere, &c. Thucid. 1. 3.

Sed & boni, dicetis, sunt in rebus humanis; Viri sapientes, iusti, inculpati — Ref. Sint licet perhonesti, fuerintq; laudabiles, — sed audire deposcimus, quot sint aut fuerint numero. — Unus, duo, tres, — centum certe numero diffiniti. — At genus humanum non ex pauculis bonis, sed ex cæteris omnibus æstimari convenit, ponderari: In toto enim pars est, non totum in parte. — Et quinam isti sunt, dicite? Philosophi credo, qui se esse solos sapientissimos autumant. — Nempe illi qui cum suis quotidie cupiditatibus pugnant. — Qui ne in vitia proritari facultatis possint alicujus instinctu, patrimonia & divitias fugiunt, ne causas sibi afferant lapsus. — Quod cum faciunt & curant, apertissime animas esse indicant labiles, & infirmitate ad vitia proclives: Nostra autem sententia, quod bonum natura est, neq; emendari neq; corrigi se possit: Immo ipsum debet quid sit malum nescire, si generis formæ cujusq; in sua cogitat integritate perstare. — Qui luctatur animorum ingenitas corrigere pravitates, is apertissime monstrat imperfectum se esse, quamvis omni & pervicacia contendat. — Aynob. adv. Gentis, lib. 2. in Auctuar. Bib. Pat. To. 1. p. 10.

CHAP. XVII.

What Natural Light declareth of the Mercy of God to Sinners, and of the Means and Hopes of Mans Recovery.

Crede mihi miseris
caelestia numina par-
cunt.
Nec semper laesos &
sine fine premunt.
Ovid. 3. de Pont.

*When Piso in Cicero
seeketh after the sum-
mum bonum, he pro-
ceedeth by these steps,*
1. Omnem naturam
esse sui conservatri-
cem. Neminem esse
qui ipse se oderit.
2. Neminem esse qui
quomodo se habeat,
nihil sua censeat in-
teresse: 3. Hominum
è corpore & animo
constare, primasque
animi partes esse,
& secunda: corporis.
4. Animum aliquid
agere semper, neq;
ulla conditione qui-
etern sempiternam
posse pati. 5. Bona
esse quæ naturæ con-
veniunt, eamq; per-
ficiunt. 6. Animi
duo genera esse vir-
tutum; 1 Naturales,
viz. docilitas, memo-
ria, ingenium: 2 Voluntarias quæ in Voluntate posita magis proprio nomine virtutes appel-
lantur. 7. In prima Classe maxime excellens, considerationem & cognitionem celestium.
8. Virtutes autem voluntaris esse præstantissimas. 9. Et ita concludit, Virtutem esse maxime
expetendam; *This is the summ of the lib. 3. de Finib;*

§. 1. **N**otwithstanding all this forementioned sin and guilt and misery of man, and Justice of God, Experience assureth all the Earth, that Great Mercy is still continued to them, and that they have to do with a Most Merciful God.

Mens Lives are continued even while they sin: Patience endureth them: Time is vouchsafed them: Food and rayment, and Friends and Habitations, and health and ease and liberty is given them: The Sun sendeth them its moving influence, its Light, and Heat; The Earth supporteth them, and affordeth them fruit and maintenance and pleasure: The Clouds yield them rain; the Air breath; and the Sea it self is not unkind, and incommodious to them. Beasts, Birds and Fishes, and all inferior Creatures serve them! And yet much more mercy they receive from God.

§. 2. *It is therefore manifest that God dealeth not with the sinfull World according to the utmost rigor of Justice, nor punisheth them as much as they deserve.*

For all these Mercies they have forfeited, and deserved to be deprived of them.

“Obj. But it is no mercy, which hardeneth them in sin, and endeth in misery: It is rather a punishment; as to give cold water to a man in a Fever.

Ans^r. 1. If it hardened them of its own nature, and not merely by their abuse, and if it ended in misery by the designation of the Giver and the tendency of the gift, then were it as you say, no mercy but a Plague. But it is Mercy which in its nature and by the Donors will, hath a fitness and tendency to mens recovery, and to prevent their mis-

ry, and they are commanded and intreated accordingly to use it; and are warned of the danger of abuse.

“*Obj.* But God knoweth when he giveth it them, that they will so abuse it.

Ans. Gods fore-knowledge or Omniscience is his perfection, and will you argue from thence against his Mercy? His foreknowledge of mens sin and misery causeth them not: What if he foreknew them not? Were it any praise to him to be ignorant? And yet the Mercy would be but the same? If you will not be reconciled to Gods wayes, till he cease to be Omniscient, or till he prevent all the sin and misery which he foreknoweth, you will perish in your enmity, and he will easily justify his mercy against such accusations.

“*Obj.* But God could give men so much more grace as to prevent mens sin and misery if he would.

Ans. True: he is not unable: And so he could make every clod a tree, and every tree a beast, and every beast a man, and every man an Angel, as I said before: but must he therefore do it?

Here note, that it is one thing to say of any *Punishment*, [This is so deserved, that God may inflict it if he please, without Injustice, yea and thereby demonstrate his Justice;] and another thing to say [This is so due that God must or will inflict it, if he will be just; unless a compensation be made to Justice.] It is of the first sort that I am now speaking: For God may have variety of times, and measures, and kinds of Punishments, which he may use at his own choice, and yet not leave the sin unpunished finally: But whether he properly dispense with any Law, which is determinate as to the penalty, I am not now to speak, it being not pertinent to this place and subject.

§. 3. *Therefore God doth in some sort and measure, pardon sin to the generality of mankind, while he remitteth some measure of the deserved punishment.*

To remit or forgive the Punishment is so far to forgive the sin; for forgiveness as to execution, is but *non punire* proceeding from commiseration or mercy. And it is certain by all the Mercy bestowed on them, that God remitteth something of the punishment, which in Law and Justice he might inflict. Though this be not a total pardon, it is not therefore none at all.

§. 4. *The*

What Natural Light declareth of the Mercy of God

§. 4. The Goodness of Gods Nature, with this universal Experience of the World, possesseth all mens minds with this apprehension of God, that he is gracious, mercifull, long-suffering, and ready to forgive a capable subject, upon terms consistent with his truth and honour, and the common good.

Sape levant poenas,
creptaq; lumina red-
dunt
Cum bene peccati
poenituisse vident. O-
vid, l. de Pont.

Dissensio ab aliis; a
re reconciliatio inci-
piat: Cum ignoscis
ita beneficium tuum
tempera, ut non ig-
noscere videaris, sed
absolvere; Quia gra-
vissimum poenae genus
est, contumeliosa ve-
nia. Senec.
Pulchrum est vitam
donare petenti statim.
Theb.

Its true, that self-love and self-flattery doth cause men to think of the Mercy of God, as indulgent to their lusts, and suitable to their fleshly desires; and therefore their conceits are none of the measure of his mercy: But yet it may be perceived, that this foresaid conception of God as Mercifull and ready to forgive a capable subject, is warranted by the soberest Reason, and is not bred by sin and error: For the wife and better, and less sinfull any is, the more he is inclined to such thoughts of God as of a part of his Perfection.

§. 5. This apprehension is increased in Mankind by Gods obliging us, to forgive one another.

For though it doth not follow, that God must forgive all that which he bindeth us to forgive, for the Reasons before expressed; Yet we must believe, that the Laws of God proceed from that Wisdom and Goodness which is his Perfection, and that they bear the Image of them; and that the obeying of them tendeth to form us more to his Image our selves, and to make us Holy as he is Holy: And therefore that this Command of God to Man, to be mercifull and forgive, doth intimate to us, that mercy and forgiveness are agreeable and pleasing unto God.

Nec ex templo ara,
nec ex humana na-
tura miserecordia
tollenda est; inquit
Phocion, in Stobaeo.

§. 6. God cannot cast away from his Love and from Felicity, any soul which truly loveth Him above all, and which so repenteth of his sin, as to turn to God in Holiness of Heart and Life.

Facilius is ignoscitur,
qui non perseverare,
sed ab errato se revo-
care moliantur: est
enim humanum pec-
care, se belluinum
in errore perseverare.
Sicr, in Valin,

Here seemeth to arise before us a considerable difficulty. That God can finde in his heart to damn one that truly loveth him, and is sanctified, is incredible: Because 1. then Gods own Image should be in Hell, and a Saint be damned. 2. Because then the Creature should be readier to love God, than God to love him. 3. Then a Soul in Hell should have holy desires, Prayers, Praises, and other acts of Love. 4. And a Soul capable of the glorifying mercy of God, should miss of it: This therefore is not to be believed: For God cannot but

but take complacency in them that love him, and bear his Image: And those will be happy that God taketh complacency in.

And yet on the other side, Do not the sins of them that love God, deserve death and misery, according to his Law? And might he not inflict that on men which they deserve? Doth not Justice require punishment on them, that yet sin not away the Love of God, nor a state of Holiness? To this some answer, that all those that consist with Love and Holiness, are Venial sins, which deserve only temporal chastisement, and not perpetual misery: I rather answer, 1. That all sin considered in it self, abstracted from the Cause which counterballanceth it, and procureth pardoning mercy, doth deserve perpetual misery; and therefore so do the sins of the Best in themselves considered: But that Grace which causeth their Sanctification, and their Love to God, doth conjunctly cause the pardon of their sins; so that God will not deal with such as in rigour they deserve. 2. And if the sin of any that Love God, should provoke him to cast them into Hell, it followeth not, that one that loveth God in sensu composito, should be damned: For God hath an Order in his Punishments: And first he would withdraw his Grace from such a one, and leave him to himself; and then he will no longer Love God; and so it is not a Lover of God that would be damned.

§. 7. *The sinfull World is not so farr forsaken of God, as to be shut up under desperation, and utter impossibility of recovery and salvation.*

For if that were so, they were not *in Via*, or under an obligation to use any means, or accept of any mercy, in order to their recovery, nor could they rationally do it, or be perswaded to it. There is no means to be used where there is no end to be attained, and no hope of success.

§. 8. *The light of Nature, and the foresaid dealings of God with men, continuing them under his Government in Via, and manifold mercies, helps and means, do generally perswade the Consciences of men that there are certain Duties required of them, and certain Means to be used by them, in order to procure their recovery and salvation, and to scape the misery deserved.*

Pœnitenti optimus est portus, mutatio consilii. Cicer. Phil. 1. 2.

Beatus est cui vel in senectute contigerit, ut sapientiam, verasque opiniones consequi possit. Cicer. de finib.

Read Cato's speech in Cicer. de fin. 1. 3. that the Principle of self-love and preservation is the seed of virtue; and how every thing abhorreth its own hurt and destruction.

Scelerum si bene pœnitet, eradenda cupidinis, prava sunt elementa. Hor.

He that shall deny this, will turn the Earth into a Hell: he will teach men to forbear all means and duties which tend to their conversion, pardon and salvation, and to justify themselves in it, and desperately give over all Religion, and begin the horrors and language of the damned.

Omnibus natura dedit fundamenta scemque virtutum. Sen. ep. 110.

§. 9. The very command of God to use his appointed means for mens recovery, doth imply that it shall not be in vain, and doth not only shew a possibility, but so great a hopefulness of the success to the obedient, as may encourage them cheerfully to undertake it, and carry it through.

No man that is wise and merciful, will appoint his subject a course of means to be used, for a thing impossible to be got: or will say, Labour thus all thy life for it, but thou shalt be never the nearer it, if thou do. If such an Omniscient Physician do but bid me use such means for my cure and health, I may take his command for half a promise, if I obey.

Homines ad Deos nullâ re propius accedunt, quam salutem hominibus dando. Nihil habet fortuna majus quam ut possit; nec natura melius quam ut velit, servare. Cic. pro Ligar.

Notitia peccati, initium salutis. Sen.

Saith Epictetus, as our Parents deliver us to School-masters to be nurtured, so God delivereth us to our Consciences, whose nature is not to be contemned.

§. 10. Conscience doth bear witness against impenitent sinners, that the cause of their sin, and the hinderance of their recovery is in themselves; and that God is not unwilling to forgive and save them, if they were but meet for forgiveness and salvation.

Even now mens consciences take God's part against themselves, and tell them, that the Infinite Good, that communicateth all the Goodness to the creature, which it hath, is not so likely to be the cause of so odious a thing as sin, nor of mans destruction as he himself. If I see a Sheep lie torn in the high-way, I will sooner suspect the Wolf than a Lamb to be the cause, if I see them both stand by: and if I see a Child drown'd in scalding water, I will sooner suspect that he fell in by folly and heedlessness himself, than that his Mother wilfully cast him in. Is not silly naughty man much liker to be the cause of sin and misery, than the wise and gracious God? Much more hereafter will the sinners conscience justify God.

§. 11. God hath planted in the common nature of mankind an inseparable inclination to Truth as Truth, and to Good as Good, and a Love to themselves, and a desire to be happy, and a loathsomeness to be miserable; together with some reverence and honour of God, (till they have extinguished the belief of his being) and a hatred and horror of the Devil, (while they believe he is): All which are a fit Stock to plant Reforming-
struts

truths in, and Principles fit to be improved for mens conversion, and the excitation and improvement of them, is much of that recovering work,

§. 12. Frequent and deep consideration being a great means of mans recovery, (by improving the truth which he considereth, and restoring Reason to the Throne) it is a great advantage to man that he is naturally a Reasoning and Thoughtful creature, his Intellect being propense to activity and knowledge.

§. 13. And it is his great advantage, that his frequent and great afflictions have a great tendency to awake his Reason to consideration, and to bring it to the heart, and make it effectual.

And consequently that God casteth us into such a Sea and wilderness of troubles, that we should have these quickening Monitors still at hand.

§. 14. And it is man's great advantage for his recovery, that Vanity and Vexation are so legibly written on all things here below; and that frustrated expectations, and unsatisfied minds, and the fore-knowledge of the end of all, and todays pains which find no ease, with multitudes of bitter experiences, do so abundantly help him to escape the snare (the love) of present things.

For all men that perish are condemned for loving the creature above the Creator: and therefore such a world, which appeareth so evidently to be vain, and empty, and deceitful, and vexatious, and which all men know will turn them off at last with as little comfort, as if they had never seen a day of pleasure in it; I say, such a world, one would think, should give us an antidote against its own deceit, and sufficiently wean us from its inordinate love. At least this is a very great advantage.

§. 15. It is also a common and great advantage for mans recovery, that his life here is so short, and his death so certain, that reason must needs tell him, that the pleasures of sin are also short, and that he should always live as parting with this world, and ready to enter into another.

The nearness of things maketh them to work on the mind of man the more powerfully: distant things, though sure and great, do hardly awaken the mind to their reception and due consideration. If men lived 600 or 1000 years in the world, it were no wonder if covetousness, and carnality, and

Nemo adeo ferus est ut non miscere possit

Si modoculturæ patientem commodet aurem. Horat. ep. 1.

Miserum te esse judico, qui nunquam fueris miser: traxisti sine adversario vitam: Opus est ad sui notitiam experimen-

to. Quid quisque possit non nisi tentando didicit. Sen. de pro.

Non omnino Diis exosos esse, qui in hac vita cum ærumnarum varietate luctantur; sed esse arcanas causas, &c. Macrobi. l. 1. Saturn.

Rem pæteris modicam & mediocri bile ferendam

Si flectas oculos, majora ad crimina juven.

Quotidie morimur, quotidie enim demitur aliqua pars vitæ: & tunc quoque cum crescimus vita decrescit. Hunc ipsum quem agimus diem, cum morte dividimus. Sen. ep. 24.

Natura nihil hominibus brevitate vitæ præstitit melius. Id.

Nihil æque tibi proficiet ad temperantiam omnium rerum, quam frequens cogitatio brevis avi & hujus incerti. Quicquid facis respice ad mortem. Sen. ep. 25.

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security made them like Devils, and worse than wild beasts to one another: But when men cannot chuse but know, that they must certainly and shortly see the end of all that ever this world will do for them, and are never sure of another hour; this is so great a help to sober consideration, and conversion, that it must be monstrous stupidity and brutishness that must overcome it.

Magna pars peccatorum tollitur, si peccati testis adsit. Sen.
What then may the presence of God do?

Clemens Alexand.
was positive in it, that *Philo* sophy was blest'd to the saving of many Heathens who obey'd it.

Tunc est consummata infelicitas, ubi turpia non solum delectant, sed etiam placent: & desinit esse remedio locus, ubi quæ fuerant vitia, mores fiunt. Sen. Prov.

At morbi perniciosiores pluresque sunt animi quam corporis. — Qui vero probari potest, ut sibi mederi animus non possit, cum ipse medicinam corporis animus invenerit? Cumque omnes qui corpore se curari passim sunt, non continuo convalescant: Animi autem qui se sanari voluerint, præceptisque sapientum paruerint, sine ulla dubitatione sanentur. *Cic. Tuscul. l. 3. p. 270.*

§. 16. It is also a great advantage for man's conversion, that all the world revealeth God to him, and every thing telleth him of the Power, and Wisdom, and Goodness, and Love of God; and of his constant Presence; and so sheweth him an object which should as easily over-power all sensual objects, which would seduce his soul, as a mountain will weigh down a feather.

Though we see not God, (which would sure put an end to the controversie whether we should be sensual or holy) yet while we have a glass as big as all the world, which doth continually represent him to us, one would think that no reasonable creature should so much over-look him, as to be carried from him with the trifles of this world.

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§. 19. If any persons are brought by these means alone to repent unfeignedly of an ungodly, uncharitable and intemperate life, and to love God unfeignedly as their God, above all; and to live a holy, obedient life: God will not condemn such persons, though they wanted supernatural Revelation of his will. (As I shewed before §. 6.)

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Sunt enim ingenii nostris semina innata virtutum, quæ si adolescere liceret, ipsa nos ad beatam vitam natura perduceret. Nunc autem simul ac editi sumus in lucem, in omni continuo pravitate versamur, &c. Cic. 3. Tuscul.
N. B. That when Philosophers say, That all is good which Nature teacheth, &c. they mean by Nature, the true and sound constitution of the Soul, which they distinguish from its diseases and corruption.

He that shall deny this, will turn the Earth into a Hell: he will teach men to forbear all means and duties which tend to their conversion, pardon and salvation, and to justify themselves in it, and desperately give over all Religion, and begin the horrors and language of the damned.

Omnibus natura dedit fundamenta semperque virtutum. See. ep. 110.

§. 9. The very command of God to use his appointed means for mens recovery, doth imply that it shall not be in vain, and doth not only shew a possibility, but so great a hopefulness of the success to the obedient, as may encourage them cheerfully to undertake it, and carry it through.

No man that is wise and merciful, will appoint his subject a course of means to be used, for a thing impossible to be got: or will say, Labour thus all thy life for it, but thou shalt be never the nearer it, if thou do. If such an Omniscient Physician do but bid me use such means for my cure and health, I may take his command for half a promise, if I obey.

Homines ad Deos nullâ re propius accedunt, quam salutem hominibus dando. Nihil habet fortuna majus quam ut possit; nec natura melius quam ut velit, servare. Cic. pro Ligar.

Notitia peccati, initium salutis. Sen. Saith Epictetus, as our Parents deliver us to School-masters to be nurtured, so God delivereth us to our Consciences, whose nurture is not to be contemned.

§. 10. Conscience doth bear witness against impenitent sinners, that the cause of their sin, and the hinderance of their recovery is in themselves; and that God is not unwilling to forgive and save them, if they were but meet for forgiveness and salvation.

Even now mens consciences take God's part against themselves, and tell them, that the Infinite Good, that communicateth all the Goodness to the creature, which it hath, is not so likely to be the cause of so odious a thing as sin, nor of mans destruction as he himself. If I see a Sheep lie torn in the high-way, I will sooner suspect the Wolf than a Lamb to be the cause, if I see them both stand by: and if I see a Child drown'd in scalding water, I will sooner suspect that he fell in by folly and heedlessness himself, than that his Mother wilfully cast him in. Is not silly naughty man much liker to be the cause of sin and misery, than the wise and gracious God? Much more hereafter will the sinners conscience justify God.

§. 11. God hath planted in the common nature of mankind an inseparable inclination to Truth as Truth, and to Good as Good, and a Love to themselves, and a desire to be happy, and a lothness to be miserable; together with some reverence and honour of God, (till they have extinguished the belief of his being) and a hatred and horror of the Devil, (while they believe he is): All which are a fit Stock to plant Reforming-truths

truths in, and Principles fit to be improved for mens conversion, and the excitation and improvement of them, is much of that recovering work,

§. 12. Frequent and deep consideration being a great means of mans recovery, (by improving the truth which he considereth, and restoring Reason to the Throne) it is a great advantage to man that he is naturally a Reasoning and Thoughtful creature, his Intellect being propense to activity and knowledge.

§. 13. And it is his great advantage, that his frequent and great afflictions have a great tendency to awake his Reason to consideration, and to bring it to the heart, and make it effectual.

And consequently that God casteth us into such a Sea and wilderness of troubles, that we should have these quickening Monitors still at hand.

§. 14. And it is man's great advantage for his recovery, that Vanity and Vexation are so legibly written on all things here below; and that frustrated expectations, and unsatisfied minds, and the fore-knowledge of the end of all, and todily pains which find no ease, with multitudes of bitter experiences, do so abundantly help him to escape the snare (the love) of present things.

For all men that perish are condemned for loving the creature above the Creator: and therefore such a world, which appeareth so evidently to be vain, and empty, and deceitful, and vexatious, and which all men know will turn them off at last with as little comfort, as if they had never seen a day of pleasure in it; I say, such a world, one would think, should give us an antidote against its own deceit, and sufficiently wean us from its inordinate love. At least this is a very great advantage.

§. 15. It is also a common and great advantage for man's recovery, that his life here is so short, and his death so certain, that reason must needs tell him, that the pleasures of sin are also short, and that he should always live as parting with this world, and ready to enter into another.

The nearness of things maketh them to work on the mind of man the more powerfully: distant things, though sure and great, do hardly awaken the mind to their reception and due consideration. If men lived 600 or 1000 years in the world, it were no wonder if covetousness, and carnality, and

Nemo adeo ferus est, ut non miscere possit.

Si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem. Horat. ep. 1. Miserum te esse judico, qui nunquam fueris miser: traxisti sine adversario vitam: Opus est ad sui noctiam experimen- to. Quid quisque possit non nisi tentando didicit. Sen. de pro.

Non omnino Diis exosos esse, qui in hac vita cum ærumnarum varietate luctantur; sed esse arcanas causas, &c. Macrob. l. 1. Saturn. Rem pateris medicam & mediocri bile ferendam.

Si flebas oculo, majora ad crimina. — Juven.

* Quotidie morimur, quotidie enim demitur aliqua pars vite: & tunc quoque cum crescimus vita decrescit. Nunc ipsum quem agimus diem, cum morte dividimus. Sen. ep. 24. Natura nihil hominibus brevitate vite præstitit melius. Id. Nihil æque tibi proficiet ad temperantiam omnium rerum, quam frequens cogitatio brevis ævi & hujus incerti. Quicquid facis respice ad mortem. Sen. ep. 25.

What Natural Light declareth of the Mercy of God

security made them like Devils, and worse than wild beasts to one another: But when men cannot chuse but know, that they must certainly and shortly see the end of all that ever this world will do for them, and are never sure of another hour; this is so great a help to sober consideration, and conversion, that it must be monstrous stupidity and brutishness that must overcome it.

Magna pars peccatorum tollitur, si peccati testis adstat. Sen. What then may the presence of God do?

Clemens Alexand. was positive in it, that Philosophy was bless'd to the saving of many Heathens who obey'd it.

Tunc est consummata infelicitas, ubi turpia non solum delectant, sed etiam placent: & definit esse remedio locus, ubi quæ fuerant vitia, mores fiunt. Sen. Prov.

At morbi perniciosiores pluresque sunt animi quam corporis.

Qui vero probari potest, ut sibi mederi animus non possit, cum ipse medicinam corporis animus invenerit? Cumque omnes qui corpore se curari passi sunt, non continuo convalescant: Animi autem qui se sanari voluerint, præceptisque sapientum paruerint, sine ulla dubitatione sanentur. Cic. Tuscul. l. 3. p. 270.

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PART II.

Of CHRISTIANITY and Supernatural Revelation.

CHAP. I.

Of the great need of a clearer Light, or fuller Revelation of the Will of God, than all that hath been opened before.



WHILST I resolved upon a deep and faithful search into the grounds of all Religion, and a review and trial of all that I had myself believed, I thought meet first to pass by *Persons*, and shut up my *Books*, and with retired *Reason* to read the *Book of Nature* only: and what I have there found, I have justly told you in the former *Part*; purposely omitting all that might be controverted by any considerable sober reason, that I might neither stop my self nor my Reader in the way; and that I might not deceive my self with plausible consequences of unsound or questionable antecedents; nor discourage my Reader by the casting of some doubtful passages in his way, which might

Nullus unquam a
mortali semine vir
absolute bonus nascetur, Dion. Hal. l. 2.
Truth delivered by the
balves, will be lamely
praised. Ideo peccamus, quis de partibus vitæ omnes deliberamus: de toto nemo deliberat. Sen.

might tempt him to question all the rest. For I know what a deal of handsome structure may fall through the falseness of some one of the supports, which seemed to stand a great way out of sight: And I have been wearied my self, with subtil discourses of learned men, who in a long series of *Ergo's* have thought, that they have left all sure behind them, when a few false suppositions were the life of all. And I know that he who interposeth any doubtful things, doth raise a *diffidence* in the Reader's mind, which maketh him suspect that the ground he standeth on is not firm, and whether all that he readeth be not meer uncertain things. Therefore leaving things controvertable for a fitter place and time, I have thus far taken up so much as is plain and sure, (which I find of more importance and usefulness to my own information and confirmation, than any of those controvertible points would be, if I could never so certainly determine them.

And now having perused the Book of Nature, I shall cast up the account, and try what is yet wanting, and look abroad into the opinions of others in the world, and search whence that which is yet wanting may be most fully, and safely, and certainly supplied.

§. 1. And first, when I look throughout the world, I find, that though all the evidence aforesaid for the necessity of a holy virtuous life, be unquestionable in natura rerum, yet most of the world observe it not, or discern but little of it, nor much regard the light without; or the secret witness of their consciences within.

Natural light or evidence is so unsuccessful in the world, that it loudly telleth us, something is yet wanting, whatever it is. We can discern what it is which is necessary to man's happiness: but we can hardly discern whether *de facto* any considerable number (at best) do by the teaching of nature alone attain it. When we enquire into the *Writings* of the best of the Philosophers, we find so little evidence of real holiness, that is, of the foresaid *Resignation, Subjection, and Love to God as God*, that it leaveth us much in doubt whether indeed they were holy themselves or not, and whether they made the Knowledge, Love, Obedience and Praise of God, the end and business of their lives. However, there is too great evidence, that the world lieth in darkness and wickedness,

of the Will of God, than all that hath been opened before.

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ness, where there is no more than natural light.

§. 2. *I find therefore that the discovery of the will of God, concerning our duty and our end, called, The Law of Nature, is a matter of very great difficulty, to them that have no supernatural light to help them.*

Though all this is legible in Nature, which I have thence transcribed; yet if I had not had another Teacher, I know not whether ever I should have found it there. Nature is now a very hard book: when I have learnt it by my Teachers help, I can tell partly what is there: but at the first perusal, I could not understand it. It requireth a great deal of time, and study, and help to understand that, which when we do understand it, is as plain to us as the high-way.

§. 3. *Thence it must needs follow, that it will be but few that will attain to understand the necessary parts of the Law of Nature aright, by that means alone; and the multitude will be left in darkness still.*

The common people have not leisure for so deep and long a search into nature, as a few Philosophers made; nor are they disposed to it. And though reason obligeth them, in so necessary a case, to break through all difficulties, they have not so full use of their reason as to do it.

Obj. *But as Christian Teachers do instruct the people in that which they cannot have leisure to search out themselves; so why may not Philosophers, who have leisure for the search, instruct the people quickly, who have not leisure to find out the truth without instruction.*

Ans. Much might be done, if all men did their best: But, 1. The difficulty is such, that the learned themselves are lamentably imperfect and unsatisfi'd, (as I shall further shew.) 2. Though the vulgar cannot search out the truth without help, yet is it necessary that *by help* they come to see with their own eyes, and rest not in a humane belief alone; especially when their Teachers are of so many minds, that they know not which of them to believe. To learn the truth in its proper evidence, is very hard to them that have no more than the light of nature.

Obj. *But what difficulty is there in these few precepts, that all men may not easily learn them? [Thou shalt love God above all, and repent of sin, and set thy heart upon the*

Cc

Life

what difficulties the wisest Heathens find about God's prospering the wicked, and assisting the good. And how dark were they about the life to come?

Therefore Seneca's wife and good man was a Phoenix.

Sine doctrina liquid bene dicitur, adjuvante natura, tamen id quia fortuito fit, semper paratum esse non potest. Cic. de Or. Etsi ingeniis magnis præditi quidam, dicendi copiam sine ratione consequuntur, ars tamen dux certior est quam natura. Aliud enim est poetarum more verba fundere, aliud, ea quæ dicas ratione & arte distinguere. Cic. de fin. 4.

You may perceive the Heathens gratitude to God by these words of Cotta in Cic de Nat. Deor. 3. pag. 109 Num quis quod bonus vir esset, gratias Dns egit unquam? At quod dives, quod honoratus, quod incolumis, Jovemque Optimum Maximum ob eas res appellant, non quod nos justos, temperatos, sapientes efficiat, sed quod salvos, incolumes, opulentos, copiosos. —Judicium hoc omnium mortalium, fortunam à Deo petendam, à seipso suamendam esse sapientiam.

Life to come, and love thy neighbour as thy self, &c.

Ans^r. There is no difficulty in learning these words: But, 1. There is great difficulty in learning to understand the sense, and certain truth of that which is contained in them. To know what God is, so far as is necessary to our obedience and love, and to know what it is in him which is so amiable, and to know that there is a Life to come, and what it is, and to know what is Cod's will, and so what is duty, and what is the sin which we must repent of; these are more difficult. Generals are soon named; but it is a particular understanding which is necessary to practice. 2. And it is hard to see that certainty and attractive Goodness in these things, as may draw the mind to the practical embracements of them, from the love of other things. An obscure doubtful wavering apprehension, is not strong enough to change the heart and life.

§. 4. These difficulties in the meer natural way of Revelation, will fill the learned world with controversies: and those controversies will breed and feed contentions, and eat out the heart of practical godliness, and make all Religion seem an uncertain or unnecessary thing.

This is undoubtedly proved, 1. In the reason of the thing. 2. And in all the worlds experience: so numerous were the controversies among Philosophers, so various their Sects, so common their contentions, that the world despised them, and all Religion for their sakes, and look'd on most of them but as Mountebanks, that set up for gain, or to get Disciples, or to shew their wit: Practical piety died in their hands.

Obj. This is a consequent not to be avoided, because no way hath so resolved difficulties, as to put an end to controversies and sects.

Ans^r. Certainly clearness is more desirable than obscurity, and concord and unity than division; Therefore it concerneth us to enquire how this mischief may be amended, which is it that I am now about.

§. 5. These difficulties also make it so long a work, to learn God's will by the light of Nature only, that the time of their youth, and oft of their lives, is slip't away, before men can come to know why they lived.

It is true, that it is their own fault that causeth all these inconveniencies:

inconveniencies: but its as true, that their disease doth need a cure, for which it concerneth them to seek out. The life of man is held upon a constant uncertainty, and no man is sure to live another year: and therefore we have need of precepts so plain as may be easily and quickly learnt, that we may be always ready, if death shall call us to an account. I confess that what I have transcribed from nature is very plain there, to one that already understandeth it: but whether the diseased blindness of the world do not need yet something plainer, let experience determine.

§. 6. *That which would be sufficient for a sound understanding and will, is not sufficient to a darkned diseased mind and heart, such as experience telleth us is found throughout the world.*

To true reason which is at liberty, and not enthralled by sensuality and error, the light of nature might have a sufficiency to lead men up to the love of God, and a life of holiness: But experience telleth us, that the reason of the world is darkned, and captivated by sensuality, and that few men can well use their own faculties. And such eyes need spectacles, such cripples need crutches, yea, such diseases call for a Physician. Prove once that the world is not diseased, and then we will confess that their natural food may serve the turn, without any other diet or Phytick.

§. 7. *When I have by natural Reason silenced all my doubts about the Life to come, I yet find in my self an uncouth unsatisfactory kind of apprehension of my future state, till I look to supernatural evidence: which I perceive is from a double cause.*

1. *Because a Son in flesh, would fain have such apprehension as participateth of sense.* 2. *And we are so conscious of our ignorance, that we are apt still to suspect our own understandings, even when we have nothing to say against the conclusion.*

What I have said in the first part of this Book, doth so fully satisfy my Reason, as that I have nothing to say against it, which I cannot easily discern to be unsound: and yet for all that, when I think of another world, by the help of this natural light alone, I am rather amazed than satisfied; and am ready to think, [All this seemeth true, and I have nothing of weight to say against it; but alas how poor and uncertain a thing is man's understanding! how many are deceived in things that seem as undeniable to them! How

Parvulos nobis natura dedit igniculos quos celeriter in aliis moribus opinionibusque depravatis sic restringimus, ut nusquam naturæ lumen appareat: —Nunc autem simulatque edidi in lucem & suscepti sumus, in omni continuo pravitate versamur, ut pene cum lacte nutricis errorem suxisse videamur: cum vero parentibus redditi, deinde magistris traditi sumus, cum ita variis imbuimur erroribus, ut vanitati veritas, & opinioni confirmatæ natura ipsa cedat. Cic. 3. Tuscul. Multis signis natura declarat quid velit: —obscurescimus ramen nescio quo modo, nec ea quæ ab ea moventur audimus. Cic. Lal.

Si tales nos natura genuisset, ut eam ipsam intueri, & perspicere, eaque optimâ duce cursum vitæ conficere possemus: haud esset sane quod quisquam rationem & doctrinam requireret cum natura sufficeret. Nunc vero, &c. Cic. 3. Tuscul.

Quicquid infixum & ingenicum est, lenitur arte, non vincitur. Sen.

Of the great need of a clearer Light, or fuller Revelation

know I what one particular may be unseen by me, which would change my judgment, and better inform me in all the rest? If I could but see the world which I believe, or at least but speak with one who had been there, or gave me sensible evidence of his veracity, it would much confirm me.] Sense hath got so much mastery in the Soul, that we have much ado to take any apprehension for sure and satisfactory, which hath not some great correspondence with sense. This is not well: But it is a disease which sheweth the need of a Physician, and of some other satisfying light.

§. 8. *While we are thus stopt in our way by tediousness, difficulty, and a subjective uncertainty about the end and duty of man, the flesh is still active, and sin encreaseth and gets advantage, and present things are still in their deceiving power; and so the Soul groweth worse and worse.*

§. 9. *The Soul being thus vitiated and perverted by sin, is so partial, slothful, negligent, unwilling, superficial, deceitful, and yessed in its studies, that if the evidences of life everlasting be full, and clear, and satisfying to others, it will over-look them, or not perceive their certainty.*

§. 10. *Though it be most evident by common experience, that the nature of man is lamentably depraved, and that sin doth over-spread the world; yet how it entred, and when, or which of our progenitors was the first transgressor and cause, no natural light doth fully or satisfactorily acquaint me.*

§. 11. *And though Nature tell me that God cannot damn or hate a Soul that truly loveth him, and is sanctified, yet doth it not shew me a means that is likely considerably to prevail to sanctifie Souls, and turn them from the love of present transitory things, to the love of God and Life eternal.*

Though there be in nature the discovery of sufficient Reasons and Motives to do it, where Reason is not in captivity; yet how unlikely they are to prevail with others, both Reason and Experience fully testifie.

§. 12. *And whereas God's special mercy and grace is necessary to so great a change and cure, and this grace is forfeited by sin, and every sin deserveth more punishment, and this sin and punishment must be so far forgiven before God can give us that grace which we have forfeited, Nature doth not satisfactorily teach me, how God is so far reconciled to Man, nor how the*

O curvæ in terris animæ, & cœlestium inanes!

Quid juvar hoc, templis nostros immittere mores?

Et bona Diis ex hac scelerata ducere pulpâ? Persius.

Non bove mactato cœlestia numina gaudent:

Sed quæ præstanda est, & sine teste fides. Ovid. ep. 19.

Omne nefas, omnemque mali purgamine causam

Credebant nostri tollere posse cenes, &c.

Ah! nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cordis.

Fulmineâ tolli posse putatis aquâ. Ovid. 2, Fast.

of the Will of God, than all that hath been opened before.

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the forgiveness of sin may be by us so far procured.

§. 13. And whereas I see at once in the world, both the abounding of sin, which doth serveth damnation, and the abounding of mercy to those that are under such deserts; I am not satisfied by the light of Nature, how God is so far reconciled, and the ends of Government and Justice attained, as to deal with the world so contrary to its deserts.

§. 14. And while I am in this doubt of God's reconciliation, I am ready still to fear, lest present forbearance and mercy be but a reprieve, and will end at last in greater misery: However I find it hard, if not impossible, to come to any certainty of actual pardon and salvation.

§. 15. And while I am thus uncertain of pardon and the love of God, it must needs make it an insuperable difficulty to me, to love God above my self and all things: for to love a God that I think will damn me, or most probably may do it, for ought I know is a thing that man can hardly do.

§. 16. And therefore I cannot see how the guilty world can be justified, nor brought to forsake the sin and vanities which they love, as long as God, whom they must turn to by love, doth seem so unlovely to them.

§. 17. And every temptation from present pleasure, commodity or honour, will be like to prevail, while the love of God, and the happiness to come, are so dark and doubtful, to guilty, misgiving ignorant Souls.

§. 18. Nor can I see by Nature how a sinner can live comfortably in the world, for want of clearer assurance of his future happiness.

For if he do but say as poor Seneca, Cicero, and others such, [It is most like that there is another life for us, but we are not sure] it will both abate their comfort in the forethoughts of it, and tempt them to venture upon present pleasure, for fear of losing all: And if they were never so confident of the life to come, and had no assurance of their own part in it, as not knowing whether their sins be pardoned, still their comfort in it would be small. And the world can give them no more than is proportionable to so small and momentary a thing.

§. 19. Nor do I see in Nature any full and suitable support against the pain and fears of sufferings and death, while

Multa miser metui
quia feci multa pro-
terve Idem.

In malis sperare bo-
num, nisi innocens
nemo solet. Senec.

Turpe est quicquam
mali perpetrare: be-
ne autem agere nullo
periculo proposito,
multorum est: id ve-
ro proprium boni vi-
ri est, etiam cum pe-
riculo suo honesta-
tem in agentem se-
qui. Plut. in Maria.

At mens sibi conscia
facti

Præmetuens, adhibet
stimulos, terretque
flagellis:

Nec videt interea qui
terminus esse malo-
rum.

Possit, nec qui sit
penarum denique
finis.

Atque eadem metuit
magis hæcne in mor-
te gravescant, Lucet.

3.

Of the several Religions which are in the world.

men doubt of that which should support them.

§. 20. I must therefore conclude, that the Light and Law of Nature, which was suitable to uncorrupted reason, and will, and to an undepraved mind, is too insufficient to the corrupted, vitiated guilty world; and that there is a necessity of some revealing medicinal Revelation.

Which forced the very Heathens to fly to Oracles, Idols, Sacrifices, and Religious Propitiations of the gods; there being scarce any Nation which had not some such thing: though they used them, not only uneffectually, but to the increase of their sin, and strengthening their presumption; (as too many poor ignorant Christians now do their Masses and other such formalities and superstitions.) But as *Arminius* saith, (*adv. Gentes*, l. 7.) *Crescit enim multitudo peccantium, cum redimendi peccati spes datur: & facile itur ad culpas, ubi est venalis ignoscentium gratia.* He that hopeth to purchase forgiveness with money, or sacrifices, or ways of cost, will strive rather to be rich than to be innocent.

CHAP. II.

Of the several Religions which are in the world.

HAVING finished my enquiries into the state and book of Nature, I found it my duty to enquire what other men thought in the world, and what were the reasons of their several beliefs, that if they knew more than I had discovered (by what means soever) I might become partaker of it.

§. 1. And first I find that all the world, except those called Heathens, are conscious of the necessity of supernatural Revelation; yea, the Heathens themselves have some common apprehension of it.

§. 2. Four sorts of Religions I find only considerable upon earth: The meer Naturalists, called commonly Heathens and Idolaters: The Jews: The Mahometans: and the Christians. The Heathens by their Oracles, Augures and Aruspices, confess the necessity of some supernatural light; and the very Religion of all the rest consisteth in it.

I §. 3. As

§. 3. As for the Heathens, I find this much good among them: That some of them have had a very great care of their Souls: and many have used exceeding industry in seeking after knowledge, especially in the mysteries of the works of God; and some of them have bent their minds higher to know God, and the invisible worlds: That they commonly thought that there is a Life of Retribution after death; and among the wisest of them, the summe of that is to be found (though confusedly) which I have laid down in the first Part of this Book.

Especially in Seneca, Cicero, Plutarch, Plato, Plotinus, Jamblicus, Proclus, Porphyry, Julian the Apostate, Antoninus, Epictetus, Arrian, &c. And for their Learning, and Wisdom, and Moral Virtues, the Christian Bishops carried themselves respectfully to many of them, (as Basil to Libanius, &c.) And in their days many of their Philosophers were honoured by the Christian Emperours, or at least by the inferiour Magistrates and Christian people, who judged that so great worth deserved honour, and that the confession of so much Truth, deserved answerable love; especially Aedesius, Julianus, Cappadox, Proaeresius, Maximus, Libanius, Acacius, Crysostomus, &c. And the Christians ever since have made great use of their Writings in their Schools; especially of Aristotle's and Plato's with their followers.

§. 4. And I find that the Idolatry of the wisest of them was not so foolish as that of the Vulgar; but they thought that the Universe was one animated world, and that the Universal Soul was the only Absolute Sovereign God, whom they described much like as Christians do: and that the Sun, and Stars, and Earth, and each particular Orb, was an individual Animal, part of the Universal world, and besides the Universal, had each one a subordinate particular Soul, which they worshipped as a subordinate particular Deity, as some Christians do the Angels. And their Images they set up for such representations, by which they thought these gods delighted to be remembered, and instrumentally to exercise their virtues for the help of earthly mortals.

§. 5. I find that except these Philosophers, and very few more, the generality of the Heathens were and are foolish Idolaters, and ignorant, sensual brutish men.

At this day through the world, they are that sort of men that

Euvagius saith, That Constantine so honoured Soper the Philosopher, that he made him usually sit by him on the same bench.

Sure the Philosophers were falsely reported to Theoph. Antioch. ad Autol. l. 3. p. 137. when he saith that Zeno, Diogenes and Cleanthes's Books do teach to eat man's flesh, and saithers to be roasted and eaten by the children, and sacrificed by them, &c. Belying one another hath been the Devil's means to destroy charity on earth.

Sed nescio quomodo, nil tam absurde dici potest quod non dicatur ab aliquo Philosophorum. Cic. *Devinat. l. 2. p. 183.*

that are likest unto Beasts, except some few at *Siam, China, the Indian Bannians, the Japonians, the Ethnick Persians,* and a few more. The greatest deformity of Nature is among them: the least of sound knowledge, true policy, civility and piety is among them. Abominable wickedness doth no where so much abound. So that if the doctrine and judgment of these may be judged of by the effect, it is most insufficient to heal the diseased world, and reduce man to holiness, sobriety and honesty.

§. 6. *I find that those few among the Heathens who attain to more knowledge in the things which concern man's duty and happiness than the rest, do commonly destroy all again by the mixture of some dotages and impious conceits.*

Sed hæc eadem num censes apud eos ipsos valere, nisi admodum paucos à quibus inventa, disputata, conscripta sunt? Quotus enim quisque Philosophorum invenitur, qui sit ita moratus, ita animo ac vita constitutus ut ratio postulat? qui disciplinam suam non ostentationem scientiæ, sed legem vitæ putet? qui obtemperet ipse sibi, & decretis suis pareat? Videre licet alios tanta levitate & jactatione, ut iis fuerit non didicisse melius: alios pecuniæ cupidos, gloriæ nonnullos, multos libidinum servos: ut cum eorum vita mirabiliter pugnet oratio: quod quidem mihi videtur turpissimum. Ut enim si Grammaticum se professus quispiam barbare loquatur, aut si absurde canat is, qui se haberi velit musicum; hoc turpius sit, quod in eo ipso peccet, cujus proficetur scientiam: sic Philosophus in ratione vitæ peccans, hoc turpius est, quod in officio, cujus magister esse vult, labitur, artemque vitæ professus, delinquit in vita. Cic. *Tusc. l. 2. pag. 252.*

The *Literati* in *China* excel in many things, but besides abundance of ignorance in Philosophy, they destroy all by denying the immortality of the Soul, and affirming rewards and punishments to be only in this life, or but a little longer. At least, none but the Souls of the good (say some of them) survive: and though they confess One God, they give him no solemn worship. Their Sect called *Sciequia* or *Sciacca*, is very clear for the *Unity of the Godhead, the joys of Heaven, and the torments of Hell*, with some umbrage of the *Trinity*, &c. But they blot all with the *Pythagorean* fopperies, affirming these Souls which were in joy or misery, after a certain space to be sent again into Bodies, and so to continue through frequent changes to eternity: to say nothing of the wickedness of their lives. Their third Sect called *Lauru* is not worth the naming, as being composed of fopperies, and sorceries, and impostures. All the *Japonian* Sects also make the world to be eternal, and Souls to be perpetuated through infinite transmutations. The *Siamenses*, who seem the best of all, and nearest to Christians, have many fopperies, and worship the Devil for fear, as they do God for love. The *Indian Bramens, or Bannians*, also have the *Pythagorean* errors, and place their piety in redeeming Bruits, because they have Souls which

Sometimes

Sometimes were humane. The Persians dispersed in India, who confess God, and Heaven, and Hell, yet think that these are but of a thousand years duration. And it is above a thousand years since they believed, that the world should continue but a thousand years, and then Souls be released from Hell, and a new world made.

§. 7. Their great darkness and uncertainties appear by the innumerable sects and differences which are among them; which are incomparably more numerous, than all that are found in all parties in the world besides.

I need not tell you of the 288 Sects or Opinions *de summo bono*, which Varro said was in his days: The difference which you may find in Laertius, Hesechius, and others, between the Cynicks, Peripateticks, Academicks, Stoicks, Scepticks, Epicureans, &c. with all their sub-divisions, are enow. In Japan, the twelve Sects, have their subdivisions. In China, the three general Sects, have so many subdivisions, that Varenus saith of them, [*Singuli fontes labentibus paulatim seculis, & fraudum magistris in tot maandros derivati sunt, ut sub triplici nomine trecenta mihi secta inter se discrepantes numerari possent videntur: sed & haec quotidiana incrementis augentur, & in pejus ruunt.*] Petrus Texeira saith of the Indians, [*In Regno Gazeratenfvarii sunt ritus & secta incolarum, & quod mirum, vix familiam invenias in qua omnes congruant: alii comedunt carnem, alii nequaquam; alii comedunt quidem, sed non mandant animalia: alii nonnulla tantum animalia comedunt; alii tantum pisces, alii tantum lac & herbas, &c.*] Joban. a Twist. saith of the Indian Bramenes, *Numerantur secta praecipui nominis octoginta tres: sed praeter has minus illustrium magna est multitudo, ita ut singula familia peculiarem fere foveant religionem.* It were endless to speak of all the Sects in Africa and America; to say nothing of the beastly part of them in Brasil, the Cape of good hope, that is, Saldania, and the Islands of Cannibals, who know no God, (nor Government, nor Civility some of them.) They are not only of as many minds as countries, but of a multitude of sects in one and the same country.

§. 8. I find not my self called or enabled to judge all these people as to their final state, but only to say, that if any of them have a holy heart and life, in the true love of God, they shall be saved;

saved; but without this, no form of Religion will save any man, be it never so right.

§. 9. But I find it to be my duty to love them for all the good which is in them, and all that is true and good in their Religion, I will embrace: and because it is so defective, to look further, and try what I can learn from others.

There is so much lovely in a *Cato*, *Cicero*, *Seneca*, *Antoine*, *Epictetus*, *Plutarch*, &c. in the Religions of *Siam*, in the dispersed *Persian* *Ethnicks* in *India*, in the *Bramans*, or *Banians* of *India*, in the *Bonzii* of *Japan*, and divers others in *China* and else-where, that it obligeth us not only to love them benevolently, but with much complacency. And as I will learn from *Nature* it self what I can, so also from these *Students* of *Nature*. I will take up nothing meerly on their trust, nor reject any doctrine meerly because it is theirs; but all that is true and good in their Religions, as far as I can discern it, shall be part of mine; and because I find them so dark and bad, I will betake me for further information to those that trust to *supernatural Revelation*; which are the *Jews*, *Mahumetans* and the *Christians*; of which I shall next consider a-part.

In To. 4. Bib. Pat.
extat liber Hieronymi
à Sancta Fide, ex Ju-
dæo Christiani, con-
tra Judæos & Tala-
mud. qui ut dicit
Approbatio 5000 Ju-
dæos ad fidem con-
vertit, pag 742, & 6.

De Mahumetis ori-
gine, &c. vid. fragm.
ex Anastas. Hist. Eccl.
in B. P. Gr. Lat. To.
2. pag. 189, & 6.

§. 10. II. As to the Religion of the *Jews*, I need not say much of it by it self; the Positive part of their doctrine being confessed by the *Christians* and *Mahumetans*, to be of *Divine Revelation*; and the negative part, (their denying of *Christ*) is to be tryed, in the tryall of *Christianity*.

The Reasons which are brought for the *Christian Religion*, if sound, will prove the *Old Testament*, which the *Jews* believe; it being part of the *Christians Sacred Book*: And the same reasons will confute the *Jews* rejection of *Jesus Christ*. I take that therefore to be the fittest place to treat of this subject, when I come to the proofs of the *Christian Faith*. I oppose not what they have from *God*: I must prove that to be of *God*, which they deny.

§. 11. III. In the Religion of the *Mahumetans* I find much good, viz. A Confession of one only *God*, and most of the Natural parts of Religion; a vehement opposition to all *Idolatry*, A testimony to the *Veracity* of *Moses*, and of *Christ*; that *Christ* is the *Word* of *God*, and a great *Prophet*, and the *Writings* of the *Apostles* true: All this therefore where *Christianity* is approved, must be embraced.

And

And there is no doubt but God hath made use of *Mabomet* as a great Scourge to the Idolaters of the World; as well as to the Christians who had abused their sacred privileges and blessings: Wherever his Religion doth prevail, he casteth down Images, and filleth mens mindes with a hatred of Idols, and all conceit of multitude of Gods, and bringeth men to worship one God alone, and doth that by the sword in this, which the preaching of the Gospel had not done in many obstinate Nations of Idolaters.

§. 12. *But withall I finde a Man exalted as the chief of Prophets, without any such proof as a wise man should be moved with; and an Alcoran written by him below the rates of common Reason, being a Rhapsody of Nonsense and Confusion; and many false and impious doctrines introduced; and a tyrannical Empire and Religion twisted, and both erected, propagated, and maintained, by irrational tyrannical means: All which discharge my reason from the entertainment of this Religion.*

Vid. Theodori Abucare Opuscul. Mahometem non esse ex Deo, &c. Et Euthymii Zigaben. Moamethica.

1. That *Mabomet* was so great (or any) Prophet, is neither confirmed by any true credible Miracle, nor by any eminency of Wisdom or Holiness, in which he excelled other men; nor any thing else which Reason can judge to be a Divine attestation. The contrary is sufficiently apparent in the irrationality of his *Alcoran*: There is no true Learning nor excellency in it, but such as might be expected among men of the more incult wits, and barbarous education: There is nothing delivered methodically or rationally, with any evidence of solid understanding: There is nothing, but the most useless repetition an hundred times over of many simple incoherent speeches, in the dialect of a drunken man; sometimes against Idolaters, and sometimes against Christians for calling Christ, God; which all set together seem not to contain (in the whole *Alcoran*) so much solid usefull sense and reason as one leaf of some of those Philosophers whom he opposeth, however his time, had delivered him from their Idolatry, and caused him more to approach the Christian Faith.

2. And who can think it any probable sign that he is the Prophet of truth, whose Kingdom is of this World, erected by the Sword, who barbarously suppresseth all rational enquiry

Of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

enquiry into his doctrine, and all disputes against it, all true Learning and rational helps, to advance and improve the Intellect of man: and who teacheth men to fight and kill for their Religion: Certainly, the Kingdom of darkness is not the Kingdom of God but of the Devil: And the friend of Ignorance is no Friend to Truth, to God, nor to mankind: And it is a sign of a bad Cause that it cannot endure the light. If it be of God, why dare they not soberly prove it to us, and hear what we have to object against it, that Truth by the search may have the Victory: If Beasts had a Religion it would be such as this.

3. Moreover, they have doctrines of Polygamy, and of a sensual kinde of Heaven, and of murdering men to increase their Kingdoms, and many the like, which being contrary to the light of Nature, and unto certain common Truths, do prove that the Prophet and his doctrine are not of God.

4. And his full attestation to *Moses* and *Christ* as the true Prophets of God, doth prove himself a false Prophet who so much contradicteth them, and rageth against Christians as a blood-thirsty Enemy, when he hath given so full a testimony to *Christ*. The particulars of which I shall shew anon.

CHAP. III.

Of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION: and First, What it is.

What the Christian Religion is, judge not by the intruded opinions of any Self, but by the ancient Creeds and Summaries, which elsewhere I have recited out of *Tertullian* and other ancients; and which you may find recited or referred to in *Usher* and *Vossius*, de Symbolis.

S. I. IV. **T**HE last sort of Religion to be enquired into, is **CHRISTIANITY**: in which by the Providence of God I was educated, and at first received it by humane Faith, upon the word and reverence of my Parents and Teachers, being unable in my Childhood rationally to try its grounds and evidences.

I shall declare to the Reader just in what Order I have received the Christian Religion, that the Inquisition being the more clear and particular, the satisfaction may be the greater.

greater : And it being primarily for my own use that I draw up these Papers, I finde it convenient to remember what is past, and to insert the transcript of my own experiences ; that I may fully try whether I have gone rationally, and faithfully to work or not. I confess, that I took my Religion at first upon my Parents word : And who could expect that in my Childhood I should be able to prove its grounds ? But whether God owned that method of Reception, by any of his inward light and operations, and whether the efficacy of the smallest beams, be any proof of the truth of the Christian Faith, I leave to the Reader, and shall my self only declare the naked history in truth.

§. 2. In this Religion (received defectively both as to Matter and Grounds,) I found a Power even in my Childhood, to awe my Soul, and check my sin and folly, and make me carefull of my salvation, and to make me love and honour true wisdom and boliness of life.

§. 3. But when I grew up to fuller use of Reason, and more distinctly understood what I had generally and darkly received, the power of it did more surprize my minde, and bring me to deeper consideration of spiritual and everlasting things : It humbled me in the sense of my sin and its deserts : and made me think more sensibly of a Saviour : It resolved me for more exact Obedience to God ; and increased my love to God : and increased my love to persons and things, sermons, writings, prayers, conference, which relished of plain resolved Godliness.

§. 4. In all this time I never doubted of the Truth of this Religion ; partly retaining my first humane Belief, and partly awed and convinced by the intrinsic evidence of its proper subject, end, and manner ; and being taken up about theumbling and reforming study of my self.

§. 5. At last having for many years laboured to compose my mind and life, to the Principles of this Religion, I grew up to see more difficulties in it, than I saw before : And partly by temptations, and partly by an inquisitive mind, which was wounded with uncertainties and could not contemptuously or carelessly cast off the doubts which I was not able to resolve, I resumed afresh the whole inquiry, and resolved to make as faithfull a search into the nature and grounds of this Religion, as if I had never been baptized into it.

See the description of the Christian Faith in Proclus ad Armenios de fide in Bib. Pal. Græcolat. To. 1. pag. 311.

Also the Catechis. of Junilius Africanus, de part. div. Legis.

Et Hermenopol. de Fide Orthod.

The first thing I studyed was, the *Matter of Christianity*, *What it is?* and the next was the *evidence and certainty* of it: of which I shall speak distinctly.

§. 6. *The Christian Religion is to be considered, 1. In its self, as delivered by God. 2. In its Reception and Practice by men professing it. In its self it is Perfect, but not so easily discernable by a stranger; In the Practisers it is imperfect here in this life; but more discernable by men that cannot so quickly understand the Principles; and more forcibly constraineth them to perceive its holyness and worth; Where it is indeed sincerely practised: And is most dishonoured and misunderstood through the wickedness of Hypocrites who profess it.*

Leg. Julian. Toletus,
conc. Judæos. Et Rabbis
Samuel. Marrochiani
de adventu Messie.

As the Impress on the Wax doth make the Image more discernable than the Sculpture on the Seal; but the Sculpture is true and perfect, when many accidents may render the Impressed image imperfect and faulty: So is it in this case. To a diligent Enquirer, *Christianity* is best known in its Principles delivered by Christ the Author of it: and indeed is no otherwise perfectly known; because it is no where else perfectly to be seen: But yet it is much more visible, and taking with unskilfull superficial Observers, in the Professors Lives: For they can discern the good or evil of an action, who perceive not the nature of the Rule and Precepts. The vital form in the Rose-tree is the most excellent part; but the beauty and sweetness of the Rose is more easily discerned. Effects are most sensible, but causes are most excellent. And yet in some respect the Practice of Religion is more excellent than the Precepts, in as much as the Precepts are Means to Practice: For the end is more excellent than the Means as such. A poor man can easily perceive the worth of Charity in the person that cloatheth and feedeth and relieveth him; than the worth of a treatise or sermon of Charity. Subjects easily perceive the worth of a wise, and holy, and just, and mercifull King or Magistrate, in his actual Government, who are not much taken with the Precepts which require yet more perfection: And among all descriptions, historical Narratives, like *Xenophons Cyrus*, do take most with them. Doubtless, if ever the Professors of Christianity should live according to their own Profession; they would

would thereby overcome the opposition of the World, and propagate their Religion with greatest success through all the Earth.

Because no man can well judge of the Truth of a doctrine, till he first know *what it is*, I think it here necessary, to open the true nature of the Christian Religion, and tell men truly *what it is*: Partly, because I perceive that abundance that profess it hypocritically, by the meer power of Education, Laws and Custom of their Countrey, do not understand it, and then are the easilier tempted to neglect or contemn it, or forsake it, if strongly tempted to it: (even to forsake that which indeed they never truly received). And because its possible some Aliens to Christianity may peruse these lines. Otherwise, were I to speak only to those that already understand it, I might spare this description.

§. 7. The CHRISTIAN RELIGION containeth two Parts: 1. *All Theological Verities which are of Natural Revelation.* 2. *Much more which is supernaturally revealed.* The Supernatural Revelation is said in it to be partly written by God, partly delivered by Angels, partly by inspired Prophets and Apostles, and partly by Jesu Christ himself in person.

§. 8. The supernatural Revelation reciteth most of the Natural, because the searching of the great Book of Nature, is a long and difficult work, for the now-corrupted, dark and slothfull minde of the common sort of men.

§. 9. These supernatural Revelations are all contained, 1. Most copiously in a Book called, The Holy Bible, or Canonical Scriptures. 2. More summarily and contractedly, in three Forms, called, The Belief, The Lords Prayer, and the Ten Commandements: and most briefly and summarily, in a Sacramental Covenant: This last containeth all the Essential parts most briefly; and the second somewhat fuller explaineth them; and the first (the holy Scriptures) containeth also all the Integral parts, or the whole frame.

§. 10. Some of the present Professors of the Christian Religion, do differ about the authority of some few Writings called Apocrypha, whether they are to be numbred with the Canonical Books of God, or not: But those few containing in them no considerable points of doctrine different from the rest, the

controversie doth not very much concern the substance or doctrinal matter of their Religion.

§. 11. The sacred Scriptures are written very much Historically, the Doctrines being interspersed with the History.

§. 12. This sacred Volume containeth two Parts: The first called, The Old Testament, containing the History of the Creation, and of the Deluge, and of the Jewish Nation till after their Captivity; As also their Law, and Prophets. The second called The New Testament, containing the History of the Birth, and Life, and Death, and Resurrection, and Ascension of Jesus Christ; The sending of his Apostles, the giving of the Holy Ghost; the course of their Ministry and Miracles; with the summ of the doctrine preached first by Christ, and then by them, and certain Epistles of theirs to divers Churches and persons more fully opening all that doctrine.

Gen. 1.

§. 13. The summ of the History of the Old Testament is this:
 "That in the beginning God created the Heaven and the
 "Earth, with all things in them: *Viz.* That having first made
 "the Intellectual superiour part of the World, and the matter
 "of the Elementary World in an unformed Mass, he did
 "the first day distinguish or form the active Element of
 "Fire, and caused it to give light; The second day he separated the rarified Passive Element called *Fire*, expanding
 "it from the Earth upwards to be a separation and medium
 "of action between the superiour and inferiour parts: The
 "third day he separated the rest of the Passive Element,
 "Earth and Water into their proper place, and set their
 "bounds; and made individual Plants, with their specifick
 "forms, and virtue of generation. The fourth day he made
 "the Sun, Moon and Stars, for Luminaries to the Earth;
 "either then forming them, or then appointing them to that
 "Office (but not revealing their other uses which are nothing to us.) The fifth day he made Fishes and Birds, with
 "the power of generation. The sixth day he made the terrestrial Animals, and Man, with the like generative Power.
 "And the seventh day he appointed to be a Sabbath of Rest,
 "on which he would be solemnly worshipped by Mankind
 "as our CREATOR. Having made one Man and one
 "Woman, in his own Image, that is with Intellectuals, Free-
 "will, and executive Power, in wisdom, holiness, and apti-
 "tude

"tude to Obey him, and with Dominion over the sensitive
 "and vegetative, and inanimate Creatures, he placed them
 "in a Garden of pleasure, wherein were two Sacramental
 "Trees, one called, The Tree of Life, and the other the Tree
 "of Knowledge of Good and Evil: And (besides the Law
 "of Nature) he tryed him only with this positive prohibi-
 "tion, that he should not eat of the Tree of Knowledge:
 "Whereupon the Devil * (who before this was fallen from
 "his first state of innocency and felicity) took occasion to
 "perswade the Woman that Gods Threatning was not true;
 "that he meant not as he spake; that he knew Man was
 "capable of greater Knowledge, but envyed him that hap-
 "piness; and that the eating of that Fruit, was not the way
 "to death as God had threatned, but to Knowledge and
 "Exaltation: whereupon the woman seeing the beauty of
 "the Fruit, and desiring Knowledge, believed the Devil,
 "and did eat of that which God forbid: The sin being so
 "hainous for a new-made Rational Creature, to believe that
 "God was false and bad, a liar and envious, which is indeed
 "the nature of the Devil, and to depart from his Love
 "and Obedience for so small a matter, God did in Justice
 "presently sentence the Offenders to punishment: yet would
 "not so lose his new-made Creature, nor cast off Mankind,
 "by the full execution of his deserved punishment; but he
 "resolved to commit the Recovery and Conduct of Mankind
 "to a Redeemer, who should better perform the work of sal-
 "vation, than the first Man Adam had done the work of
 "adhesion and obedience. This Saviour is the Eternal Wis-
 "dom and Word of God, who was in due time to assume the
 "Nature of Man, and in the mean time to stay the stroke
 "of Justice, and to be the invisible Law-giver and Guide
 "of Souls, communicating such measures of mercy, light,
 "and spirit, for their recovery, as he saw fit. (Of whom
 "more anon): so that henceforward God did no longer
 "Govern man as a spotless innocent Creature, by the meer
 "Law of entire-Nature; but as a lapsed, guilty, depraved
 "Creature, who must be pardoned, reconciled, and renew-
 "ed, and have Laws and Means made suitable to his cor-
 "rupted miserable state. Hereupon God published the Pro-
 "mise of a Saviour, to be sent in due time: who should con-
 "E c found

* *Cæsar's Dialog.*
 3. Q. 122. *things*
that Adam was forty
dayes in Paradise, and
that therefore Lent is
kept, to show our
hungering after Para-
dise. But that's a sin-
gular Fancie. And af-
ter he changed it
upon some old mens
tradition of a longer
time.

Gen. 3. & 3.

Transiit Deus ho-
minem in Paradisum,
ei undiq; occasionem
suggerens ut cresce-
ret, & perfectus red-
deretur, & declaratus
tandem Deus, in
astra ascenderet. Me-
diam etenim condi-
tionem obtinuit ho-
mo; nec totus mor-
talis, nec totus im-
mortalis existens; ve-
rum utriusq; exitit
particeps. Theoph. Au-
tho. ad Autol. l. 1, p.
 129.

Gen. 3. 15.

Gen. 4.

Gen. 5.

Gen. 6. & 7.

Gen. 8, & 9. & 10.
& 11.

"found the Devil that had accused God of *falsehood*, and of
 "envying the good of man, and had by lying murdered man-
 "kind; and should overcome all his deceits and power, and
 "rescue God's injur'd Honour, and the Souls of sinners,
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Gen. 12 to the end
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Exod. per totum.

Exod. & Num.

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Gen. 5.

Gen. 6. & 7.

Gen. 8, & 9. & 10.
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Exod. per totum.

Exod. & Numb.

"fute their unbelief, God wrought many miracles for them
 "in this Wilderness: He caused the Rocks to give them
 "water: He fed them with Manna from above: Their shoes
 "and cloaths did not wear in forty years. In this Wilderness
 "Moses received from God a Law, by which they were to
 "be governed: In mount *Sinai* in flames of fire, with ter-
 "rible thunder, God appeared so far to *Moses*, as to speak to
 "him, and instruct him in all that he would have him do;
 "He gave him the chief part of his Law in two Tables of
 "Stone, containing Ten Commandments, engraven thereon
 "by God himself, (or by Angelical ministrations): The rest
 "he instructed him in by word of voice. *Moses* was made
 "their Captain, and *Aaron* their High Priest, and all the
 "Forms of God's Worship settled, with abundance of Laws
 "for Sacrifices and Ceremonies, to typify the Sacrifice and
 "Reign of Christ: When *Moses* and *Aaron* were dead in the
 "Wilderness, God chose *Joshua*, *Moses* his Servant, to be their
 "Captain, who led them into *Canaan*, and miraculously
 "conquered all the inhabitants, and settled *Israel* in posses-
 "sion of the Land. There they long remained under the
 "government of a Chieftain, called a Judge, successively
 "chosen by God himself: Till at last they mutinied against
 "that form of Government, and desired a King, like other
 "Nations: Whereupon God gave them a bad King in dis-
 "pleasure; but next him he chose *David*, a King of great
 "and exemplary holiness, in whom God delighted, and
 "made his Kingdom hereditary. To *David* he gave a Son
 "of extraordinary wisdom, who by God's appointment built
 "the famous Temple at *Jerusalem*; yet did this *Solomon*, by
 "the temptation of his Wives, to gratify them, set up ido-
 "latry also in the land; which so provoked God, that he
 "resolved to rend ten Tribes of the twelve out of his
 "hand; which accordingly was done, and they revolted and
 "chose a King of their own, and only the Tribes of *Juda*
 "and *Benjamin* adhered to the posterity of *Solomon*. The
 "wise Sentences of *Solomon*, and the *Plalms* of *David*, are
 "here inserted in the Bible. The Reigns of the Kings of
 "*Juda* and *Israel* are afterwards described; the wickedness
 "and idolatry of most of their successive Kings and people;
 "till God being so much provoked by them, gave them up

Josh. per tot.
 Judg.

1 Sam.

1 King.
 2 King.
 & 1 Chron. &
 2 Chron;

"into Captivity: Here is also inserted many Books of the
 "Prophecies of those Prophets which God sent from time
 "to time, to call them from their sins, and warn them of
 "his fore-told judgments: And, lastly, here is contained
 "some of the History of their state in Captivity, and the re-
 "turn of the *Jews* by the favour of *Cyrus*; where in a tri-
 "butary state they remain'd in expectation of the promised
 "Messiah, or Christ. Thus far is the History of the Old Te-
 "stament.

Ezra &
Nehem.

"The *Jews* being too sensible of their Captivities and
 "Tributes, and too desirous of Temporal Greatness and
 "Dominion, expected that the Messiah should restore their
 "Kingdom to its ancient splendour, and should subdue the
 "Gentile Nations to them: And to this sense they expound-
 "ed all those passages in their Prophets, which were spoken
 "and meant of the spiritual Kingdom of Christ, as the Sa-
 "viour of Souls: which prejudiced them against the Mes-
 "siah when he came: so that though they looked and long-
 "ed for his coming, yet when he came they knew him not
 "to be the Christ, but hated him and persecuted him, as the
 "Prophets had fore-told: The fulness of time being come,
 "in which God would send the Promised Redeemer, the
 "Eternal *Wisdom* and *Word* of God, the Second in the Tri-
 "nity, assumed a Humane Soul and Body, and was conceived
 "in the womb of a Virgin, by the holy Spirit of God, without
 "man's concurrence. His Birth was celebrated by Prophe-
 "cies, and Apparitions, and applause of Angels, and other
 "Wonders: A Star appearing over the place, led some
 "Astronomers out of the East to worship him in the Cradle:
 "Which *Herod* the King being informed of, and that they
 "called him the King of the *Jews*, he caused all the Infants
 "in that country to be killed, that he might not scape:
 "But by the warning of an Angel, *Jesus* was carried into
 "Egypt, where he remained till the death of *Herod*. At
 "twelve years old he disputed with the Doctors in the Tem-
 "ple; In this time rose a Prophet, called *John*, who told
 "them, that the Kingdom of the Messiah was at hand, and
 "called the people to Repentance, that they might be pre-
 "pared for him, and baptized all that professed Repentance
 "into the present expectation of the Saviour: About the

Math. 1, 2, &c.
Luk. 1, 2, &c.

Vid. Procli Homiliam
de Nativ. Christi, in-
terpret. Peltano.

Math. 4.
Luk. 4.

"thirtieth year of his age, *Jesus* resolved to enter upon the
"solemn performance of his undertaken work: And, first,
"He went to *John* to be baptized by him, (the Captains be-
"ing to wear the same Colours with the Souldiers.) When
"John had baptized him, he declared him to be the Lamb
"of God, that taketh away the sins of the world: and when
"he was baptized and prayed, the Heaven was opened, and
"the Holy Spirit descended in a bodily shape like a Dove
"upon him, and a voice came from Heaven which said,
"Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased: The
"first thing that *Jesus* did after his Baptism, was, when he
"had fasted forty days and nights, to expose himself to the
"utmost of Satan's temptations, who thereupon did divers
"ways assault him; But *Jesus* perfectly overcame the
"Tempter, who had overcome the first Man *Adam*; Thence-
"forth he preached the glad tidings of Salvation; and called
"men to repentance, and choosing Twelve to be more con-
"stantly with him than the rest, and to be witnesses of his
"works and doctrine, he revealed the mysteries of the King-
"dom of God: He went up and down with them teaching
"the people, and working miracles to confirm his doctrine:
"He told them, that he was sent from God, to reveal
"his will to lost mankind for their recovery, and to bring
"them to a fuller knowledge of the unseen world, and the
"way thereto; and to be a Mediator and Reconciler be-
"tween God and Man, and to lay down his life as a Sacrifice
"for sin; and that he would rise again from the dead the
"third day; and in the mean time, to fulfill all righteousness,
"and give man an example of a perfect life: Which accord-
"ingly he did: He never sinned in thought, word or deed: He
"chose a poor inferior condition of life, to teach men by
"his example, to contemn the wealth and honours of this
"world, in comparison of the favour of God, and the hopes
"of immortality. He suffered patiently all indignities from
"men: He went up and down as the living Image of Di-
"vine Power, Wisdom and Goodness; doing Miracles to ma-
"nifest his Power, and opening the doctrine of God to man-
"ifest his Wisdom, and healing mens bodies, and seeking the
"salvation of their souls, to manifest his Goodness and his Love.
"Without any means, by his bare command, he immediately
"cured

"cured Fevers, Palsies, and all distastes, cast out Devils, and
 "raised the dead to life again; and so open, uncontrolled
 "and numerous were his Miracles, as that all men might see,
 "that the Omnipotent God did thereby bear witness to his
 "Word. Yet did not the greatest part of the *Jews* believe
 "in him, for all these Miracles, because he came not in world-
 "ly pomp to restore their Kingdom, and subdue the world :
 "but they blasphemed his very Miracles, and said, He did
 "them by the power of the Devil : And fearing lest his fame
 "should bring envy and danger upon them from the Ro-
 "mans, who ruled over them, they were his most malicious
 "persecutors themselves: The doctrine which he preached
 "was not the unnecessary curiosities of Philosophy, nor the
 "subservient Arts and Sciences, which natural light reveal-
 "eth, and which natural men can sufficiently teach : But it
 "was to teach men to know God, and to know themselves,
 "their sin and danger, and how to be reconciled to God,
 "and pardoned, and sanctified, and saved : How to live in
 "holiness to God, and in love and righteousness to men, and
 "in special amity and unity among themselves, (who are his
 "disciples) : How to mortifie sin, and to contemn the wealth
 "and honours of the world, and to deny the flesh its hurtful
 "desires and lusts ; and how to suffer any thing that we shall
 "be called to, for obedience to God, and the hopes of Hea-
 "ven : To tell us what shall be after death ; how all men
 "shall be judged, and what shall become both of soul and
 "body to everlasting : But his great work was, by the great
 "demonstrations of the Goodness and Love of God to lost
 "mankind, (in their free pardon and offered Salvation) to
 "win up mens hearts to the love of God, and to raise
 "their hopes and desires up to that blessed life, where they
 "shall see his glory, and love him, and be beloved by him
 "for ever. At last, when he had finished the work of his
 "ministration in the flesh, he told his Disciples of his ap-
 "proaching Suffering and Resurrection, and instituted the
 "Sacrament of his Body and Bloud, in Bread and Wine,
 "which he commandeth them to use for the renewing of
 "their covenant with him, and remembrance of him, and
 "for the maintaining and signifying their communion with
 "him and with each other. After this, (his time being come)
 "the

Vid. *Microlog. de Eccl.*
claf. observ. cap. 23.

"the *Jews* apprehended him, and though upon a word of his
 "mouth (to shew his power) they fell all to the ground;
 "yet did they rise again and lay hands on him, and brought
 "him before *Pilate* the *Roman* Governour; and vehemently
 "urged him to crucifie him, contrary to his own mind and
 "conscience: They accused him of *blasphemy*, for saying he
 "was the Son of God; and of *impiety*, for saying, *Destroy this*
 "*Temple, and in three days I will re-build it*, (he meant his
 "Body): and of *treason* against *Cesar*, for calling himself a
 "King, (though he told them that his Kingdom was not
 "worldly, but spiritual.) Hereupon they condemned him,
 "and clothed him in purple like a King in scorn, and set a
 "Crown of thorns on his head, and put a Reed for a Scepter
 "into his hand, and led him about to be a derision: They
 "cover'd his eyes, and smote him, and buffeted him, and bid
 "him tell who strake him: At last they nailed him upon a
 "Cross, and put him to open shame and death, betwixt two
 "Malefactors, (of whom, one of them reviled him, and the
 "other believed on him): they gave him gall and vinegar
 "to drink: The Souldiers pierced his side with a Spear, when
 "he was dead. All his Disciples forsook him and fled; *Peter*
 "having before denied thrice that ever he knew him,
 "when he was in danger. When he was dead, the earth
 "trembled, the rocks and the vail of the Temple rent, and
 "darkness was upon the earth, though their was no natural
 "Eclipse; which made the Captain of the Souldiers say, *Verily*
 "*this was the Son of God*. When he was taken down from
 "the Cross, and laid in a stone-Sepulchre, they set a guard
 "of Souldiers to watch the grave, having a stone upon it,
 "which they sealed; because he had fore-told them that he
 "would rise again: On the morning of the third day, be-
 "ing the first day of the week, an Angel terrified the Soul-
 "diers, and rolled away the stone, and sat upon it; and when
 "his Disciples came, they found that *Jesus* was not there:
 "And the Angel told them, that he was risen, and would
 "appear to them: Accordingly he oft appeared to them,
 "sometimes as they walked by the way, and once as they
 "were fishing, but usually when they were assembled to-
 "gether: *Thomas*, who was one of them, being absent at his
 "first appearance to the rest, told them he would not believe
 "it,

All this is written by
 the four Evangelists.

"it, unless he saw the print of the nails, and might put his
 "finger into his wounded side: The next full day of the
 "week, when they were assembled, Jesus appeared to them,
 "(the doors being shut) and called *Thomas*, and bad him
 "put his fingers into his side, and view the prints of the nails
 "in his hands and feet, and not be faithless but believing:
 "After this he oft appeared to them, and once to above five
 "hundred brethren at once: He earnestly prest *Peter* to
 "shew the love that he bare to himself, by the feeding of his
 "flock: He instructed his Apostles in the matters of their
 "employment: He gave them Commission to go into all
 "the world, and preach the Gospel, and gave them the te-
 "nour of the New Covenant of Grace, and made them the
 "Rulers of his Church, requiring them by Baptism so-
 "lemnly to enter all into his Covenant, who consent to the
 "terms of it, and to assure them of pardon by his Blood,
 "and of salvation if they persevere: He required them to
 "teach his Disciples to observe all things which he had
 "commanded them, and promised them that he would be
 "with them (by his Spirit, and grace, and powerful defence)
 "to the end of the world. And when he had been seen of
 "them forty days, speaking of the things pertaining to the
 "Kingdom of God, being assembled with them, he com-
 "manded them not to depart from *Jerusalem*, but wait till
 "the holy Spirit came down upon them, which he had pro-
 "mised them: But they, being tainted with some of the
 "worldly expectations of the *Jews*, and thinking that he
 "who could rise from the dead, would sure now make him-
 "self and his followers glorious in the world, began to ask
 "him whether he would at this time restore the Kingdom
 "to *Israel*: But he answered them, [It is not for you to
 "know the times or seasons which the Father hath put in
 "his own power: But ye shall receive power, after that the
 "holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses to
 "me both at *Jerusalem*, and in all *Judea* and *Samaria*, and to
 "the uttermost parts of the earth.] And when he had said
 "this, while they beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud re-
 "ceived him out of their sight: And while they look-
 "ed steadfastly toward heaven, as he went up, two men stood
 "by them in white apparel, and said, Why gaze ye up into
 "Heaven?

AR. 1.

Act. 2.

" Heaven? This same Jesus which is taken up from you in-
 " to Heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen
 " him go into Heaven. Upon this they returned to *Jerusa-*
 " *lem*, and continued together, till ten days after: as they were
 " all together, (both the Apostles and all the rest of the Dis-
 " ciples): suddenly there came a sound from Heaven, as of
 " a rushing mighty wind, and the likeness of fiery cloven
 " tongues sat on them all, and they were filled with the
 " holy Ghost, and began to speak in other languages, as the
 " Spirit gave them utterance: By this they were enabled
 " both to preach to people of several languages, and to work
 " other miracles to confirm their doctrine: so that from this
 " time forward, the holy Spirit which Christ sent down
 " upon Believers, was his great *Witness* and *Agent* in the
 " world; and procured the belief and entertainment of the
 " Gospel wheresoever it came: For by this extraordinary
 " reception of the Spirit, the Apostles themselves were much
 " fuller instructed in the doctrine of salvation than they
 " were before, notwithstanding their long converse with
 " Christ in person; (it being his pleasure to illuminate them
 " by supernatural infusion, that it might appear to be no
 " contrived design to deceive the world.) And they were
 " enabled to preach the word with power, and by this Spirit
 " were infallibly guided in the performance of the work of
 " their Commissions, to settle Christ's Church in a holy or-
 " der, and to leave on record the doctrine which he had
 " commanded them to teach: Also they themselves did
 " heal the sick, and cast out devils, and prophesie, and by
 " the laying on of their hands, the same holy Spirit was or-
 " dinarily given to others that believed: so that Christians
 " had all one gift or other of that Spirit, by which they
 " were convinced and converted a great part of the world in a
 " short time: and all that were sincere, had the gift of san-
 " ctification, and were regenerate by the Spirit, as well as
 " by Baptismal water, and had the love of God shed abroad
 " in their hearts, by the holy Ghost which was given them:
 " A holy and heavenly mind and life, with mortification,
 " contempt of the world, self-denial, patience, and love to
 " one another and to all men, was the constant badge of all
 " Christ's followers: The first Sermon that *Peter* preached
 " did

Act. 2: 3.

" did convert three thousand of those sinful *Jews* that had
 " crucified Christ : And after that, many thousands of them
 " more were converted : One of their bloody persecutors,
 " (*Saul* a Pharisee) that had been one of the murderers of
 " the first Martyr *Stephen*, and had haled many of them to A.C. 9.
 " prisons ; as he was going on this business, was struck down
 " by the high-way, a light from Heaven shining round about
 " him, and a voice saying to him, *Saul, Saul*, why persecutest
 " thou me ? And he said, Who art thou, Lord ? And the
 " Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest ; it is hard for
 " thee to kick against the pricks : And he trembling and
 " astonished said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do ? And
 " the Lord said, Arise, and go into the City, and it shall be
 " told thee what thou must do : And the men that journeyed
 " with him stood speechless, hearing a voice, but seeing no
 " man : And so *Saul* was led blind to *Damascus*, where one A.C. per 101.
 " *Ananias* had a vision, commanding him to Baptize him,
 " and his eyes were opened : This Convert called *Paul*, did
 " hence-forward preach the Gospel of Christ, from Country
 " to Country, in *Syria*, in *Asia*, at *Rome*, and a great part
 " of the world, in marvellous unwearied labours and suffer-
 " ings, abuses and imprisonments, converting multitudes, and
 " planting Churches in many great Cities and Countries, and
 " working abundance of miracles where he went. His Hi-
 " story is laid down in part of the New Testament : There
 " are also many of his Epistles, (to *Rome*, to *Corinth*, *Gal-*
 " *atia*, *Ephesus*, *Philippi*, *Coloss*, *Thessalonica*, to *Timothy*, to
 " *Titus*, and to *Philemon*, and the *Hebrews* (as is supposed)
 " There are also the Epistles of *Peter*, *James*, *John* and *Jude*,
 " with the *Revelation* of *John*, containing many mysterious
 " Prophecies. An Eunuch who was of great power under
 " the Queen of *Ethiopia*, was converted by *Philip*, and car-
 " ried the Gospel into his Country. The rest of the Apostles
 " and other Disciples carried it abroad a great part of the
 " world, especially in the *Roman Empire* : and though eve-
 " ry where they met with opposition and persecution, yet
 " by the power of the holy Ghost, appearing in their Holi-
 " ness, Languages and Miracles, they prevailed and planted
 " abundance of Churches, of which the most populous were
 " at *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, *Rome* and *Alexandria* : And though
 " they

of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION:

"they were all dispersed abroad the world, and out of the
 "reach of mutual converse, yet did they never disagree in
 "their Doctrine, in the small. It point, but proceeded through
 "sufferings in Unity and Holiness, in the work of saving
 "Souls, till most of them were put to death for the sake of
 "Christ; having left the Churches under the Government
 "of their several Pastors, according to the will of Christ.

This is the abstract of the History of the holy Scriptures.

§. 14. *The sum of the Doctrine of Christianity is contained in these Articles following, consisting of three general Heads: I. Things to be known and believed. II. Things to be willed, and desired, and hoped. III. Things to be done.*

1 Cor. 8. 4, 6. Marth.
 28. 19 1 Joh. 5. 7.
 1 Tim. 1. 17. Ps. 139.
 7. 8, 9. & 147. 5.
 Isa. 40. 17. 1 Tim.
 6. 16. Mal. 3. 6.
 Jam. 1. 17. Neh. 9. 6.
 Rev. 4. 8. & 15. 3.
 Exod. 34. 6, 7. Ezek.
 18. 4. Pl. 47. 7. &
 119. 68. & 145. 9.

I. 1. "There is one only GOD in Essence, in Three Essential Principles, POWER, UNDERSTANDING and WILL; or OMNIPOTENCY, OMNISCIENCE and GOODNESS; in Three Subsistences or Persons, the FATHER, the SON and the HOLY SPIRIT, who is a Mind or Spirit, and therefore is most Simple, Incorruptible, Immortal, Impassionate, Invisible, Intractible, &c. and is Indivisible, Eternal, Immense, Necessary, Independent, Self-sufficient, Immutable, Absolute and Infinite in all Perfections: The Principal Efficient, Dirigent and Final Cause of all the world: The CREATOR of all, and therefore our Absolute OWNER, or Supreme RULER, and our Total BENEFACTOR, and CHIEF GOOD and END.

Prov. 16. 4. Gen. 1.
 26. Deut. 30. 19. Col.
 3. 10. Eccles. 7. 29.
 Psal. 8. 5, 6. Mar.
 12. 30, 33. Deut. 6.
 5. & 10. 12. & 1.
 32. Gen. 2. 16, 17.
 Rom. 6. 23.
See an Exposition of the Creed briefly in Isidor. de Eccles. Offic. l. 2. c. 23. p. 222.
Of the Original of the Creed, see Vossius de Symbol. and Parker de Descensu ad Inferos. Of the several Creeds of the Eastern and Western churches, see Usher, de Synodolig.

2. GOD made Man for himself; not to supply any want of his own, but for the pleasing of his own Will and Love, in the Glory of his Perfections shining forth in his works: In his own Image; that is, with Vital Power, Understanding and Free-will, Able, Wise and Good; with Dominion over the Inferiour Creatures, as being in subordination to God their OWNER, their GOVERNOUR and their BENEFACTOR and END. And he bound him by the Law of his Nature to adhere to GOD his MAKER; by Resignation, Devotion and Submission to him as his OWNER, by Believing, Honouring and Obeying him as his RULER; and by Loving him, Trusting and Seeking him, Dedicating in him, Thanksgiving to him, and Praising him, as his Grand BENEFACTOR, chief Good, and

"ultimate

"ultimate end, to exercise Charity and Justice to each other;
"and to Govern all his inferiour faculties by Reason accord-
"ing to his Makers will, that he so might please him, and
"be Happy in his Love: And, to try him, he particularly
"forbad him to eat of the Tree of Knowledge of good and
"evil, upon pain of death.

"3. Man being tempted by Satan to break this Law of
"God, did believe the Tempter who promised him impu-
"nity, and advancement in Knowledge, and who accused
"God as false in his threatning, and as envying Man this
"great advancement: And so by wilfull sinning against
"him, he fell from God and his uprightness and happiness,
"under the displeasure of God, the penalty of his Law,
"and the power of Satan: And hence we are all conceived
"in sin, averse to good, and prone to evil, and condemna-
"tion is passed upon all, and no meer Creature is able to
"deliver us.

"4. God so loved the World, that he gave his only
"SON to be their REDEEMER, who being the Eternal
"WISDOM and WORD of God, and so truly GOD and
"one in Essence with the FATHER, did assume our Na-
"ture, and became Man, being conceived by the HOLY
"SPIRIT in the Virgin Mary, and born of her, and called
"JESUS CHRIST: who being Holy and without all
"sin, did conquer the Tempter and the World, fulfilling all
"righteousness; He enacted and preached the Law or Cove-
"nant of Grace, confirming his Doctrine by abundant un-
"controlled Miracles; condemning the World, he exposed
"himself to the malice and fury, and contempt of sinners,
"and gave up himself a Sacrifice for our sins, and a Ran-
"som for us, in suffering death on a Cross, to reconcile us
"to God: He was buried, and went in Soul to the Souls
"departed: And the third day he rose again, having con-
"quered death; And after forty dayes having instructed and
"authorized his Apostles in their Office, he ascended up in-
"to Heaven in their sight; where he remaineth Glorified,
"and is Lord of all; the chief Priest, and Prophet, and King
"of his Church, interceding for us, teaching and governing
"us, by his Spirit, Ministers and Word.

"5. The New Law and Covenant which Christ hath pro-

Ff 3

"cured,

Geni. 3: Joh. 8. 44.
Rom. 5. 12. 17, 18,
Gen. 3. 16, 17. Rom.
3. 9, 19, 21. & 6. 23.
Act. 26. 18. Eph. 2. 2.
Heb. 2. 14. Psal. 51. 5.
Rom. 5. 12. Eph. 2. 2,
3, 5. Isa. 48. 4. Job
14. 4. & 25. 4. Gen.
6. 5. Hof. 11. 7. Rom.
5. 18, 19. Rom. 5. 6,
10. Act. 4. 12.

Joh. 3. 16, 17. & 4.
42. 1. Joh. 2. 3. Rom.
9. 5. Joh. 10. 30.
1 Tim. 2. 5. Heb. 2.
14, 16. Luk. 1. 27,
31, 35. Mat. 1. 20, 21.
Heb. 4. 15. Mat. 4.
Heb. 7. 26. Mar. 3. 15.
Act. 2. 22. Heb. 2. 3, 4.
Heb. 9. 26. & 10. 12.
1 Tim. 2. 6. Eph. 2.
16. 1 Cor. 15. 3, 4.
Luk. 23. 43. Psal. 16.
10. 1 Pet. 3. 18, 19.
2 Tim. 1. 10. Heb. 2.
14. Act. 2. 24, 9. &
3. 21. Rom. 9. 5. Heb.
7. 24. Act. 2. 36. & 10.
36. Heb. 8. 1. & 10.
21. Act. 3. 23. & 5.
31. Heb. 7. 25. Rom.
8. 34. Eph. 4. 8, 11,
12, 13. Rom. 8. 9.
1 Thell. 5. 12.

Heb. 9. 15. Joh. 1. 12. "cured, made and Sealed (by his Blood, his Sacraments,
 & 3. 16. Act. 26. 18. "and his Spirit) is this; [That to all them who by true
 Gal. 5. 6. Act. 11. 18. "Repentance and Faith, do forsake the Flesh, the World and
 & 3. 19. & 20. 21. "the Devil, and give up themselves to God the Father, Son
 Rom. 8. 1. 13. Mar. "and Holy Spirit, their Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier,
 4. 13. Rom. 8. 16, 17. "he will give Himself in these Relations, and take them as
 Gal. 4. 6. Joh. 3. 6. "his reconciled Children, pardoning their sins, and giving
 1 Cor. 6. 17. Rom. 8. "them his grace, and title to Everlasting Happiness, and will
 9. Eph. 2. 18. 22. Rev. "glorifie all that thus persevere: But will condemn the
 2. & 3. Col. 1. 22, 23. "unbelievers, impenitent, and ungodly, to everlasting pu-
 Heb. 4. 1. Mar. 16. "nishment.] This Covenant he hath commanded his Mini-
 16. Joh. 3. 3. 5. 36. "sters to proclaim and offer to all the World, and to bap-
 Heb. 12. 14. 2 Thess. "tize all that consent thereunto, to invest them Sacramen-
 1. 8. 9. & 2. 12. Lk. "tally in all these benefits, and enter them into his holy Ca-
 13. 3. Mat. 28. 19. "tholick Church.
 Mar. 16. 15. 16. "6. The *Holy Spirit* proceeding from the Father and
 2 Cor. 5. 19. Joh. 5. "the Son, did first inspire and guide the Prophets, Apostles
 37. & 10. 28, 29. "and Evangelists, that they might truly and fully reveal the
 Joh. 14. 26. & 15. 26. "Doctrine of Christ, and deliver it in Scripture to the Church,
 1 Pet. 1. 10, 11, 12. "as the Rule of our Faith and Life; and by abundance of
 2 Pet. 1. 21. 2 Tim. "evident, uncontrolled Miracles, and gifts, to be the great
 3. 16. Joh. 16. 13. "witness of Christ, and of the truth of his holy Word.
 Eph. 3. 3, 5. & 2. 20. "7. Where the Gospel is made known, the HOLY SPI-
 Isa. 8. 20. Rev. 22. 18, "RIT doth by it illuminate the minds of such as shall be
 19. 1 Tim. 6. 1. 14. "saved, and opening and softening their hearts, doth draw
 Luk. 16. 29, 31. Act. "them to believe in Christ, and turneth them from the
 2. 22. & 5. 32. & 19. "power of Satan unto God: Whereupon they are joynd
 11, 19. Heb. 2. 3. 4. "to Christ the Head, and into the Holy Catholick Church
 Gal. 3. 1, 2, 3. Joh. 14. "which is his Body, consisting of all true Believers, and are
 12. & 3. 2. 1 Cor. 14. "freely justified and made the Sons of God, and a sanctified
 Act. 26. 17, 18. Rom. "peculiar people unto him, and do Love him above all, and
 8. 9, 10, 11. Act. 16. "serve him sincerely in holiness and righteousness, loving and
 14. Joh. 6. 44. Ezek. "desiring the Communion of Saints, overcoming the Flesh,
 36. 26. Gal. 5. 22. "the World, and the Devil, and living in Hope of the coming
 Col. 2. 19. Eph. 5. 30, "of Christ, and of Everlasting life.
 31, 32. & 3. 17. "8. At death the Souls of the Justified go to Happiness
 1 Cor. 12. 12, 13, "with Christ, and the Souls of the wicked to misery: And
 27. Rom. 3. 24. & "at the end of this World, the Lord Jesus Christ will come
 4. 24. Joh. 1. 12. Tit. "again, and will raise the Bodies of all men from the dead,
 2. 14. Rom. 5. 5. Mat. "and will judge all the World according to the good or
 10. 37. 1 Cor. 6. 11. "evil
 Luk. 1. 75. 1 Joh. 3. "with Christ, and the Souls of the wicked to misery: And
 14. 1 Pet. 1. 22. Act. "at the end of this World, the Lord Jesus Christ will come
 24. 2. Gal. 5. 17, 24. "again, and will raise the Bodies of all men from the dead,
 1 Joh. 2. 15. 1 Cor. "and will judge all the World according to the good or
 1. 7. 2 Pet. 3. 11, 12. "evil
 Tit. 1. 2. & 3. 7. "with Christ, and the Souls of the wicked to misery: And
 Luk. 23. 43. & 16. 22. "at the end of this World, the Lord Jesus Christ will come
 2 Cor. 5. 1, 8. Phil. 1. "again, and will raise the Bodies of all men from the dead,
 23. 2 Pet. 3. 19. Luk. "and will judge all the World according to the good or
 16. 28. Act. 1. 11. "evil

"evil which they have done : And the righteous shall go
"into Everlasting Life, where they shall see Gods Glory, and
"being perfected in Holiness, shall love and praise and please
"him perfectly, and be loved by him for evermore; and the
"Wicked shall go into Everlasting punishment with the
"Devil.

"II. According to this Belief we do deliberately and se-
"riously by unfeigned consent of Will, take this One God,
"the infinite Power, Wisdom, and Goodness, the Father,
"Son, and Holy Spirit, for our only God, our reconciled
"Father, our Saviour and our Sanctifier, and resolvedly give
"up our selves to him accordingly; entering into his Church
"under the hands of his Ministers, by the solemnization of
"this Covenant in the Sacrament of Baptism. And in pro-
"secution of this Covenant, we proceed to stirre up our
"DESIRES by daily PRAYER to God in the Name
"of Christ, by the help of the Holy Spirit, in the order
"following: 1. We desire the glorifying and hallowing of
"the Name of God, that he may be known, and loved,
"and honoured by the World, and may be well-pleased in
"us, and we may delight in Him which is our ultimate
"end. 2. That his Kingdom of Grace may be enlarged, and
"his Kingdom of Glory as to the Perfected Church of the
"sanctified, may come: That Mankind may more univer-
"sally subject themselves to God their Creator and Re-
"deemer, and be saved by him. 3. That this Earth which
"is grown too like to Hell, may be made liker to the Holy
"ones in Heaven, by a holy conformity to Gods Will, and
"Obedience to all his Laws, denying and mortifying their
"own fleshly desires, wills and minds. 4. That our Na-
"tures may have necessary support, protection and provi-
"sion in our daily service of God, and passage through this
"World, with which we ought to be content. 5. That all
"our sins may be forgiven us through our Redeemer, as
"we our selves are ready to pardon wrongs. 6. That we
"may be kept from Temptations, and delivered from sin
"and misery, from Satan, from wicked men, and from our
"selves: Concluding our Prayers with the joyfull Praises
"of God, our Heavenly Father, acknowledging his King-
"dom, Power, and Glory for ever.

"III. The

1 Cor. 15. Joh. 5. 22,
29. Mat. 25. 2 Cor.
5. 10. Mat. 25. & 13.
41, 42. 43. 2 Tim.
4. 8, 18. 2 Thess. 1.
8, 9, 10. & 2. 12.
Joh. 17. 24.

Luk. 15, 21. Act. 2. 37.
& 3. 19. Rom. 8. 13.
Luk. 14. 33. 1 Thess.
1. 9. Exod. 20. 3. Deut.
26. 17. Josh. 24. 16,
26. 2 Cor. 8. 5. Joh.
17. 3. 1 Cor. 8. 6.
2 Cor. 6. 17, 18.
1 Joh. 1. 3. Eph. 4.
5, 6. Joh. 14. 6. Luk.
5. 14. & 14. 26. Act.
9. 6. Rom. 6. 13, 16,
Luk. 19. 27. Joh. 3.
10. Mat. 28. 19. Eph.
2. 18, 22. & 1. 13,
14, 18. Rom. 8, 9,
13, 16, 16. 1 Cor. 2.
10. Eph. 3. 18. 22.
& 3. 5, 16. 2 Cor. 1.
22. & 5. 5. Iff. 44. 3,
4. 5. Rom. 15. 6.
See the Lords Prayer.

The Ten Command-
men's.

Jud. 21. Gal. 5. 22.
Luk. 10. 27. 1 Tim.
4. 7. 12. 54. 7. A8. 24.
16. Col. 3. 5. Rom. 8.
13. Heb. 3. 11. 13.
Mat. 15. 18. 19. Luk.
12. 15. Rom. 13. 13.
14. 1 Cor. 3. 18.
2 Pet. 1. 10. 2 Cor.
13. 5. Gal. 6. 3. 4.
Psal. 4. 4. & 104. 34.
& 12. & 119. 97. 99.
Gen. 24. 63. Eph. 3. 18.
19. Psal. 90. 12. Luk.
12. 36. 2 Pet. 3. 11.
12. Luk. 21. 36. Psal.
141. 3. 1 Cor. 10. 12.
Psal. 39. 1. Prov. 4.
23. Eph. 6. 10. 19.
1 Pet. 5. 9. Jam. 4. 7.
Psal. 34. 1. & 145. 2.
1 The8. 3. 17. Phil.
4. 6.
Joh. 4. 23. 24. Mat.
15. 9. 1sa. 1. 13. Deut.
6. 13. & 10. 20. Jer.
4. 2. & 12. 16. Jam.
5. 12. A8. 2. 42. & 6.
2. & 20. 7. 28. 30. 31.
36. 1 Cor. 14. 16.
26. Jam. 5. 14. Phil.
1. 4. 1 Cor. 11. 24.
& 10. 16. Heb. 7. 7.
Rev. 1. 10. A8. 20. 7.
1 Cor. 16. 2.
Eph. 6. 4. 9. Deut. 6.
11. 12. Dan. 6. 10.
A8. 10. 30. Psal. 101.
1 Sam. 2. 23. 29. Gen.
18. 19. Josh. 24. 15.
Col. 3. 20. 22. Deut.
21. 18.

Math. 5. 21, 22, 23,
25, 28, 39.

"III. The Laws of Christian PRACTICE are these:

"1. That our Souls do firmly *adhere* to God, our Creator,
"Redeemer and Sanctifier, by Faith, Love, Confidence,
"and Delight; that we seek him by desire, obedience and
"hope; meditating on himself, his word and works of
"Creation, Redemption and Sanctification, of Death, Judge-
"ment, Heaven and Hell: exercising Repentance and mor-
"tifying sin, especially atheism, unbelief, and unholiness,
"hardness of heart, disobedience and unthankfulness, pride,
"worldliness and flesh-pleasing: Examining our hearts;
"about our Graces, our Duties, and our sins: Watchfully
"governing our thoughts, affections, passions, senses, appe-
"tites, words and outward actions: Resisting temptations,
"and serving God with all our faculties, and glorifying him
"in our Hearts, our Speeches, and our Lives.

"2. That we worship God according to his Holiness,
"and his Word, in Spirit and Truth, and not with Foppes-
"ries and Imagery according to our own devices, which
"may dishonour him, and lead us to Idolatry.

"3. That we ever use his Name with special Reverence;
"especially in appealing to him by an Oath; abhorring pro-
"phaneness, perjury, and breach of Vows and Covenants
"to God.

"4. That we meet in Holy Assemblies for his more so-
"lemn Worship; where the Pastors teach his Word to their
"Flocks, and lead them in Prayer and Praise to God, ad-
"minister the Sacrament of Communion, and are the Guides
"of the Church in Holy things; whom the people must
"hear, obey and honour; especially the *Lords Day* must be
"thus spent in Holiness.

"5. That Parents educate their Children in the Know-
"ledge and Fear of God, and in obedience of his Laws;
"and that Princes, Masters and all Superiours govern in
"Holiness and Justice, for the glory of God, and the com-
"mon good, according to his Laws; And that Children
"love, honour and obey their Parents, and all Subjects their
"Rulers, in due subordination unto God.

"6. That we do nothing against our Neighbours Life
"or Bodily welfare, but carefully preserve it as our
"own.

"7. That

"7. That no man defile his Neighbours wife, nor commit Fornication; but preserve our own and others Chastity in thought, word and deed.

Mar. 5. 27, 28, 29, 30.

"8. That we wrong not another in his Estate, by stealing, fraud, or any other means; but preserve our Neighbours Estate as our own.

1 Theff. 4. 6. Eph. 4. 28.

"9. That we pervert not Justice by false witness or otherwise; nor wrong our neighbour in his Name, by slanders, backbiting or reproach: That we lie not; but speak the truth in love, and preserve our neighbours right and honour as our own.

Prov. 19. 5, 9. & 21. 28. Rom. 13. 9. Rev. 16. 19. & 24. 17. Prov. 17. 23. & 31. 5. Col. 3. 9. Prov. 12. 22. & 6. 17. & 13. 5.

"10. That we be not selfish, setting up our selves and our own, against our Neighbour and his good, desiring to draw from him unto our selves: But that we love our Neighbour as our selves, desiring his welfare as our own; doing to others as (regularly) we would have them do to us; forbearing and forgiving one another; loving even our enemies, and doing good to all, according to our power, both for their Bodies and their Souls.

Ro. 7. 7. & 13. 4. Mar. 19. 19 & 22. 36. Luk. 14. 22, 23. Jam. 2. 8. & 3. 13. 1 Cor. 13. Mat. 7. 12. Eph. 4. 32. Col. 3. 13.

1 Joh. 4. 16. Rom. 13. 9. 1 Theff. 4. 9. 1 Pet. 1. 22. & 3. 8. & 2. 17. Gal. 6. 10. Eph. 2. 10. Tit. 2. 14.

This is the Substance of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

§. 15. II. *The summ or Abstract of the Christian Religion is contained in three short Forms: The first called, The Creed, containing the matter of the Christian Belief; The second called, The Lords Prayer, containing the matter of Christian Desires and hope: The third called, The Law or Decalogue containing the summ of Morall Duties; which are as followeth.*

"Hades, of which read Sp. Ulster in his Answer to the Jesuits Challenge.

De totis Scripturis, hzc breviam collecta sunt ab Apostolis, ut quia plures credentium literas nesciunt, vel qui sciunt præ occupationibus seculi Scripturas legere non possunt, hzc corde retinentes habent sibi sufficientem scientiam salutarem. Isidor. de Eccl. Offic. l. 2. c. 22. pag. (in Bibl. Patr.) 212.

THE BELIEF.

1. I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth; 2. And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, dead and buried, descended to Hell; the third day he rose again from the dead; he ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty: from thence he shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. 3. I believe in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Catholick Church, the Communion of

Saints,

Of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION:

saints, the Forgiveness of sins, the Resurrection of the body, and the Life Everlasting.

The LORDS PRAYER.

Our FATHER which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy Name: Thy Kingdom come: Thy will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us: And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil: For thine is the Kingdom, the Power and the Glory; for ever, Amen.

The Ten COMMANDEMENTS.

Exod. 20.
Deut. 5.

God spake all these words, saying, I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the Land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

1. Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.

2. Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven Image, or any likeness of any thing in Heaven above, or that is in the Earth beneath, or that is in the water under the Earth: Thou shalt not bow down thy self to them, nor serve them: For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquities of the Fathers upon the Children to the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my Commandements.

3. Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord thy God in vain, for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his Name in vain.

4. * Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy: Six dayes shalt thou labour and do all thy work: but the Seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work; thou, nor thy Son, nor thy Daughter, thy Man-servant, nor thy Maid-servant, nor thy Cattel, nor the Stranger that is within thy gates: For in six dayes the Lord made Heaven and Earth, the Sea, and all that in them is, and rested the Seventh day, wherefore the Lord blessed the Seventh day, and hallowed it.

* De die septimo qui inter omnes mortales celebris est, magna apud plerosq; ignorantia est. Hic enim dies qui ab Hebraeis Sabbatum vocatur, Græcè siquis interpretetur, Septimana, dicitur. Hoc nomine mortales omnes diem istum appellant; at nominis causam nesciunt pleriq; Theophil. Antioch. ad Autol. li. 3. p. (mibi) 121. in B. P. Gr. L. T. 1.

5. Honour the Father and the Mother; that the days may be long upon the Land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

6. Thou shalt not kill.

7. Thou shalt not commit Adultery.

8. Thou shalt not steal.

9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy Neighbour.

10. Thou shalt not covet thy Neighbours House: thou shalt not covet thy Neighbours wife, nor his Man-servant, nor his Maid-servant, nor his Ox, nor his Ass, nor any thing that is thy Neighbours.

§. 16. The ten Commandments are summed up by Christ into these two, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and soul, and might; and Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self.

§. 17. These Commandments being first delivered to the Jews, are continued by Christ, as the sum of the Law of Nature; only instead of Deliverance of the Jews from Egypt, he hath made our Redemption from sin and Satan, which was thereby typified, to be the fundamental motive; And he hath removed the memorial of the Creation-Week, from the seventh day-Sabbath, to be kept on the Lords day, which is the first, with the Commemoration of his Resurrection, and our Redemption, in the solemn Worship of his holy Assemblies.

§. 18. III. The briefest Summary of the Christian Religion, containing the Essentials only, is in the Sacramental Covenant of Grace: Wherein the Penitent Believer, renouncing the Flesh, the World and the Devil, doth solemnly give up himself to God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, as his only God, his Father, his Saviour and his Sanctifier, engaging himself hereby to a Holy life (of Resignation, Obedience and Love); and receiving the pardon of all his sins, and title to the further helps of grace, to the favour of God, and everlasting life: This Covenant is first entered by the Sacrament of Baptisme, and after renewed in our communion with the Church, in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.

So that the Christian Religion is but [Faith in God our Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier, producing the hope of

March. 28. 19. Rom. 8. 1. & 6. 4. 1 Pet. 3. 11, 22. Heb. 6. 2. Act. 2. 38, 41. Tit. 3. 5. 1 Cor. 11. De modo Baptizandi antiquo vide Walafridum Strabon. de rebus Eccles. cap. 26. p. (Bibl. Pat.) 691. Et Ivo Carnot. serm. de sacram. Neophytorum, p. 767, 768, &c.

Life Everlasting, and possessing us with the love of God and Man: And all this expressed in the genuine fruits of Patience, Obedience, and Praise to God, and works of Charity and Justice unto Man.

Joh. 13. 15.
1 Pet. 2. 21.

§. 19. *That all this Religion might be the better understood, received and practised by us, the Word of God, came down into Flesh, and gave us a perfect Example of it in his most perfect Life; in perfect holiness and innocency, conquering all temptations, contemning the honours, riches and pleasures of the World; in perfect patience, and meekness, and condescension, and in the perfect Love of God and Man.*

When perfect Doctrine is seconded by Perfect Exemplariness of Life, there can be no greater Light set before us, to lead us out of our state of darkness into the everlasting Light. And had it not been a pattern of holy Power, Wisdom and Goodness; of Self-denyall, Obedience and Love; of Patience, and of Truth and Prudence, and of contempt of all inferior things, even of Life it self, for the Love of God, and for Life eternal; it would not have been a full exemplification of his Doctrine; nor a perfect Revelation of it to the World. Example bringeth Doctrine near our Senses, and thereby maketh it more clear and powerfull.

Joh. 3:5, 6. & 7. 38.
39. Gal. 4. 6. & 5.
18, 25. Rom. 8. 9.
13. 2 Cor. 3. 3.
1 Cor. 6. 11. & 2.
10, 11. Jer. 31. 33.
Psal. 1. 2. 2 Pet. 1.
4. 1 Joh. 4. 7. & 5.
4, 18.

§. 20. *It is the undertaken Office of Jesus Christ, to send the Holy Spirit into Believers mindes, and to write on the substance of this Law upon their hearts, and give them such holy and heavenly inclinations, that it may become as it were a Natural Law unto them, and they obey it with love, facility and delight (though not in perfection till they arrive at the state of Perfection.)*

So much to shew WHAT the Christian Religion is.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Nature and Properties of the Christian Religion.

HAVING understood the matter and words of the Christian Religion, before I proceeded any further, I thought it meet to pass a judgment upon the nature, temperament, constitution and properties of it. And therein I found that which must needs be a great preparative to belief.

§. 1. And first, I found, that it is a most holy and spiritual Religion, resolved into the most excellent Principles and Ends, glorifying God, and humbling man, and teaching us the most divine and heavenly life, in the love and patient service of our Creator.

1. It is most *Holy*, for it calleth us up entirely unto God, and consisteth in our absolute dedication and devotedness to him. 2. It is most *Spiritual*, leading us from things *carnal* and *terrene*; and being principally about the government of the Soul; and placing all our *felicity* in things spiritual, and not in fleshly pleasures with the *Epicureans* and *Mahometans*: It teacheth us to worship God in a spiritual manner, and not either irrationally, toyishly, or irreverently: And it directeth our lives to a daily converse with God in holiness. 3. The Principles of it are the three Essentialities of God in Unity, *viz.* the Infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness; and the three grand Relations of God to Man, as founded in his three most famous works, *viz.* as our Creator, our Redeemer, and our Regenerater or Sanctifier; and the three great Relations arising from Creation, and also from Redemption, *viz.* as he is our Owner, our Ruler and our Benefactor or chiefest Good and End. 4. The *Ends* of the Christian Religion, I find are proximately the saving of man from Satan, and the Justice of God; the sanctifying them to God, and purifying them from sin, the pardon of their sins, and the everlasting happiness of their Souls, in the pleasing and fruition of God for ever. In a word, it is but the redeeming us

Nihil est ad defendendum Puritate tutius: nihil ad dicendum Veritate facilius. *inq. Ambros.*

Nulla major ad amorem invitatio quam prævenire amantem: & nimis durus est animus, qui, si delectionem nolebat impendere, nolit respondere. *August. de Catech. rud.*

In eo quod amatur, aut non laboratur, aut labor amatur. *August. de san. Vid.*

Ad Divos adeunto castè: pietatem adhibento, opes amovento: qui secus faxit, Deus ipse vindex erit. *Leges Rom. in Cic. de Leg. 2. p. 237.* Significat prohibitum Deo gratam esse, sumptum esse removendum, *ib. p. 239.*

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from our carnal self, the world, and the devil, to the love and service of our Creator. 5. Nothing can be spoken more honourably of God in all his perfections, in the language of poor mortals, than what the Christian Religion speaketh of him. 6. And no Religion so much humbleth man, by opening the malignity both of his original and actual sin, and declaring the displeasure of God against it. 7. It teacheth us who once lived as without God in the world, to live wholly unto God, and to make nothing of all the world in comparison of him. 8. And it teacheth us to live upon the hopes of heaven, and fetch our motives and our comforts from it.

§. 2. *I find that the Christian Religion is the most pure, and clean, and utterly opposite to all that is evil.*

There is no vertue which it commendeth not, nor duty which it commandeth not, nor vice which it condemneth not, nor sin which it forbiddeth not.

The chief thing in it which occasioneth the rebellion and displeasure of the world against it, is the purity and goodness of it, which is contrary to their sensual nature, and as Physick to their licentious lives: would it indulge their vices, and give them leave to sin, they could endure it.

§. 3. *Particularly it most vehemently condemneth the great vices of Pride, Worldliness, and Sensuality, and all their poisoning and pernicious fruits.*

1. No Religion doth so much to teach men Humility, and make Pride appear an odious thing. It openeth the malignity of it, as it lifteth up the mind against God or Man: it condemneth it as Satans image: it giveth us a multitude of humbling precepts and motives, and secondeth them all with the strangest example of condescension and lowliness in Christ that was ever presented to the view of man. Whereas I find even in the famousst of the Roman Heathens, that a great deal of pride was taken for a virtue, and men were instructed and exhorted to be proud, under pretence of maintaining and vindicating their honour; and true Humility was taken for disgraceful baseness, and men were driven from it by the scorn, not only of the vulgar, but of Philosophers themselves.

2. And there is no Religion that is fitted so much to the destruction of Worldliness, or of the love of Riches, as Christianity

Christianus nemo recte dicitur, nisi qui Christo moribus prout valet, coequatur. *Maxim.*

Christiani nomen frustra fortitur, qui Christum minime imitatur: Quid enim tibi prodest vocari quod non es, & nomen usurpare alienum? sed si Christianum te esse delectar, quare Christianitatis sunt gere, & merito tibi Christiani nomen assume. *August. de vita Christiani.*

Ille vere Christianus est, qui omnibus misericordiam facit, qui nullam omnino movetur injuria; qui alienum dolorem tantquam proprium sentit; cujus mensam pauper non ignorat; qui coram hominibus inglorius habetur, ut coram Deo & Angelis gloriatur: qui terrena contemnit, ut possit habere celestia; qui opprimi pauperem se presente non patitur, qui miseris subvenit, &c. *August. de vita Christi.*

stianity is: for it teacheth men most effectually the *vanity* of the world; it appointeth them a holy life, so hateful to worldly men, as will occasion them to feel the *vexation* of the world; it openeth to them the hopes of a life so much better, as may teach them to take all the wealth and glory of this world for a shadow, a feather, or a dream. It condemneth *worldly love*, as the sin inconsistent with the love of God, and the certain mark of a drossy unsanctified miserable soul. It setteth before us such an example of Christ, as must needs shame *worldliness* with all true believers.

3. And for *Sensuality*, it openeth the shame of its beastiality, and maketh the carnal mind and life to be enmity to God, and the contrary to that spiritual mind and life, which is the property of all that shall be saved: It strictly and vehemently condemneth all gluttony and excess of drink; all ryotting and time-wasting needless sports; all fornication, and ribald talk, and wanton carriage, words or thoughts: Whereas I find among Heathens and Mahometans, that inordinate sensuality was much indulged: excess of eating and drinking was made a matter of no great blame: time-wasting Plays were as little accused, as if men had no greater matter to do in the world, than to pass away time in some sensual or fantastical delight: either by fornication, or many wives at once, their lust was gratified; and so their minds were debased, polluted, and called down and made unfit for spiritual contemplation and a holy life. From whence no doubt it came to pass, that they were so dark about things spiritual and divine, and so overspread with errors about many plain and necessary things.

§. 4. *There is no Religion which so notably detesteth and disgraceth the sin of SELFISHNESS, nor so effectually teacheth SELF-DENIAL, as the Christian Religion doth.*

It maketh man understand the nature of his corrupt depraved state; that it is a *falling* from GOD to SELF: and that his recovery lieth in *returning* from SELF to GOD. It sheweth him how selfishness is the principle of divisions, enmity, wrath, contentions, envy, malice, covetousness, injustice, oppression, wars, uncharitableness, and all the iniquity of the world. And how *self* is the grand enemy of God, and Man, and of the *Publick good* and *peace*; and contrary to

Omnia creatura cum bona sit, & bene potest amari, & male: Bene scilicet ordine constituto; male ordine perturbato. *August de Civit. Dei.*
Omnium malorum affectuum principium est Philautia; finis autem superbia: Philautia, amor est. quo corpus complectimur, rationi non consentaneus. Hanc qui amplectitur, eadem opera, omnes affectus ex ea orientes abscondit. *Maxim. de Charitat.*

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to the love of God and our neighbour, and the Common-wealth. It giveth us so many precepts for *self-denial*, as no other Religion did ever mention; and such an example against it in Jesus Christ, as is the astonishment of Men and Angels. And therefore all other Religions did in vain attempt the true purifying of heart and life, or the pacifying of the divided minds of men, while they let alone this sin of *selfishness*, (or lightly touch'd it) which is the root and heart of all the rest.

§. 5. No Religion doth so much reveal to us the Nature of God, and his works for Man, and Relations to him, as the Christian Religion doth.

Sic intelligimus Deum, si possumus, quantum possumus; sine qualitate bonum, sine quantitate magnum, sine indigentia Creatorem, sine situ presentem, sine habitu omnia continerem, sine loco ubique totum, sine tempore sempiternum, sine ulla sui mutatione, mutabilia omnia facientem, nihilque patientem. Quisquis Deum ita cogitat, etsi nondum potest invenire quid sit, pie tamen cavet, quantum potest, aliquid de eo sentire quod non sit. *Aug. de Trinit. l. 3. c. 1.*

And doubtless that is the most excellent doctrine which maketh known God most to mans mind; and that is the best Religion, which bringeth man nearest to his Creator, in love and purity. Few of the Heathens knew God in his Unity; and fewer in the Trinity of his Essential Primalties: many question'd his particular Providence and Government: they knew not man's relation or duty to him, while they were distracted with the observance of a multitude of Gods, they indeed had none. Though God be incomprehensible to us all, yet is there a great deal of the glory of his perfections, revealed to us in the light of Christianity, which we may seek in vain with any other sort of men.

§. 6. No Religion doth so wonderfully open, and magnify, and reconcile God's Justice and Mercy to Mankind, as Christianity doth.

It sheweth how his Justice is founded in his Holiness, and his governing Relation: it justifieth it by opening the purity of his Nature, the evil of sin, and the use of punishment to the right government of the world: and it magnifieth it by opening the dreadfulnes and certainty of his penalties, and the sufferings of our Redeemer when he made himself a Sacrifice for our sins. By the revelation of justice, sin and misery, it revealeth the wonderful greatness of Gods mercy: it openeth those operations and effects of it, which Heathenism and Mahometanism are utter strangers to: they speak diminutively both of Mercy and Justice, and cannot tell how to make God *merciful*, without making him *unjust*; nor to make him *just*, without obscuring the glory of his

his mercy: which is peculiarly set forth in the work of Redemption, and the Covenant of Grace, and promise of everlasting Blessedness.

§. 7. *The Christian Religion openeth many other parts of holy doctrine, which are unknown to men that learned them not from thence.*

Such as the doctrine of the Creation, and the Fall, and of original sin, and of Justification, Sanctification, Adoption, and the right worshipping of God: of which, mention is made before more distinctly.

§. 8. *No Religion can be more Charitable; for it wholly consisteth in the love of God and one another, and in the means to kindle and maintain this love.*

The whole Law of Christ is fulfilled in love: even in loving God for himself, above all; and our neighbours as our selves for the sake of God; yea, our enemies so far as there is any thing amiable in them. The end of all the Commandments is love, out of a pure heart, and a good conscience, and unfeigned faith. And all Christians are obliged to love each other with a pure heart, and fervently; yea, to shew that love which they profess to Christ himself, by the loving of one another: How frequently and earnestly is this great duty pressed by Christ and his Apostles? how great a stress doth he lay upon it? He maketh it the evidence of our love to God: He promiseth salvation to it: He forbiddeth *selfishness*, that it may not hinder it: He commendeth us to live in the constant expression of it, and to provoke one another to love and to *good works*: He hath made himself the most matchless and wonderful example of it: He hath told us, that according to mens *charity* he will judge them at the last day. How dry and barren are all Religions and Writings that we have ever come to the knowledge of in the world, in the point of love, and the fruits of love, in comparison of the Gospel of Jesus Christ?

§. 9. *I find that the Christian Religion is most for Unity and Peace of any Religion in the world; most vehemently commanding them, and appointing the fittest means for the attaining of them.*

1. All Christians are commanded to be of one mind, to think the same things, and speak the same things; and discord

Hh

and

Rom. 13. 9. 1 Tim. 1. 14. 1 Thess. 4. 9. 1 Tim. 1. 5, 6. 1 Joh. 4. 7, 8. & 3. 11, 14, 23.

Sine charitate quomodo quis veram contritionem habere poterit, quomodo ergo peccatorum remissionem. Aug.

Deus, quia hominem nudum fragilemque formavit, dedit ei præter cætera hunc pietatis affectum, ut homo hominem tueretur, diligat, foveat, contraque omnia pericula & accipiat & præstet auxilium. Summum igitur inter se hominum vinculum est humanitas; quod qui disruperit, nefarius & parricida existimandus est. La-
Hant. Inst. l. 6. c. 10.

Tale bonum est bonum pacis, ut in rebus creatis nil gratiosius soleat audiri, nil delectabilius concupisci, & nil utilius possideri: Spiritus enim humanus, nunquam vivificat membra nisi fuerint unita; sic spiritus sanctus nunquam vivificat ecclesie membra, nisi fuerint in pace unita. *Aug. de civ. Dei.*

Pax vera est concordiam habere cum moribus probis, & litigare cum vitiis. *Cassian.*

Nec inveniri potest forma expressior conversationis angelicæ, quam unitas socialis. *idem. in Psalm.*

and division and contention is earnestly forbidden them, and condemned, and all occasions which may lead them thereunto. 2. And they have one Head and Centre, one God and Saviour, who is their common Governour, End and Interest, in whom therefore they may all unite: when most others in the world do shew a man no further end than *self-preservation*; and so while *self* is each mans end and interest, there are as many ends as men; and how then is it possible that such should have any true unity and concord? But to every true Christian, the pleasing and glorifying of God, and the promoting of his Kingdom for the salvation of the world, is above all self-interest whatsoever; and therefore in this they are all united: And though they all seek their own felicity and salvation, it is only in the seeking of this higher end; which is *finis amantis*; *sed creaturæ amantis creatorem*; the end of a lover, which desireth unity, and respecteth both the lover and the beloved; but it is not the end of the love of *equals*, but of the creature to the Creator, who therefore preferreth his beloved before himself in his intentions. So that it is only this holy centring in God, that can ever make men all of a mind, and agree the disagreeing world: While *Self* is every mans end, they will have such constant contrariety of interests, that it will be impossible for them to agree; but covetousness, ambition and sensuality will keep them in factions, contentions and wars continually. Moreover it is Christianity that most urgeth, and effectually giveth a hearty love to one another, and teacheth them to love their neighbours as themselves, and to do as they would have others to do by them: and this is the true root and spring of concord. And it is Christianity which most teacheth the forgiving of wrongs, and loving of enemies, and forbearing that revenge, which Heathens were wont to account an honour. And it is Christianity which teacheth men to condemn all the riches and honours of the world, which is the bone that worldly dogs do fight for, and the great occasion of their strife: and it teacheth them to mortifie all those vices, which seed mens divisions and contentions. So that if any man live as a Christian, he must needs be a man of unity and peace. If you say, that the contrary appeareth in the practice of Christians; I shall answer that with the rest of the objections
by

by themselves: I shall only say now, That if this that I have laid down be certainly the doctrine of Christ, then it is as certain, that the contrary is contrary to Christianity, and that so far such persons are no Christians: It is hypocrites that take up the name of Christians for worldly advantage, and are no Christians indeed, who live thus contrary to the nature and precepts of Christianity which they profess.

§. 10. *The Christian Religion is most exactly just, in its Rules and Precepts, and vehemently condemneth all injustice, fraud, persecution and oppression.*

What juster Rule can there be than to suit all our actions to the perfect Law of Primitive Justice, and to do as we would be done by? What more effectual principle of Justice can there be, than *Charity* and *Self-denial*? to love all men for God, and to account our neighbours welfare as our own? Bring all men but to love their neighbours as themselves, and they will have little inclination to cruelty, oppression, fraud, or any other injuries. And when Heaven is made the reward of Justice and Mercy, and Hell the reward of Injustice and Cruelty, we have the greatest Motives that humane nature is capable of.

§. 11. *The Christian Religion is the most excellent Rule for order and government in the world, and for the peace of Kingdoms and their stability: in that it prescribeth the only method of true Government, and condemneth both impiety and tyranny in the Governours, and all sedition and rebellion in the Subjects.*

1. It setteth Government on the only foundation, (the Authority which men receive from God) and teacheth men to rule as the Officers of the Universal King, in due subordination to him; for his glory, and according to his Laws; and letteth them know that they have no power but from God, and therefore none against him; and that they must be judged by him themselves for all their Government: and that all oppression, tyranny and persecution will be to their own confusion in the end. 2. It teacheth Subjects to honour their Superiours, and to obey them in all things, in which they disobey not God: and to be patient under all oppressions; and to avoid all murmurings, tumults and rebellions, and this for fear of God's condemnation. And certainly

Ordo in ecclesia ita statuit, ut alii sint oves, alii vero pastores: ita ut hi imperent, illi vero obediant: sitque hoc tanquam caput, illud pedes, illud manus, hoc oculi, illud vero aliud corporis membrum, quo omnia rectè inter se conveniant, commodumque tam ad praefectos, quam ad subditos redundet. Nazianz. Or. de Modest. in Disput.

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these are the most powerful means for peace; and for the happy order and government of Societies.

§. 12. The Christian Religion greatly condemneth all fierceness, and impatience and discontentedness; and requireth a meek and patient frame of minde; and therefore must needs conduce to the forementioned Unity and Peace.

Simula æquitas est duplex iniquitas. Aug. in Psal. 23.

§. 13. It is wholly for sincerity and uprightness of heart, and greatly condemneth all hypocrisie: It giveth Laws for the very disposition of the minde, and for the government of the secretest thoughts, affections and actions; and condemneth every sin which the World observeth not, or condemneth not.

Duas Civitates duo faciunt Amores: Jerusalem, facit amor Dei: Babylonem facit amor seculi: Interroget igitur unusquisque se quid amet, & inveniet unde sit Civis. August. in Psal. 64.

§. 14. I finde, that the Christian Religion is not fitted to any Worldly designs; but only to the sanctifying of mens hearts and lives, and the saving of their Souls. Christ did not contrive by dominion or riches, to win the ungodly multitude to be his admirers, but by holy Precepts and Discipline to make his Disciples good and happy.

Mahomet took the way of violence, and fleshy baits, and blinde obedience, to bring in the multitude, and to advance a Worldly Kingdom: But Christ goeth the clean contrary way; He calleth men to a life of Self-denyal, and patient suffering in the World; he calleth them to contemn the riches, honours, and pleasures of the World; and to forsake all, even life it self for him, and telleth them that they can on no lower terms than these be Disciples. He hath set up a Discipline in his Church, to cast out all Drunkards, Fornicators, Covetous persons, Railers, and other such scandalous sinners who are impenitent; and will have none in his true mystical Church, but such as are truly holy; nor none in his visible Church, but such as are professed to be so. He turneth away all that come not up to his spiritual and holy terms; and he casteth out all that notoriously violate them, if they do not repent.

Multo facilius invadit Syderum conditorem humilis pietas, quam Syderum ordinem superba curiositas. August. de Eclips.

§. 15. The Christian Religion containeth all things Necessary to mans happiness, and taketh men off unprofitable speculations; and doth not overthrow the mindes of men, with multitudes of needless things.

It is for the most things unnecessary, as well as uncertain, with which the Philosophers have troubled the World; They

They have lost true wisdom in a Wilderness of fruitless controversies. But Christianity is a Religion to make men holy and happy, and therefore it containeth these necessary substantial Precepts, which conduce hereunto. And it taketh men off unnecessary things, which else would take up their mindes, and talk, and time, from things necessary. And so its suited to the generality of men, and not only to a few that have nothing else to do, but wander in a Wilderness of vain Speculations; and it is fitted to Mans best and ultimate end, and not to a phantastical delight.

§. 16. *It tendeth to exalt the minde of man, to the most high and heavenly elevation that it is capable of in this life.*

For it teacheth men (as is aforesaid) to live in the Spirit, upon the things above, in the continual Love of God, and desires and endeavours for everlasting glory: Than which mans minde hath nothing more high, and honourable, and excellent, to be employed about.

§. 17. *It leadeth men to the joyfullest Life that humane Nature is capable of on Earth.*

For it leadeth us to the assurance of the Love of God, and of the pardon of all our sins, and of endless glory when we die: It assureth us, that we shall live for ever, in the sight of the glory of God, with Jesus Christ, and be like the Angels, and be perfected in holiness and happiness, and be employed in the Love and Praises of God for evermore: It commandeth us to live in the foresight of these everlasting Pleasures, and to keep the taste of them alwayes upon our mindes, and in daily meditation on the Love of God, to live in the daily Returns of Love, and to make this our continual Feast and Pleasure. And can the minde of man on Earth, have higher and greater delights than these?

§. 18. *The Christian Religion forbiddeth men no Bodily pleasure; but that which bindereth their greater pleasure, and tendeth to their pain or sorrow, nor doth it deny them any earthly thing, which is truly for their good.*

Indeed it taketh the brutish appetite and flesh, to be an unfit Judge of what is truly good and desireable for us: And it forbiddeth much which the Flesh doth crave: Because either it tendeth to the wrong of others, or the breach of or-

Doctrina Spiritus non curiositatem accendit, sed charitatem accendit. *Bern. in Can.*

O beata regio deliciarum! ad quam suspiro de valle lachrymarum; ubi sapientia sine ignorantia, ubi memoria sine oblivione, intellectus sine errore, ratio sine obscuritate fulgeb.t. *Bernard.*

Illud est verum ac summum gaudium, quod non de creatura, sed de creatore concipitur: quod cum acceperis, nemo tollet a te; cui aliunde comparata omnis jucunditas meror est; omnis suavitas dolor est; omne dulce amarum est; omne quod delectare potest molestum est. *Bernard.*

Nihil prodigæ satis est voluptati: semper famem patitur sui quæ alimentis perpetuis nescit impleri. *Ambros. in Luk. 6.*

Delectatio erit & præterit, vulneravit & transit, miserum fecit & abiit, infelicem reddidit, & reliquit. *Ambros.*

Qui pro modica delectatione dat illud, pro quo Christus se tradidit, stultum Christum reputat mercatorem. *August.*

Centum decies centum annos demus deliciis? Quanam erit ex his ad æternitatem compensatio? *Chrysost. de repar. lapf.*

Ipse est Christianus qui & in domo sua peregrinum se esse cognoscit. Patria nostra sursum est: ibi hospites non erimus. *August. in Psal. 32.*

Delicatus es miles, si putas sine pugna te posse vincere: fortiter dimica, atrociter in prælio conerata, considera pactum, conditionem quam accessisti, miliciam cui nomen dedisti: Ita enim quos miraris omnes pugnauerunt, vicerunt, triumphauerunt. *Chrysost.*

der in the World; or to the corrupting of mans minde, and diverting it from things sublime and spiritual, or putting it out of relish with that which is our true felicity, or the way thereto. It is only on such accounts, and in such cases as these, that Christ forbiddeth us the pleasures of the flesh: And so will Parents restrain the appetites of their Children, and Physicians of their Patients, and every wise man will restrain his own, when present sensual pleasure tendeth to greater future pain. The satisfying delights of man can be no where but in the love of God, and in a heavenly life, and in the foresight of endless joyes, and in the knowledge and means which lead to these: And the unwholsom luscious pleasures of the Flesh, do greatly tend to draw down the minde, and corrupt the affections, and dull our desires and endeavours towards these higher things: And therefore our Saviour doth strictlyer here dyet us, than is pleasing to diseased Souls. But he loveth not our sorrows or pains, nor envyeth us any desireable pleasure: He came not to torment us, but to save us from torment: If he forbid us any delight, it is because he would have us have better and more, which that would keep us from. If he teach us to deny our Honour with men, it is but that we may have Honour with God and Angels. If he call us from our present wealth and profit, it is but to secure our Everlasting Riches, and prevent our losse. All his Precepts are wholly fitted to our own good; though our good be not the highest ultimate end, but the Glory and Pleasure of our Maker.

§. 19. *There cannot possibly be any higher motives to sincere piety and honesty given to the World, than the Christian Religion sets before them; even the joyes of Heaven, and the pains of Hell, and all the pleasures and priviledges of an holy life: And therefore it must needs be the powerfull mean to all that is truly good and happy.*

§. 20. *It stronglyest fortifieth the minde of Man, against the power of all temptations.*

For as it enervateth the Temptation; by teaching us to mortifie the lusts of the flesh, and to condemn the World, so it alwayes counterpoiseth it with the Authority of God, the Joyes of Heaven, the punishment of Hell; which are in the ballance against all the pleasures of sin, as a Mountain is against a Feather.

§. 21. It affordeth us the most powerfull Supports and Comforts in every suffering; that we may bear it patiently and with joy.

For it assureth us of the Love of God, and of the pardon of our greater sufferings: It sheweth us how to be gainers by all, and sheweth us the glory and joy which will be the end of all.

§. 22. It affordeth us the greatest Cordials against the fears of death.

For it assureth us of endless happiness after death. And if a *Socrates*, or *Cicero*, or *Seneca*, could fetch any comfort from a doubtful conjecture of another life, what may a Christian do that hath an undoubted assurance of it, and also of the nature and greatness of the felicity which we there expect: And why should he fear dying, who looks to pass into endless pleasure. And therefore Christianity conduceth (not to pusillanimity, but) to the greatest fortitude and nobleness of minde: For what should daunt him who is above the fears of sufferings and death.

§. 23. It containeth nothing which any man can rationally fear, can be any way a hinderance to his salvation.

This will be more cleared when I have answered the objections against it.

§. 24. It containeth nothing that bath the least contrariety to any Natural Verity or Law; but contrarily comprehendeth all the Law of Nature, as its first and principal part, and that in the most clear and legible character, superadding much more which Naturalists know not.

So that if there be any good in other Religions (as there is some in all), it is all contained in the Christian Religion, with the addition of much more: There is no truth or goodness in the Religion of the Philosophers, the *Platonists*, the *Stoicks*, the *Pythagorean Bannians* in *India*, the *Bonksii* in *Japan*, or those in *Siam*, *China*, *Persia*, or any other parts, nor among the *Mahometans* or *Jews*, which is not contained in the Doctrine and Religion of the Christians.

§. 25. Accordingly it bath all the reall Evidence which the true parts of any other Religion bath, with the addition of much more supernatural evidence.

Beati, qui habitant ibi, laudabant Deum in secula seculorum, Amen. Regnum Dei conceditur in prædestinatione, promittitur in vocatione, ostenditur in justificatione, percipitur in glorificatione. *Bernard.*

Ille honestæ esse voluptates putandæ sunt, quæ non sunt implicatæ dolori, nec poenirendi causam afferunt, nec alio ullo detrimento afficiunt eos qui perfruuntur nec ultra modum progrediuntur, nec nos multum a gravioribus negotiis abstrahunt, aut sibi servire cogunt. Proprie voluptates sunt quæ insunt, aut annexæ sunt cognitioni divini numinis, & scientiis, & virtutibus. *Nemesius de Nat. Hom. cap. 18. de Volupt.*

For

For all that is justly called the Law of Nature, (which is the first part of the Christian Religion) is evidenced by the light of Nature: and this Christians have as well as others: and all that is of true supernatural Revelation, they have above others by its proper evidence.

How excellently doth Seneca speak against a vain curiosity of speech in drivers of his Epistles, and with what contempt and vehement indignation? This also is to be applied to the spirituality and plainness of the Christian way of worship.

In exordio nascentis Ecclesie non eo quo nunc modo vel ordine sacra celebrantur Missarum solemnitas teste Gregorio, &c. Et fortasse primis temporibus solius Pauli Epistolæ legébantur, postmodum intermixtæ aliæ lectiones sunt, &c. Berno Ab. Augiens. de quibusdam ad Missam pertinent. c. 1. p. 698. Bibl. Patr.

Orationes autem quas collectas dicimus, à diversis auctoribus compositz creduntur, à Gelasio præfule Romano, & beato Gregorio Papa. Idem ibid. Lege & Microlog. Eccles. observat. cap. 12. & 13. & Hugo à S. Villore de offic. In Romana Ecclesia Eccles. l. 2. c. 16. una tantum dicitur collecta, nisi, &c.

§. 26. The style of the Sacred Scripture is plain, and therefore fit for all; and yet Majestical and Spiritual, suited to its high and noble ends.

Were it expressed in those terms of Art, which the Masters of each sect have devised to transmit their opinions to posterity by, they would be fit for none but those few, who by acquaintance with such terms, esteem themselves, or are esteemed learned men: And yet the men of another sect might little understand them. For most new Sect-masters in Philosophy, devised new terms, as well as new principles or opinions: Though at Athens, where the principal Sects were near together, the diversity was not so great as among them at a further distance, yet was there enough to trouble their disciples. He that understandeth Zoroaster and Trismegistus, may not understand Pythagoras; and he that understandeth him, may not understand his follower Plato; and he that understandeth him, may not understand Aristotle: and so of Telesius, Parmenides, Anaxagoras, Aristippus, Antisthenes, Zeno, Chrysippus, Heraclitus, Democritus, Pyrrho, Epicurus, with all the rest: And among Christians themselves, the degenerated Hereticks and Sectaries, that make their own opinions, do make also their own terms of Art; so that if you compare the Valentinians, Basilidians, Apollinarians, &c. and our late Wigelians, Paracelsians, Rosicrucians, Belimenists, Familists, Libertines, Quakers, &c. you shall find that he that seemeth to understand one Sect, must learn, as it were, a new language, before he can understand the rest. So that if the Scripture must have been phrased according to Philosophers terms of art, who knoweth to which Sect it must have been suited? and every day there riseth up a Campanella, a Thomas White, &c. who are reforming the old terms and arts, and making both new; so that nothing which is of universal use, as Religion is, can be fitted to any such uncertain measure. Christ hath therefore dealt much better

better with the world, and spoken plainly the things which the simple and all must know, and yet spoken sublimely of things mysterious, heavenly and sublime.

This is the true nature and character of Christianity.

CHAP. V.

Of the Congruities in the Christian Religion, which make it the more easily credible, and are great preparatives to Faith.

BECAUSE Truth is never contrary to it self, nor agreeable with error, it is a way that reason teacheth all men, in the trying of any questioned point, to reduce it to those that are unquestionable, and see whether or no they accord with those: And to mark the unquestionable *Ends* of Religion, and try how it suiteth its means thereunto: And therefore men of all sober professions have their determinate principles and ends, by which they try such particular opinions, as Christians do by their analogy of faith. And in this trial of Christianity, I shall tell you what I find it.

§. 1. *I find in general, that there is an admirable concord between Natural Verity, and the Gospel of Christ; and that Grace is medicinal to Nature; and that where Natural light endeth, Supernatural beginneth; and that the superstructure which Christ hath built upon Nature, is wonderfully adapted to its foundation.*

This is made manifest in all the first part of this Treatise. Reason, which is our Nature, is not destroyed, but repaired, illuminated, elevated and improved, by the Christian faith. Free-will, which is our Nature, is made more excellently free by Christianity. Self-love, which is our Nature, is not destroyed, but improved by right conduct and help to our attainment of its ends. The Natural part of Religion is so far from being abrogated by Christianity, that the latter doth but subserve the former. Christ is the way to God: the Father. The duty which we owe by Nature to our Creator, we owe him still; and Christ came to enable and teach us to perform

Deus est Principium
Effectivum in Crea-
tione, Refectivum in
Redemptione, Per-
fectivum in sanctifi-
catione. *Job. 2. Combis*
Comp. Theolog. l. 4.
c. 1.

perform it: the love of God our Creator with all our hearts is still our duty: and faith in Christ is but the *means* to the love of God, and the bellows to kindle that holy fire. The Redeemer came to recover us to our Creator; He taketh not the Book of the Creatures or Nature out of our hands, but teacheth us better to read and use it. And so it is through all the rest.

Read chap. 16. with the citations.

§. 2. I find also that the state of this present world is exceeding suitable to the Scripture-character of it; that it is exceeding evil, and a deluge of sin and misery; doth declare its great necessity of a Saviour, and sheweth it still to be a place which is to be the home and happiness of Saints.

Nam vitis nemo sine nascitur, optimus ille Qui minimus surgit. Ho. 16.

The badness of the world occasioned the Manichees to think; that God made is not; and Arnobius with them to run into that error, to hold, that God made not man, which he so vehemently defendeth, lib. 2. advers. gentes: yet professing, that he who made us, and whence evil cometh, is a thing to us unknown.

Of all the parts of God's Creation, this earth doth seem to be next to Hell: certainly it is greatly defiled with sin, and overwhelmed with manifold calamities; and though God hath not totally forsaken it, nor turned away his mercy as he hath done from Hell, yet is he much estranged from it: so that those who are not recovered by grace, are next to devils. And alas how numerous and considerable are they to denominate it, [*an evil world!*] Those that Christ calleth out of it, he sanctifieth, and maketh them unlike the world: and his grace doth not give them a worldly felicity, nor settle them in a Rest or Kingdom here; but it *severeth* them from this world, as from a place of snares, and a company of cheaters, robbers and murderers; and from a tempestuous Sea, whose waves seem ready still to drown us.

I. I find it is a world of Sin. II. And of Temptation. III. And of Calamity.

I. For Sin, it is become, as it were, its nature, it liveth with men from the birth to the grave. It is an ignorant world, that wandereth in darkness; and yet a proud self-conceited world, that will not be convinced of its ignorance; and is never more furiously confident, than when it is most deceived and most blind. Even natural wisdom is so rare, and folly hath the major vote and strength, that wise men are wearied with resisting folly, and ready in discouragements to leave the foolish world unto it self, as an incurable *Bedlam*: so fierce are fools against instruction, and so hard is it to make them know that they are ignorant, or to convince men of their mistakes and errors. The Learner thanks his

Teacher doth; and he that hath but wit enough to distinguish him from a bruit, is as confident as if he were a Doctor. The Learned themselves are for the most part but half-witted men, who either take up with lazie studies, or else have the disadvantage of uncapable temperaments and wits, or of unhappy Teachers and false principles received by ill education, which keep out truth: so that they are but fitted to trouble the world with their contentions, or deceive men by their errors: and yet have they not the acquaintance with their ignorance, which might make them learn of such as can instruct them; but if there be among many but one that is wiser than the rest, he is thought to be unfit to live among them, if he will not deny his knowledge, and own their errors, and confess that modesty and order require, that either the highest, or the major vote are the masters of truth, and all is false that is against their opinions.

It is an Atheistical ungodly world, that knoweth not its Maker; or forgetteth, contemneth, and wilfully disobeyeth him, while in words it doth confess him: and yet an hypocritical world, that will speak honourably of God, and of virtue and piety, of justice and charity, while they are neglecting and rejecting them, and cannot endure the practice of that which their tongues commend: almost all sorts will prefer the life to come in words, when indeed they utterly neglect it, and prefer the fleshly pleasures of this life: They cry out of the vanity and vexation of the world, and yet they set their hearts upon it, and love it better than God and the world to come: they will have some Religion, to mock God, and deceive themselves, which shall go no deeper than the knee and tongue, in forms, or ceremonies, or a dissembled affection and profession. But to be devoted absolutely to God, in self-resignation, obedience and love, how rare is it even in them who cannot deny, but the Law of Nature it self doth primarily and undeniably oblige them to it? Their Religion is but self-condemnation, while their tongues condemn their hearts and lives.

It is a sensual brutish world, and seemeth to have hired out their reason to the service of their appetites and lusts: gluttony, and excess of drink, and sports, and plays, and gaming,

Unicuique dedit vitium natura creato. Propert.

Sed quia cæcus inest vitiis amor, on ne futurum, Despicitur, suadent brevem præsentia trugum Et ruit in vetum damni secuta libico. Claud. 2. Eur.

Egregium sacrumq; virum si cerno, blimembri Hoc monstrum puerq, vel miranti sub aratro Piscibus inventis, & fortæ comparo mulæ. Juven. Sat. 13.

He that will peruse that notable description of the state of mortals, and of souls in flesh, which Arnobius hath, adv. Gent. lib. 2. p. 18, 19. Annot. Bib. Pat. (too long to be transcribed) shall see the vanity and shame of this corrupted world expressed to the life.

Nostri tantum qui
Christiani vocamur
nulla vobis cura est;
sinitis enim nos qui
nihil mali patramus,
immo omnium piissi-
mè justissimeque cum
erga Deum cum im-
perium vestrum nos
gerimus, exagitari,
rapi, fugari, nomen
duntaxat nostrum ple-
risque impugnantibus.
*Athenagor. Apo-
log. p. 1.*

gaming, with pride, and wantonness, and fornication, and uncleanness, and worldly pomp, and the covetous gathering of provision for the flesh, to satisfy these lusts, is the business and pleasure of their lives: and if you tell them of *Reason*, or the *Law of God* to take them off, you may almost as well think to *reason* a hungry Dog from his carrion, or a lustful Boar to forbear his lust.

And it is a *Selfish* world, where every man is as an idol to himself; and affected to himself and his own interest, as if he were all the world: drawing all that he can from others, to fill his own insatiable desires: loving all men, and honouring, and esteeming, and praising them, according to the measure of their esteem of him, or their agreeableness to his opinions, ways or interest: self-love, self-conceit, self-esteem, self-will and self-seeking, is the soul and business of the world. And therefore no wonder that it is a divided and contentious world, when it hath as many *ends* as men; and every man is for himself, and draweth his own way. No wonder that there is such variety of apprehensions, that no two men are in all things of a mind: and that the world is like a company of drunken men together by the ears, or of blind men fighting with they know not whom, and for they know not what. And that ignorant sects, and contentious wranglers, and furious fighters, are the bulkie parts of it. And that striving who shall *Rule*, or be *Greatest*, or have his *will*, is the worlds employment.

It is a dreaming and distracted world, that spend their days and cares for nothing; and are as serious in following a feather, and in the pursuit of that, which they confess is vanity and dying in their hands, as if indeed they knew it to be true felicity: they are like children, busie in hunting butterflies; or like boys at foot-ball, as eager in the pursuit, and in over-turning one another, as if it were for their lives, or for some great desirable prize: or liker to a heap of Ants, that gad about as busily, and make as much ado for sticks and dust, as if they were about some magnificent work. Thus doth the vain deceived world lay out their thoughts, and time upon impertinencies, and talk and walk like so many *Noctambulo's* in their sleep: they study, and care, and weep, and laugh, and labour, and fight, as men in a dream:

and will hardly be perswaded, but it is reality which they pursue, till death come and awake them. Like a Stage-play, or a Poppet-play, where all things seem to be what they are not, and all parties seem to do what they do not, and then depart, and are all disroab'd and unmask'd; such is the life of the most of this world, who spend their days in a serious juggling, and in a busie doing nothing.

It is a malignant world, that hath an inbred radicated enmity to all that virtue and goodness which they want: they are so captivated to their fleshy pleasures and worldly interests, that the first sight, approach or motion, of reason, holiness, mortification and self-denial, is met by them with heart-rising, indignation and opposition: in which their fury beareth down all argument, and neither giveth them leave considerately to use their own reason, or hearken to anothers: there are few that are truly wise, and good, and heavenly, that escape their hatred and beastly rage. And when Countries have thought to remedy this plague, by changing their forms of Government, experience hath told them, that the vice and root of their calamity lieth in the blindness and wickedness of corrupted nature, which no form of Government will cure: and that the Doves that are governed by Hawkes and Kites, must be their prey, whether it be one or many that hath the Sovereignty.

Yea, it is an unthankful world, that in the exercise of this malignant cruelty, will begin with those that deserve best at their hands. He that would instruct them, and stop them in their sin, and save their souls, doth ordinarily make himself a prey: and they are not content to take away their lives, but they will (among their credulous rabble) take away the reputation of their honesty: and no wisdom or learning was ever so great, no innocency so unspotted, no honesty, justice or charity so untainted, no holiness so venerable, that could ever priviledge the owners from their rage, or make the possessors to escape their malice. Even Jesus Christ, that never committed sin, and that came into the world with the most matchless love, and to do them the greatest good, was yet prosecuted furiously to a shameful death; and not only so, but in his humiliation his judgement was taken away; and he was condemned as an evil

O ingratum & impi-
um seculum! O in
privatam perniciem
incredibili pectoris
obstinatone pronum!
sualiquis ad vas me-
dicus ex summis ven-
nifer, & incognitis
regionibus, medica-
men pollicens — cer-
tatim blanditis, &c.
Quænam est hæc fo-
ritas, quæ libido tam
carnifex, inexpiabile
bellum indicere nihil
de te merito? Dila-
cerare si decur velle
eum per viscera, qui
non modo nullum in-
tulit malum nulli,
sed benignus hosti-
bus, &c. *Arnob. l. 1.
in fine.*

Prosperum ac felix
seculus virtus vocatur.
Quis nomen unquam
secleris errori dedit?
sepe error ingens
secleris obtinuit lo-
cum. *Sen. Herc. fur.*

*Anaxarchum, Demo-
critum à Cypro ty-
rannæ excarnificatum
accepimus: Zenonem
Eleatem in tormentis
necatum: Quid di-
cam de Socrate, cujus
morti illachrymari
soleo Platonem lo-
gens. Many more such
instances hath Coxe
in Cicero, de Nat.
Deor. l. 3. p. 107-
108.*

Primusq; devitæ ratione differuit Socrates, primusq; Philosophorum damnatus moritur. *Laert. in Socrate. pag. 92.*

Campanella selleth up himself of his 30 years cruel persecutions, and torments in the Inquisition.

* *Hist. part. 3. l. 4. c. 3. sect. 6.*

doer, who was the greatest enemy to sin that ever was born into the World; He was accused of Blasphemy (for calling himself the Son of God) of Impiety (for talking of destroying the Temple) and of Treason (for saying he was a King). And his Apostles that went about the World to save mens Souls, and proclaim to them the joyfull tydings of salvation, had little better entertainment: wherever they came, bonds and afflictions did abide them; And if they had not been taught to rejoyce in tribulations, they could have expected little joy on earth. And it was not only Christians that were thus used, but honesty in the Heathens was usually met with opposition and reproach, as *Seneca* himself doth oft complain, Yea, how few have there been that have been famous for any excellency of wit or learning, or any addition to the Worlds understanding, but their reward hath been reproach, imprisonment or death? Did *Socrates* die in his bed? Or was he not murdered by the rage of wicked Hypocrites? *Plato* durst not speak his minde, for fear of his Masters reward. *Aristippus* left *Athens*, ne bis peccarent in Philosophiam: not only *Solon*, but most benefactors to any Common-wealth have suffered for their beneficence. *Demosthenes*, *Cato*, *Cicero*, *Seneca*, could none of them save their lives from fury, by their great learning or honesty. Yea, among nominal Christians, he that told them of an *Antipodes*, was excommunicated by the Papal Authority for an Heretick; And a *Savonarola*, *Arnoldus de Villa Nova*, *Paulus*, *Scaliger*, &c. could not be wiser than their Neighbours, but to their cost: No nor *Arius Montanus* himself. *Campanella* was fain in prison to compile his New Philosophy, and with the pleasure of his inventions to bear the torments which were their fowre sauce. Even *Galileus* that discovered so many new Orbs, and taught this World the way of clearer acquaintance with its neighbours, could not escape the Reverend Justice of the Papalists, but must lie in a Prison, as if *O sapientia* had been written on his doors, (as the old Woman cryed out to *Thales*, when he fell into a ditch, while he was by his instrument taking the height of a Starr.) And Sir *Walter Raleigh* could not save his head by his Learned History of the World (but must be one part of its History himself); nor yet by his great observation, how *Antipater* is taken for a blood,

which maketh it the more easily credible, &c.

bloody Tyrant, for killing *Demosthenes*, and how Arts and Learning have power to disgrace any man that doth evil to the famous Matters of them. *Peter Ramus* that had done so much in *Philosophy* for the Learned World, was requited by a butcherly barbarous murder, being one of the 30000 or 40000 that were so used in the *French Massacre*. And many a holy person perished in the 200000 murdered by the *Irish*. It were endless to instance the ungratefull cruelties of the World; and what entertainment it hath given to wise and godly men; even those whom it superstitiously adored when it hath murdered them.

And in all this wickedness, it is wilfull, and stupid, and incorrigible, and ordinary means do little to the Cure. Thus is it a sinfull evil World.

II. And it is a *Tempting World* that would make all bad as it is it self: Wherever the sanctifying Truth of God doth come to illuminate and reform men, the World is presently up in arms against it; and fighteth against that which would save mens Souls, as if it were a Plague or Enemy that would destroy them. Princes think it is against their interest, and the people finde that it is against their lusts: And so the sin of Tyranny keepeth the Gospel out of the greatest part of the World; and popular fury resisteth it where it cometh. The Empires of the *Turks*, and *Tartarian*, and *China*, are sad instances of the success of Tyranny against the means of mens salvation: And the Empire of *Japan* hath given the World an instance of such unparallel'd cruelty to that end, as maketh the persecutions of *Nero* and *Dioclesian*, and even the Popish *Inquisition*, and almost the Massacres of *Piedmont*, *France* and *Ireland*, to seem very merciful acts of Charity. What rage, what inhumane fury hath been shewed, through all the World, to keep out Knowledge, and keep the Nations in their darkness and misery, and forbid relief? But for Error and Decent, Idolatry and Superstition, how industriously are they propagated? Empire and Arts, Power and Learning, are employed to deceive and undoe the World. And though Empire be Gods Ordinance, and Arts his gifts, they are turned against him in the farr greatest part of the Earth, and Satan is served by them, as if they had been ordain'd by him. Almost every Countrey hath their

Judices non tam quid commiserit reus aliquis nostrum inquirunt, quam ipsi homini tanquam cerro sceleri illudunt. Aduer. ad. supr.

Vicia de mercede sollicitant: Avaricia pecuniam promittit: Luxuria multas ac varias voluptates: Ambitio purpuram & plausum; & ex hoc potentiam & quicquid potentia potest. Senec. Ep. 29.

In vicia aliter aliterum tradimus. Quomodo ad salutem revocari potest, quem populus impellit, & nullus retrahit? Senec. Ep. 29.



when just Aristides was made Treasurer at Athens, though he most uprightly discharged his Office, Themistocles accused him, and got him condemned as for Bribery: But by the favour of some of the greatest he was delivered, and restored to his Office for another year: The next year he did by connivance graisfe all the Pillagers of the Commonwealth that would grow rich by the common loss: And at the years end they offered him the Office again with great honour. But he refused it, and said, that their honour was a greater disgrace than their condemnation: For when he did well they condemned him, and when he gave way to the unjust, they honoured him. Plutar.

When he was to be condemned by the popular Vote, one came to him in the crowd, that could not write, and not knowing who he was, desired him to write his name to Aristides condemnation; for he was resolved to give his voice against him, because he was called A Righteous Man: Aristides did as he desired, and wrote his name without discovering himself to him.

their proper opinions, and a Religion fitted to resist Religion: He that is an Idolater, or a Mahometan, or Infidel, would make more: And they that are against all s.rio is Religion, are as eager to make others of their mind, as if it were a work of charity or commodity: And he that is endeavouring to undoe Souls, is as vehement in it, as he that is endeavouring to save them. He that hath any passion or corrupt affection is as inclinable to convey it to another, as fire is to kindle fire, or one that hath the Plague to infect his Neighbour. Covetousness, ambition, voluptuousness, lust, and wrath and revenge, are all contagious. Rioters think it strange if we run not with them into all excess. The very noise of their impertinent talk and business, and the great adoe that they make in doing nothing, is a great diverter of those that are about them, from serious business and sober consideration: They keep men so busie about their vanities, that they can finde no leifure to remember that they are men, or to think what business they have in the World, nor where it is that they must dwell for ever. And when their folly and selfishness hath set them all together by the ears, they must needs draw or drive others into the fire of contention with them; They cry, Who is on my side? who? And he that will not be of one party or other, but will keep his peace, shall lose it by the enmity of all: And no man shall be taken for orthodox or honest, that will not be of that Faction whose commendation he desireth: And when he hath humoured them, he shall go for a knave or a reproached person, with all the rest: A peaceable man shall hardly finde the peace which he desireth to himself; but it's ten to one but he loseth his labour if he would make peace between others; especially, if he have an honest ambition, of extending, that blessing to Parties and Countreys, or any great and considerable numbers. If by tyranny and cruelty, by prisons, and torments, and death, they cannot affright men from honesty and the obedience of God, at least they will vex them in their way, and be as thorns and bryars to them in this Wilderness.

III. And it is a calamitous, miserable World. It is void of the comforts of sacred Illumination, and of the assured Love of God, and of the exercise of wisdom, or holiness:

The

The delights of Saints in loving God, and waiting for eternal Life, are unknown to all the multitudes of the ungodly: They are confounded and lost in their ignorance and error; and tormented with their own passions, divisions and contentions. Their vices are part of their disquietment and pain, though pleasure be their intended end. It is a pitifull servitude that they are in to Satan, and an endless drudgery that they follow, in serving their covetousness, pride, and lust; and a tiresome task to care and labour to make provision for their fleshly appetites and wills. They are led captive by Satan to do his will; and yet in doing it they do their own, and are in love with their Captivity, and glory in their Chains. They are engaged daily against God and Mercy, against their Happinels, and their Friends that would procure it; and think him their Enemy that would make them wiser. They go under the guilt of all this sin; and they have no assurance of pardon or deliverance: And God overtaketh them many times with bodily distresses here: Sicknesses and pains consume men, and torment them; Wars, and plagues do send them by thousands, out of the World, which they took for their felicity: Fire and famine, piracy and robbery, and fraud, impoverish them: The frustrations of their hope torment them. And yet under all, they are hardened against God, and fall not out with their sin and folly, but with the Justice of Heaven, and with its instruments, or rather with all that beareth the Image of the Holiness of God. This is the visible condition of this World.

Obj. If you say, *How can all this stand with the infinite Goodness of God?* I have answered it before: It sheweth you, that it is not *this World*, which is the great demonstration of the Goodness or Love of God, from whence we must take our estimate of it by the effects. If you will judge of the Kings splendour, and bounty, and clemency, will you go seek for examples and demonstrations of it in the Gaol, and at the Gallows, or rather at the Court? Hell is as the Gallows, and Earth is as the Gaol: Measure not Gods bounty and mercy by these: It is no sign of unmercifulness in God that there are Flies and Worms, and Toads, and Serpents on Earth as well as Men: nor that Earth was not made as indefectible as Heaven: And when men have drown'd themselves in sin,

it is no want of Goodness in God, but it is Goodness it self which causeth the demonstrations of his Justice on them. This World is not so much to all Gods Creation, as a wen or wart upon a Mans body is to the whole body: And if it were all forsaken of God, as it hath forsaken him, it were proportionably no more than the cutting off such a wart or Wen, God hath many thousand thousand thousand times more capacious Regions, which it's like have more noble and blessed Inhabitants: Look to them, if you would see his Love, in its most glorious demonstration: Justice also must be demonstrated if men will sin. And if Hell be quite forsaken, and Earth which is next it be partly forsaken of the favour of God, for all that God may gloriously demonstrate his Love, to a thousand thousand-fold more subjects (of the nobler Regions) than he doth demonstrate his Justice on in Hell or Earth. But these two things I gather for the confirmation of my Faith. 1. That the sin and misery of the World is such, that it groaneth for a Saviour; And when I hear of a Physician sent from Heaven, I easily believe it, when I see the wofull World mortally diseased, and gasping in its deep distress. The condition of the World is visibly so suitable to the whole Office of Christ, and to the Doctrine of the Gospel, that I am driven to think, that if God have mercy for it, some Physician and extraordinary help shall be afforded it: And when I see none else but *Jesus Christ*, whom Reason will allow me to believe is that Physician, it somewhat prepareth my minde to look towards him with hope.

2. And also the *Evil* of this present World, is very suitable to the Doctrine of Christ, when he telleth us that he came not to settle us here in a state of Prosperity, nor to make the World our Rest or Portion; but to *save us* from it, as our enemy and calamity, our danger and our Wilderness and trouble; and to bring up our hearts first, and then our selves to a better World, which he calleth us to seek, and to make sure of. Whereas I finde, that most other Religions, though they say something of a Life hereafter, yet lead men to look for most or much of their felicity here, as consisting in the fruition of this World, which experience tells me is so miserable.

§. 3. Moreover I finde, that the Law of entire Nature was

Saith Cicero (*laugh-
ing at Epicurus*)
Ego summum dolo-
rem (summum dico,
etiam si decem atomis
est major alius) non
continuo dico esse
brevem: multosq;
possem bonos viros
nominare qui com-
plures annos dolori-
bus podagræ cruci-
entur maximis: *Tus-
cul. l. 2. p. 263.*

which maketh it the more easily credible, &c.

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no more suitable to Nature in its integrity, than the Law of Grace revealed by Christ is suitable to us in our lapsed state: so that it may be called, the Law of Nature-lapsed and restorable; (*Naturæ lapsæ restaurandæ.*)

Nature entire and Nature depraved, must have the same pattern and rule of perfection ultimately to be conformed to; because lapsed man must seek to return to his integrity: But lapsed or corrupted man doth moreover need another Law, which shall first tend to his restoration from that lost and miserable state. And it was no more necessary to man in innocency to have a suitable Law for his preservation and confirmation, than it is to man in sin and guilt to have a Law of Grace for his pardon and recovery, and a course of means prescribed him for the healing of his Soul, and for the escaping of the stroke of Justice. The following particulars further open this.

§. 4. *It seemeth very congruous to Reason, that as Monarchy is the perfectest sort of Government (which it is probable is even among the Angels) so Mankind should have one universal Head or Monarch over them.*

Kingdoms have their several Monarchs; but there is surely an Universal Monarch over them all! we know that God is the primary Sovereign; but it is very probable to Nature, that there is a subordinate Sovereign or general Administrator under him: It is not only the Scriptures that speak a Prince of the Devils, and of Principalities, and Powers, and Thrones, and Dominions, among the happy Spirits; and that talk of the Angels that are Princes of several Kingdoms, *Dan. 10.* but even the Philosophers and most Idolaters, have from this apprehension, been drawn to the worship of such, as an inferiour kinde of Deity. And if man must have a subordinate universal King, it is meet that it be one that is also Man: As Angels and Devils have Principals of their own sort and nature, and not of others.

§. 5. *It seemeth congruous to Reason, that this Head be one that is fitted to be our Captain Generall, himself to lead us by Conduits, Precept and Example, in our warfare against those Devils, who also are said to have their Prince and General.*

As Devils fight against us under a Prince of their own nature, so is it congruous, that we fight against them, under

If any say, that still Perfect Obedience is possible, I will not litigare de nomine, but say as Cicero, Ut nihil interest utrum nemo valeat; an nemo possit valere; sic non intelligo quid intersit, utrum nemo sit sapiens an nemo esse possit. Cic. de Nat. Deor. l. 3. pag. 138. (mihi) so I say of keeping the Law perfectly.

Almost all the Heathens in the world, who worshipped one God as Chief, had their Demi-gods, as their particular Protectors and favourers, or Mediators; as intimating that Man is conscious of the need of some Mediator of access to the supreme Deity.

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der a Prince of our own nature, who hath himself first conquered him, and will go on before us in the fight.

§. 6. It is congruous to Reason, that lapsed Man under the guilt of sin, and desert of punishment, who is unable to deliver himself, and unworthy of immediate access to God, should have a Mediator for his restoration and reconciliation with God: If any be found fit for so high an Office.

§. 7. And it is congruous to Reason, that this Mediator be one, in whom God doth condescend to Man, and one in whom man may be encouraged to ascend to God, or to one that will forgive and save him: And one that hath made himself known to man, and also hath free access to God.

§. 8. It is congruous to Reason, that lapsed, guilty, darkened sinners, that know so little of God, and of his Will, and of their own Concernments, and of the other World, should have a Teacher sent from Heaven, of greater Authority and Credit than an Angel, to acquaint us with God and his will, and the Life that we are going to, more certainly and fully than would be done by Nature only.

The most learned men of Greece and Rome, that saw by Reason the Immortality of the Soul, the life to come, and the Perfections of God, were yet so distrustfull of their own Reasons, that they spoke of the Life to come with great pauses of doubtfulness or darkness: And were many of them glad to run to Oracles, and Augures and Aruspices to try if they could get any addition of light by superficial Revelation. How glad then would they have been of a certain Teacher sent from Heaven?

That this is very desireable no man can doubt: How gladly would men receive a Letter or Book that dropt from Heaven? Or an Angel that were sent thence to tell them what is there, and what they must for ever trust to? Yea, if it were but one of their old acquaintance from the dead? But all this would leave them in uncertainty still, and they would be doubtfull of the credit and truth of any such a Messenger: And therefore to have one of fuller Authority, that shall confirm his Word by unquestionable attestations, would very much satisfy men. I have proved, that Nature it self revealeth to us, a Life of Retribution after this; and that Immortality of Souls may be proved without Scripture: But yet there is still a darkness and unacquaintedness, and consequently a doubting and questioning the certainty of it, upon a carnal minde: And it would greatly satisfy such, if besides meer Reason, they had some proof which is more agreeable to a minde in flesh; and might either speak with some credible Messenger who hath been in Heaven, and fully knoweth all these matters; or at least might be certainly informed of his Reports. And indeed, to men that are fallen into such a dark depravedness of Reason, and such Strangers to God

and

and Heaven as mankind is, it is become needful that they have more than natural light, to shew them the nature, the excellency and certainty of the happiness to come, or else they are never like so to love and seek it, and prefer it before all earthly things, as is necessary to them that will attain it. For few men will seek with their utmost labour, or let go all other things to attain a happiness, which they are not well perswaded of the reality of. And though sound reason might well perswade them of it, yet reason is now become so blind, and unsound, and partial, and enslaved to the flesh, that it is not fit for such an office, according to our necessity, without some heavenly Revelation.

§. 9. And it is exceeding congruous to mans necessity, who is fallen under the power and fears of death, as well as the doubts and estrangedness to the other world, that he that will save and heal us, do himself in our nature rise from the dead, and ascend up into heaven, to give us thereby a visible demonstration, that indeed there is a Resurrection and a life to come for us to look for.

Though God was not obliged to do thus much for us, yet Reason telleth us, that if he will do it, it is very suitable to our necessities. For all the reasonings in the world do not satisfy in such things, so much as ocular demonstration: when we either see a man that is risen from the dead, or have certain testimony of it, it facilitates the belief of our own resurrection: and he that is gone into Heaven before us, assureth us that a Heaven there is.

§. 10. When God in mercy would forgive and save a sinful people, it was very congruous to reason, that there should be some fit means provided, to demonstrate his holiness in his justice, and to vindicate the honour of his Laws and Government, and so to secure the ends of both.

For if God make a penal Law and execute it not, but let man sin with impunity, and do nothing which may deter him, nor demonstrate his Justice, as much as the sinners sufferings would do, it would tell the world, that he that gave them the Law, and thereby told them, that he would rule and judge them by it, did but deceive them, and meant not as he spake: And it would bring both the Law and Government into contempt, and perswade men to sin without any

Falsum est; peiores
norimur quam na-
scimur: nostrum i-
stud, non naturæ vi-
tium est. Quid enim
turpius quam in ipso
limine securitatis esse
solicitem. Senec.

Sæpe Jovem vidi cum
jam sua mittere vel-
let

Fulmina thure dato
sustinuisse manum;
At si negligitur,
magnis injuria poenis
Solvitur.

Ovid. 5. Fast.

Dei injuriæ Deo cu-
raz. Tacit. Annal.

l. 1.

Virtutum omnium
excellentissima justi-
tia. Ammian. Marcel.

l. 20.

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fear: and he that was question'd for the second crime, would say, I ventured, because I suffered not for the first. It was the devils first way of tempting men to sin, to persuade mankind that God meant not as he spake in his threatening of their death, but that they should not die, though God had threatned it. And if God himself should by his actions say the same, it would tempt them more to sin than Sathan could, as his credibility is greater. Therefore he that is a Governour must be just as well as merciful; and if God should have pardoned sinners, without such a sacrifice or substitute means, as might preserve the honour of his Law and Government, and the future innocency of his Subjects, as well as their punishment in the full sense of the Law would have done, the consequents would have been such, as I will leave to your own judgements.

§. 11. *And it was very congruous to reason, that so odious a thing as sin should be publickly condemned and put to shame, although the sinner be forgiven: As it was done in the life and death of Christ.*

For the purity of God is irreconcilable to sin, though not to the sinner; and therefore it was meet that the sin have all the publick shame, though the sinner escape: and that God be not like weak imperfect man, who cannot do good, without doing or encouraging evil.

§. 12. *It is congruous to our condition, that seeing even the upright do renew their sins, their consciences should have some remedy for the renewal of their peace and comfort, that it sink them not into desperation; which is most suitably provided for them in Jesus Christ.*

For when we were pardoned once, and again, and oft, and yet shall sin, he that knoweth the desert of sin, and purity of God, will have need also to know of some stated certain course of remedy.

• §. 13. *It was meet that the sinful world have not only a certain Teacher, but also a perfect pattern before them, of righteousness, love, self-denial, meekness, patience, contempt of lower things, &c. which is given us by Jesus Christ alone.*

And therefore the Gospel is written Historically, with Doctrins intermixt, that we might have both perfect Precepts and Pattern.

§. 14. *It*

§. 14. It was very congruous to a world universally lapsed, that God should make with it a new Law and Covenant of Grace, and that this Covenant should tender us the pardon of our sins, and be a conditional act of oblivion: And that sinners be not left to the meer Law of perfect Nature, which was to preserve that innocency which they have already lost.

To say [Thou shalt perfectly obey] to a man that hath already disobeyed, and is unfitted for perfect obedience, is no sufficient direction for his pardon and recovery. Perhaps you'll say, That God's gracious Nature is instead of a Law of Grace or Promise. But though that be the spring of all our hopes, yet that cannot justly quiet the sinner of it self alone, because he is just as well as merciful, and Justice hath its objects, and pardon dependeth on the free-will of God, which cannot be known to us without its proper signs. The Devils may say that the Nature of God is good and gracious, and so may any condemned malefactor say of a good and gracious Judge and King; and yet that is but a slender reason to prove his impunity or pardon. All will confess, that absolute pardon of all men would be unbecoming a wise and righteous Governour. And if it must be conditional, who but God can tell what must be the condition? If you say, That Nature telleth us, That converting Repentance is the condition. I answer, 1. Nature telleth us, That God cannot damn a holy loving Soul, that hath his Image: but yet it telleth us not, That this is the only or whole condition. 2. It is not such a Repentance as lieth but in a frightened wish, that the sin had not been done, but such a one as consisteth in the change of the mind, and heart, and life, and containeth a hatred to the sin repented of, and a love to God and Holiness: and we have as much need of a Saviour to help us to this repentance, as to help us to a pardon.

§. 15. It is very congruous to our miserable state, that the Condition of this Covenant of Grace should be on our part, the acknowledgment of our Benefactor, and the thank'ul acceptance of the benefit, and a hearty consent for the future to follow his conduct, and use his appointed means in order to our full recovery: which is the condition of the Christian Covenant.

§. 16. Seeing man's fall was from his God unto himself, especially in point of love; and his real recovery must be, by bringing

* Religiosi sunt cui facienda & vitanda discernunt. Macrobi. Saturn. l. 3. Non voris neque supplicamentis muliebribus auxilia Deorum parantur; sed vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo, prospere cedunt omnia: ubi socordiae et arque ignaviae traderis, nequicquam Deos implores, irati enim insensique sunt. Salust. in Catilin.

Mysterii opus & finem, sacrificari scilicet & sanctificari fideles, ipse est solus qui peragit. De his autem preces sunt orationes & supplicationes sacerdotis. Illa enim sunt Domini, hæc vero servii: servator donat, sacerdos pro iis quæ data sunt gratias agit. Nicol. Cabasil. Liturg. Expos. c. 49. advers. Eos qui dicunt sacerdotum in sacro mysterio memoriam esse sacerdotis pro eis ad Deum supplicationem.

up his soul to the love of God again. And seeing a guilty condemned sinner can hardly love that God, who in justice will damn and punish him; nothing can be more congruous and effectual to man's recovery to God, than that God should be presented to him as most amiable; that is, as one that is so willing to pardon and save him, as to do it by the most astonishing expressions of love, in such an Agent, and Pledge, and Glass of Love as Jesus Christ.

The whole design of Christ's Incarnation, Life, Death, Resurrection, Ascension and Intercession, is but to be the most wonderful and glorious declaration of the goodness and love of God to sinners: that as the great frame of the Universe demonstrateth his power, so should the Redeemer be the demonstration of his love. That we may see both the wise contrivances of his love, and at how dear a rate he is content to save us; that our lives may be employed in beholding and admiring the glory of his love, in this incomprehensible representation. That we may love him, as men that are fetch'd up from the very gates of hell, and from under the sentence of condemnation, and made by grace the heirs of life.

§. 17. Especially to have a quickning Head, who will give the Spirit of grace to all his members, to change their hearts, and kindle this holy love within them, is most congruous to accomplish mans recovery.

So dark are our minds, and so bad our hearts, so strong are our lusts, and so many our temptations, that bare teaching would not serve our turn, without a Spirit of light, and life, and love to open our eyes, and turn our hearts, and make all outward means effectual.

§. 18. The Commission of the Gospel-Ministry to preach this Gospel of pardon and salvation, and to baptize Consenters, and gather and guide the Church of Christ, with Fatherly love, is also very congruous to the state of the world, with whom they have to do.

§. 19. It is congruous to the state of our trembling Souls, that are conscious of their former guilt, and present unworthiness, that in all their prayers and worship of God, they should come to him in a Name that is more worthy and acceptable than their own, and offer their services by a Hand or Intercessor so beloved of God. Though

Though an impious soul can never expect to be accepted with God, upon the merits of another, yet a penitent soul, who is conscious of former wickedness, and continued faults, may hope for that mercy by grace through a Redeemer, of which he could have less hopes without one.

§. 20. *It is congruous to their state, who have Satan their accuser, that they have a Patron, a High priest and Justifier with God.*

Not that God is in danger of being mistaken by false accusation, or to do us any injustice; but when our real guilt is before his face, (and the malice of Satan will seek thereupon to procure our damnation) there must also be just reasons before him for our pardon, which it is the office of a Saviour to plead or to present, that is, to be God's Instrument of our deliverance upon that account.

§. 21. *It is exceeding congruous to our condition (of darkness and fear) to have a Head and Saviour in the possession of Glory, to whom we may commend our departing souls at the time of death, and who will receive them to himself; that we may not tremble at the thoughts of death and of eternity.*

For though the infinite goodness of God be our chief encouragement, yet seeing he is holy and just, and we are sinners, we have need of a mediate encouragement, and of such condescending love as is come near unto us, and hath taken up our nature already into heaven. A Saviour that hath been on earth in flesh; that hath died, and rose, and revived, and is now in the possession of Blessedness, is a great emboldner of our thoughts, when we look towards another world; which else we should think of with more doubting, fearful and unwilling minds. To have a friend gone before us, who is so Powerful, so Good, and hath made us his Interest; to think that he is Lord of the world that we are going to, and hath undertaken to receive us to himself when we go hence, is a great reviving to our amazed, fearful, departing souls.

§. 22. *And it is very congruous to the case of an afflicted persecuted people, who are misrepresented and slandered in this world, and suffer for the hopes of a better life, to have a Saviour who is the judge of all the world, to justify them publicly before all, and to cause their righteousness to shine as the*

Perturbatione temporum eos etiam qui vero iudicio nullius criminis convincunt, maximis involvi criminibus haud est veri dissimile. Psalmyer. l. 1.

light, and to turn all their sufferings into endless joys.

§. 23. And it seemeth exceeding congruous to reason, *first* that the Divine Essence is an inaccessible Light, that we should for ever have a Mediator of Fruition, as well as of Acquisition, by whom the Deity may shine in communicated Glory and Love to us for evermore: and that God be for evermore eminently delighted and glorified in Him, than in us, as he excelleth us in dignity and all perfections; even as in One Sun, his Power and Glory is more demonstrated, than in a world of Worms.

Whether all these things be true or not, I am further to enquire; but I find now, that they are very congruous to our condition, and to Reason; and that if they be so, no man can deny, but that there is wonderful Wisdom and Love to man in the design and execution: and that it is to man a very desirable thing that it should be so. And therefore that we should be exceeding willing to find any sound proof that it is so indeed; though not with a willingness which shall corrupt and pervert our judgments by self-flattery, but such as will only excite them to the wise and sober examination of the case.

The EVIDENCES of the VERITY we shall next enquire after.

CHAP. VI.

Of the WITNESS of JESUS CHRIST, or the demonstrative Evidence of his Verity and Authority.

THOUGH all that is said may be a reasonable preparative to faith, it is more cogent evidence which is necessary to

Q. Si divinæ Scripturarum probationibus sufficiunt, quid necessaria est Religioni fides? R. Fides nostra super ratione quidem est, non tamen temerarie & irrationabiliter assumitur. Ea enim quæ ratio edocet, fides intelligit: & ubi ratio defecrit, fides præcurrit: Non enim utcumque audita credimus, sed ea quæ ratio non improbat. Verum quod consequi ad plenum non potest, fidei prudentia confitemur. *Junilius African. de part. div. Leg. l. 2. c. 30.*

Q. Unde probamus libros Religionis nostræ divinæ esse inspiratione conscriptos? R. Ex multis, quorum primum est ipsius Scripturæ veritas: deinde ordo rerum, consonantia præceptorum, modus locutionis sine ambitu, puritasque verborum. Additur conscribentium & prædicantium qualitas, quod divina homines, excelsa vates, infacundi subtilis, non nisi divine repleti spiritus tradiderint. Tem prædicationis virtus, quam dum prædicaretur (licet à paucis despectis) obtinuit. Accedunt his reificationes contrariorum, ut Sybillarum vel Philosophorum; expulsi adversariorum, utilitas consequentium, exitus eorum quæ per acceptiones & figuras & prædictiones, quæ prædicta sunt ad postremum; miracula jugiter facta, donec Scriptura ipsa suscipere à gentibus. De qua hoc nunc ad proximum miraculum sufficit, quod ab omnibus suscepta cognoscitur. *Junilius African. de part. div. Leg. l. 2. c. 29.*

convince

convince us, that Jesus Christ is the Saviour of the world. That a man appearing like one of us, is the Eternal Word of God incarnate, is a thing which no man is bound to believe, without very sound evidence to prove it. God hath made Reason essential to our Nature: it is not our *weakness*, but our natural excellency, and his Image on our nature. Therefore he never called us to renounce it, and to lay it by: for we have no way to know Principles, but by an Intellectual discerning them in their proper Evidence: and no way to know conclusions by, but by a rational discerning their necessary connexion to those principles. If God would have us know without reason, he would not have made us reasonable creatures: man hath no way of mental discerning or knowledge, but by understanding things in their proper evidence: to know without this, were to know without knowledge. Faith is an act or species of knowledge, it is so far from being contrary to reason, that it is but an act of cleared elevated reason: it is not an act of immediate intuition of God or Jesus Christ himself; but a knowledge of the truth by the divine evidence of its certainty: they that wrangle against us, for giving reason for our Religion, seem to tell us, that they have none for their own; or else reprehend us for being men. If they had to do with them, who make God to be but the *Prime Reason*, would they say that *Faith* is something *above Reason*, and therefore something *above God*? I believe that our Reason or Intellection is far from being univocally the same thing with God's: but I believe that God is Intellection, Reason or Wisdom *eminenter*, though not *formaliter*: and that though the name be first used, to signify the lower *derivative Reason* of many, yet we have no higher to express the *Wisdom of God* by, nor better notion to apprehend it by, than this which is its Image. I conclude therefore, that

§. 1. *The Christian Religion must be the most Rational in the world, or that which hath the soundest reason for it, if it be the truest. And the proof of it must be, by producing the evidences of its truth.*

§. 2. *The evidence which Faith requireth is properly called Evidence of credibility.*

§. 3. *When we speak of Humane Faith, as such, Credibility*

*Of the WITNESS of JESUS CHRIST, or the
is somewhat short of proper Certainty: but when we speak of
Divine Faith, (or a Belief of God) evidence of Credibility is
evidence of Certainty.*

*§. 4. The great Witness of Jesus Christ, or the demonstrative
Evidence of his Verity and Authority, was The HOLY SPI-
RIT.*

*§. 5. The Word or Doctrine of Jesus Christ, hath four several
infallible testimonies of God's Spirit, which (though each of
them alone is convincing, yet) all together make up this one
great Evidence: that is, 1. Antecedently. 2. Constitutively or
Inherently. 3. Concomitantly, and 4. Subsequently: of which I
shall speak in course.*

*§. 6. 1. Antecedently the Spirit of Prophecy, was a Witness
to Jesus Christ.*

Under which I comprehend the prediction also of Types:
He that was many hundred years before (yea, from age to
age) fore-told to come as the Messiah or Saviour, by Divine
prediction of Promises, Prophecies and Types, is certainly the
true Messiah our Saviour: But Jesus Christ was so foretold:
Ergo. —

1. For Promises and Prophecies, *Gen. 3. 15.* presently after
the Fall of Adam, God said, [*I will put enmity between thee
and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall
bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.*] As it is certain
that it was Satan principally, and the Serpent but instrumen-
tally, that is spoken of as the deceiver of Eve; so it is as plain,
that it was Satan and his wicked followers principally, and
the Serpent and its seed only as the instruments, that are here
meant in the condemnation. And that it is the seed of the
woman, by an excellency so called, that is primarily here
meant, (and under him her natural seed secondarily) is
proved not only by the Hebrew Masculine Gender, but by
the fulfilling of this Promise in the Expository effects, and
in other Promises to the like effect. The rest of the Promises
and Prophecies to this purpose are so many, that to recite
them all would swell the Book too big; and therefore I
must suppose, that the Reader perusing the Sacred Scripture
itself, will acquaint himself with them there: only a few I
shall repeat.

*Gen. 22. 18. In thy seed shall all the Nations of the earth be
blessed.*

Lege Disputationem
Gregentii cum Her-
bano Judeo.

Gen. 49. 10. *The Scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a Law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come.*

The whole second Psalm is a Prophecy of the Kingdom of Christ: *Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing: The Kings of the earth set themselves, and the Rulers take counsel together against the Lord, and against his Anointed, &c. Yet have I set my King upon my holy hill of Sion. I will declare the decree, the Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee: Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession. Be wise therefore, O ye Kings, be learned, ye Judges of the earth: serve the Lord with fear, and rejoyce with trembling. Kiss the Son lest he be angry, and ye perish, &c.*

Psal. 16. 10. *For thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see corruption.*

Psal. 22. 16, 17, 18. *Dogs have compassed me: the assembly of the wicked have enclosed me: they pierced my hands and my feet: I may tell all my bones: they look and stare upon me: they part my garments among them, and cast lots upon my vesture.*

Psal. 69. 21. *They gave me also gall for my meat, and in my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.*

Isa. 53. *Who hath believed our report, and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed? for he shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground: he hath no form nor comeliness; and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him: He is despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; and we hid as it were our faces from him: he was despised, and we esteemed him not. Surely he hath born our griefs, and carried our sorrows; yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed: All we like sheep have gone astray, we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all. He was oppressed, and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth: he is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before the shearer is dumb, so he opened not his mouth. He was taken from prison, and from judgment; and who shall declare his generation. For*

Of the WITNESS of JESUS CHRIST, with

he was cut off out of the land of the living, for the transgression of my people was he stricken: and he made his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death, because he had done no violence, nor was any deceit in his mouth. Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him, he hath put him to grief. When thou shalt wake his soul an offering for sin, he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in his hand. He shall see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied: by his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many, for he shall bear their iniquities. Therefore will I divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong: because he hath poured out his soul unto death, and he was numbered with the transgressors, and he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.

Isa. 9. 6. For unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given: and the government shall be upon his shoulders: and his Name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace: of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the Throne of David, and upon his Kingdom, to order it, and to stablish it with judgment and with justice, from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this.

Isa. 7. 14. Behold a Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, and shall call his name Immanuel.

Dan. 9. 24, &c. Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy City, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the Vision and Prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy. Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks; the street shall be built, and the wall even in troublous times. And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself. And the people of the Prince that shall come, shall destroy the City, and the Sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the Covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the over-spreading of abomination

denomination he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined be poured upon the desolate.

Mal. 3. 1, 2, 3. Behold I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me; and the Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his Temple, even the Messenger of the Covenant whom ye delight in; behold, he shall come, saith the Lord of hosts: But who may abide the day of his coming, and who shall stand when he appeareth? For he is like a Refiners fire, and like Fullers sope, and he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, &c.

I omit the rest to avoid prolixity. There is scarce any passage of the Birth, Life, Sufferings, Death, Resurrection, Ascension or Glory of our Saviour, which are not particularly prophesied of in the Old Testament; but nothing so copiously as his Righteousness and his Kingdom. The Prophesie of *Isaiab* is full of such, and is but a Prophetical Gospel.

To these must be adjoynd the Prophetical Types, even the typical Persons, and the typical Ordinances and Actions. It would be too long to open, how his sufferings from the malignant world was typified in the Death of *Abel*, and the attempted oblation of *Isaac*, and the selling of *Joseph*. And his work of Salvation, in *Noah*, and his preserved Ark and Family: And his Paternity as to Believers, in *Abraham*: And his Kingly conduct and deliverance of the Church, by *Moses* and his deliverance of the *Israelites* from *Egypt*, and conduct of them in the Wilderness, and by *Joshua's* victorious bringing them into the Land of Promise: His Reign and Kingdom by *David*, and his building of the Church by *Solomon*, and his Priesthood by *Aaron* and his Successors, &c.

And it would take up a just volume to open all the typical Ordinances and Actions, which prefigured Christ: from the institution of Circumcision, and the Passover or Paschal Lamb, to the end of all the *Mosaical* Ceremonies, Christ is the signification and the end of all. I will only crave your consideration of the custom of Sacrificing in the general: it came into the world immediately upon mans sin: we find *Cain* and *Abel*, the two first persons born into the world, employed in it. From thence to this day it hath continued (in doctrine, though the practice be restrained) with the *Jews*: it was no peculiar Ceremony of their Law, but hath been

See Whately on the Types, and Lud. Crociii Epist. and most largely Micreliaus's Judas, or second Part of his Book against Infidels.

been commonly exercised by almost all Nations through the world, both *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians*. And it yet continueth in most countries of the *Heathens*, where the Doctrine of Christ hath not abolished it, as it hath done both with the *Christians and Mahometans*. (For the *Mahometans* borrow the confession of one God, and the rejection of Idols and Sacrifices originally from the *Christians*.) Now I must confess, that I am not able to satisfy my self of the original and universality of the custom of Sacrificing, upon any reasons, but those of the *Christians*: either it was a propheticall promissory institution of God himself, to lapse *Adam*, to point him to a Saviour, the second *Adam*; or else it must be from the Law of Nature, or else it is from some other positive Institution, or else it must be an universal Error. There can no fifth way that is probable be imagined. And, 1. I am not able to see that the meer Light or Law of Nature should be the original cause; for then it would be all mens duty still: and what reason can Nature give us to judge, that God is delighted in the blood and pain of the innocent bruits? or that the killing and offering of them should be any satisfaction to his justice for our sins, or any rational means to avert his judgments, or procure our forgiveness? If it be said that [It was but a ceremonial confession, that we our selves deserve death, as that creature suffered it] I answer, Confession is indeed due from us by the Law of Nature; but the question is, of the killing of the poor beasts, and offering them in sacrifice. If the exercise of our own penitence by confession were all, that might be done as well without the creatures blood and death. What is it that this addeth to a penitent confession? and why was the oblation to God contained in the Sacrifice? If you say, that the life of bruits is not so regardable, but that we take it away for our daily food; I answer, Its true, that it is allowed us for the maintenance of our lives; but yet it is not to be cast away in vain, nor is God to be represented as one that doth delight in blood: And the common sense of all the world in their sacrificing hath been, that besides the confession of their own desert, there is somewhat in it to appease God's displeasure; and none that I ever read of did take it for a meer confessing sign or action. If it be said, that they did it to signify their homage

homage to God; I answer, Why then did they not offer him only the *living creature* rather than the *dead*? all took it to be a propitiatory action. And if there *had* been an aptitude in this sign to betoken our penitent confession only, yet when God knoweth our confessions as well without it, and when the tongue is made the natural instrument to express the mind, and there are variety of other signs, it is incredible that all the world should ever (even so early) hit upon this *one strange way* of expression, without some special revelation or command of God.

2. And it cannot be said with any credibility, that God made any *other* revelation of his will, to the world for Sacrificing, beside what is made in *Nature*, and in *holy Scripture*: for who ever dreamt of such a thing? or hath delivered us any such revelation, and told us when, and to whom, and how it was made?

3. And it is not credible that it was taken up *erroneously* by all the world, as their vices or superstitions are: for though it is past question that error hath caused the *abuse* of it through the world, yet for the *thing it self* there is no probability of such an original. For what can we imagin should induce men to it, and make all Nations (how various soever their Idols are) to agree in this way of worshipping and propitiating them? There is nothing of *sensuality* in it, that by gratifying a lust of the flesh, might have such an universal effect? And it must be some universal *Light*, or some universal *Lust* or *Interest*, that must cause such an universal concord. Nay, on the contrary you shall find that Tradition, and the custom of their Fore-fathers, is the common *argument* pleaded for sacrificing through all the world, even in the Ancients Historical reports of it.

4. Therefore it remaineth, very probable at least, that they received it indeed by *tradition from their fore-fathers*: and that could be from none *originally* but the universal progenitor of mankind, who was capable of conveying it to all his posterity, (for no History mentioneth any later original nor could any later than *Adam* or *Noah* have made it so universal.) And no man can imagine why *God* should institute it, if it were not to intimate the translating of our punishment into our Redeemer, and to point us to the *great Sa-*

crifice which is truly propitiatory, and is the great demonstration of his Justice, who in Mercy doth forgive.

§. 7. II. *The second Witness of the Spirit, which is inherent and Constitutive to the Gospel of Christ, is that image of God, the unimitable character of Divinity, which by the holy Spirit is put into the doctrine of Christ, as the very life or soul of it, (together with the same on the pattern of his own life.)*

1. On Christ himself, the unimitable Image of God in his Perfection, is a testimony of his veracity: (which I ascribe to the holy Spirit, as the ultimate Operator in the Trinity, even that holy Spirit by which he was conceived, and which fell upon him at his Baptism, and which, *Matth. 12.* his enemies did blaspheme) Many men have so lived, that no notable sin of commission hath been found or observed in them by the world at a distance. But the most vertuous, except Christ, was never without discernable infirmities, and sins of omission. No man ever convicted him of any sin, either in word or deed; His obedience to the Law of God was every way perfect, He was the most excellent Representative of the Divine Perfections: The Omnipotency of God appeared in his Miracles; The Wisdom of God in his holy Doctrine; and the Love of God in his matchless expressions of Love, and in all the Holiness of his life. He was so far from pride, worldliness, sensuality, malice, impatency, or any sin, that the world had never such a pattern of self-denial, humility, contempt of all the wealth and honours of the world, charity, meekness, patience, &c. as in him. He obeyed his Father to the death. He healed mens bodies, and shewed his pity to their souls, and opened the way of life even to his

All Christians agree in the main Doctrins of a holy life. Leg. Marc. Eremit. de Lege Spiritualis, & Dorothei Doctrinas, & Benedicti Instrumenta virtutum, Macarii Homil. Hefychii Presb. ad Theodul. Centuriz; Tho. Kempis. & Thauleri opera; and of the Later

true Papists, Sales Introduction to a devout life, Benedicti de Benedict. Regul. Barbanfon, de Amore Dei: Parsons of Resolution, Cressly's Sancta Sophia, &c. And among the Protestants, the number of holy Treatises is so great, that I shall not name any in so numerous a Treasury: So that however the spirit of contention causeth many of them to over-look the good that is in one another, and aggravate the evil, yet Holiness is the Doctrine of all the Christians in the world, and the practice of all that are sincere: And while the Sects and Hypocrites do rail at one another, yet in all they speak against sin. I have oft thought, why is it that as Christians, men live together in love; but as Parties, when they come to the interest of their Sects, they hate, revile and persecute one another? And I answer it, Because as Christians they give no cause of hatred to each other; but as Sects and Parties, they leave God's ways, and shew their selfishness and toothsome faults, and are inclined to injure one another, and so do again suffer by those whom they have injured. But the wisdom from above is pure and peaceable, &c. Leg. etiam Thalesii Centuriz, & Nili Paraneis.

enemies:

enemies: He instructed the ignorant, and preached repentance to the impenitent, and suffered patiently the unthankful requitals of them that rendred him evil for good: He endured patiently to be reviled, scorned, buffeted, spit upon, crowned with thorns, nailed to a cross, and put to death; and this upon the false accusation and imputation of being an evil doer: In a word, He was perfect, and sinless, and manifested first all that obedience and holiness in his life, which he put into his Laws, and prescribed unto others: And such Perfection is inseparable from Veracity.

Obj. *How know we what faults he might have, which come not to our knowledge?*

Ans. 1. You may see by his enemies accusations, partly what he was free from, when you see all that malice could invent to charge him with. 2. If the Narrative of his Life in the Gospel have that evident proof, which I shall anon produce, there can remain no doubt of the perfect holiness and innocency of Christ in his Person and his Life.

Object. *We find him accused of many crimes, as of being a gluttonous person, and a Wine-bibber: of blasphemy, and impiety, and treason.*

Ans. The very accusations are such as shew their falshood, and his innocency. He is called a *gluttonous person*, and a *Wine-bibber*, because he did eat and drink as other men in temperance and sobriety, and did not tie himself to a wilderness life of austerity, in total abstinence from common meats and wine, as *John Baptist* did, and as they thought he that professed extraordinary sanctity should have done. They accused him of eating *with publicans and sinners*, because he went to them as a Physician to heal their souls, and lived a sociable charitable life, and did not observe the Laws of proud Pharisaical separation. They accused him of blasphemy and treason, for saying the truth, that he was the *Son of God*, and the *King of Israel*; And of impiety, for talking of *pulling down the Temple*, when he did but prophesie of his own death and resurrection. And this was all that malice had to say.

Object. *He carried himself contemptuously to Magistrates: He called Herod the King, [That Fox] The Scribes and Pharisees he rail'd at, and called them hypocrites, painted sepul-*

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ebres, a generation of vipers, &c. When he was called to answer whether they should pay tribute to Cesar, he doth but put off the resolution by ambiguity, instead of an open exhorting them to obedience, and saith, [Give to Cesar the things that are Cæsars] And when he was called to for tribute for him, he payeth it but as a way to avoid offence, having pleaded first his own immunity.

Ans. 1. His speeches of Herod and the Scribes and Pharisees are not revilings, but a free and just reprehension of their sin: which being done by God's commission, and in his Name, and for his cause, is no more to be called reviling, than an arrest of a Felon or Traitor in the Kings name, or an accusation put in against him for his crimes, should be so called. God will not forbear damning impenitent rebels, though they call it cruelty, nor will he forbear the reprehension and shaming of their villanies, though they call it railing; nor will he flatter proud rebellious dust, though they call flattery a necessary civility; nor will he give leave to his Messengers to leave sin in honour, and to let the proud do what their list, and quietly damn themselves and others, without plain reproof, though it be called unrepentant savineness or sedition. 2. And he that considereth how little Title Cesar had to the Kingdom of the Jews, and that the sword alone is a better proof of force and strength, than of Authority, and is a Plea which an Usurper may have on his side, will rather praise the submission and peaceableness of Christ, than blame him as disloyal. But for the doctrine of Obedience in general, who hath ever taught it more plainly and pressingly, than Christ and his Apostles?

2. The Gospel or doctrine of Christ it self also, hath the very Image and Superscription of God, I will not say, imprinted on it, for that is too little, but intrinsically animating and constituting it, which is apparent in the Matter, and the Method, and the Style.

1. The Matter and Design containeth the most wonderful expression of the Wisdom of God, that ever was made to man on earth. All is mysterious, yet admirably fit, consistent and congruous, as is before declared. That a world which is visibly and undeniably fallen into wickedness and misery, should have a Redeemer, Saviour and Mediator towards God!

God! That he should be one that is near enough to God and unto us, and hath the nature of both: that he should be the second *Adam*, the Root of the Redeemed and Regenerate: that God should give all mercy from himself, from his own bounty and fulness, and not as unwilling be persuaded to it by another; and therefore that the Redeemer be not any Angel or intermediate person, but *God himself*: that thus God come nearer unto man, who is revolted from him, to draw up man again to Him: that he lose not the world, and yet do not violate his governing Justice: that he be so merciful, as not to be unrighteous, nor permit his Laws and Government to be despised; and yet so just, as to save the penitent renewed souls: that he give man a new Law and conditions of salvation, suitable to his lapsed guilty state; and leave him not under a Law and conditions, which were fitted to the innocent: that he revealed himself to the apostate world in that way, which only is fit for their recovery, that is, in his admirable love and goodness, that so love might win our love, and attract those hearts, which under guilt and the terrors of condemning justice would never have been brought to love him: that guilty souls have such evidence of God's reconciliation to encourage them, to expect his pardon, and to come to him with joy and boldness in their addresses; having a Mediator to trust in, and his Sacrifice, Merits, and acceptable Name, to plead with God: that Justice and Mercy are so admirably conjoined in these effects: that Satan, and the world, and death, should be so conquered, in a suffering way, and man have so perfect a pattern to imitate, for self-denial, humility, contempt of honour, wealth and life, and exact obedience, and resignation to the will of God, with perfect love to God and man: that the world should be under such an universal Administrator, and the Church be all united in such a Head; and have one in their nature that hath risen from the dead, to be in possession of the glory which they are going to, and thence to send down his Spirit to sanctify them, and fit them for Heaven; and afterward to be their Judge, and to receive them unto blessedness: and that sinners now be not condemned merely for want of innocency, but for rejecting the grace and mercy which would have saved them: that we

Cum Dominus Iesum dicit, [Ego in medio vestri sum, sicut qui ministrat] quis adeo servus aut mentis inop. est. ut omnem nox fastum & ambitionem non respuit? Cui universa sancta, mentesque & ratione praeclara creatura, cultum & ministerium deferunt, quique eadem prorsus cum Deo Patre Majestate & potestate pollet, is Minister persona summa, discipulorum pedes lavat. Titus Boetius, in Luc. cap. 22.

Diligens Lector intelliget unam faciem esse Eloquiorum Sacrorum; cum distincte considerabit, quid sit admonitio, quid sit preceptum, quid prohibitio, quid remissio; & hæc nec se invicem impugnare, nec à seipsis distare; sed in omnibus sanitatis remedium moderare. *Hildebert. Canonian. Epist. 83. argum.*

have all this taught us by a Messenger from Heaven, and a perfect rule of life delivered to us by him, and all this sealed by a Divine attestation: that this doctrine is suited to the capacity of the weakest, and yet so mysterious as to exercise the strongest wits: and is delivered to us, not by an imposing force, but by the exhortations and persuasions of men like our selves, commissioned to open the evidences of truth and necessity in the Gospel: All this is no less than the Image and wonderful effect of the *Wisdom of God*.

And his *Goodness* and *Love* is as resplendent in it all: for this is the effect of the whole design, to set up a Glass in the work of our Redemption, in which God's *Love* and *Goodness* should be as wonderfully represented to mankind, as his *Power* was in the works of Creation. Here sinful man is saved by a means which he never thought of or desired: he is fetch'd up from the gates of hell; redeemed from the Sentence of the righteous violated Law of God, and the execution of his Justice: The Eternal Word so condescendeth to man in the assumption of our nature, as that the greatness of the love and mercy, incomprehensible to man, becomes the greatest difficulty to our belief. He revealeth to us the things of the world above, and bringeth life and immortality to light: He dwelleth with men; He converseth with the meanest: He preacheth the glad tidings of Salvation to the world: He refuseth not such familiarity with the poorest or the worst, as is needful to their cure: He spendeth his time in doing good, and healing all manner of bodily diseases: He refuseth the honours and riches of the world, and the pleasures of the flesh, to work out our salvation: He beareth the ingratitude and abuse of sinners, and endureth to be scorned, buffeted, spit upon, tormented and crucified by those, to whom he had done no greater wrong than to seek their salvation: He maketh himself a Sacrifice for sin, to shew the world what sin deserved, and to save them from the deserved punishment. God had at first decreed and declared, that death should be the punishment of sin: and Satan had maliciously drawn man to it, by contradicting this threatening of God, and making man believe that God would falsify his word, and that he did envy man the felicity of his advancement to be like God in knowledge: And now

Christ

Christ will first justify the truth and righteousness of God, and will demonstrate himself by dying in our stead, that death is indeed the wages of sin; and will shew the world, that God is so far from envying their felicity, that he will purchase it at the dearest rate, and deliver them freely from the misery which sin and Sathan had involved them in. Thus Enemies are reconciled by the sufferings of him, whom they offended; even by his sufferings in the flesh, whose Godhead could not suffer; and by his death as Man, who as God was most immortal. As soon as he was risen, he first appear'd to a Woman, who had been a sinner, and sent her as his first messenger with words of love and comfort to his disconsolate Disciples, who had but lately sinfully forsaken him: He giveth them no upbraiding words, but meltingly saith to her, [*Go to my brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and your Father, to my God and your God.*] Joh. 20. 17. He after this familiarly converseth with them, and instructeth them in the things concerning the Kingdom of God. He maketh an *Universal Pardon* or *Aid of Oblivion* in a Covenant of Grace, for all the world, that will not reject it; and appointeth Messengers to preach it unto all; and what ever pains or suffering it cost them, to go through all with patience and alacrity, and to stick at nothing for the saving of mens souls. He gave the holy Spirit miraculously to them, to enable them to carry on this work; and to leave upon record to the world, the infallible narrative of his Life and Doctrine: His Gospel is filled up with matter of consolation, with the promises of mercy, pardon and salvation, the description of the privileges of holy Souls, justification, adoption, peace and joy; and finally, He governeth and defendeth his Church, and pleadeth our cause, and secureth our interest in Heaven, according to the promises of this his word. Thus is the Gospel the very *Image* of the *Wisdom* and *Goodness* of God. And such a *Doctrine* from such a *Person* must needs be Divine.

2. And the *Method* and *Style* of it is most excellent, because most suitable to its holy ends: not with the excellency of frothy wit, which is but to express a wanton fancy, and please the ears of airy persons, who play with words, when they should close with wisdom and heavenly light: (such excellency

Duo, sine pluribus, faciunt hominem sanctum, viz. Cognitio & Amor: hoc est, Cognitio Veritatis, & Amor bonitatis. Sed ad cognitionem Dei qui est Veritas, non pote venire, nisi per cognitionem sui-ipsius: nec ad amorem Dei qui est bonitas, nisi per amorem proximi sui. Ad cognitionem sui-ipsius potes pervenire per frequentem meditationem: ad cognitionem Dei per puram contemplationem. *Edmund. Cantuar. Specul. Eccles. cap. 3. vid. plura. c. 29. & c.*

excellency of speech must receive its estimate by its use and end:) But as the end is most Divine, so the light that shineth in the Gospel is Heavenly and Divine: the Method of the Books themselves is various, according to the time and occasions of their writing, (the objections against them are to be answered by themselves anon): But the *Method* of the *whole Doctrin* of Christianity set together, is the most admirable and perfect in the world; beginning with God in Unity of Essence, proceeding to his Trinity of Essential Active Principles, and of Persons, and so to his Trinity of Works, Creation, Redemption and Regeneration, and of Relations of God and Man accordingly, and to the second Trinity of Relations, as he is our Owner, Ruler and Chief Good: And hence it brancheth it self into a multitude of *benefits* flowing from all these *Relations* of God to Man, and a multitude of answerable *duties* flowing from our *Correlations* to God, and all in *perfect method*, twitted and inoculated into each other, making a kind of circulation between *Mercies* and *Duties*, as in mans body there is of the arterial and venal blood and spirits, till in the issue, as all Mercy came from God, and Duty subordinately from man, so Mercy and Duty do terminate in the Everlasting Pleasure of God *ultimately*, and *man subordinately*, in that *mutual love* which is here begun, and there is perfected. This method you may somewhat perceive in the description of the Christian Religion, before laid down.

3. And the style also is suited to the end and matter: not to the pleasing of curious ears, but to the declaring of heavenly mysteries: not to the conceits of Logicians, who have put their understandings into the fetters of their own ill-devised notions, and expect that all men that will be accounted wise, should use the same notions which they have thus devised, and about which they are utterly disagreed among themselves: But in a Language suitable both to the subject, and to the world of persons to whom this word is sent, who are commonly ignorant, and unlearned, and dull: *That* being the best Phylick which is most suitable to the Patients temper and disease. And though the particular Writers of the Sacred Scriptures have their *several Styles*, yet is there in them all in common a Style which is spiritual,

spiritual, powerfull and divine; which beareth its testimony proportionably of that Spirit, which is the common Author in them all: (But of this more among the Difficulties and Objections anon.)

But for the discerning of all this *Image* of God in the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, Reason will allow me to expect these necessary qualifications in him that must discern it: 1. That before he come to *supernatural Revelations*, he be not unacquainted with those *natural Revelations*, which are antecedent, and should be foreknown (as I have in this book explained them with their evidence): For there is no coming to the highest step of the Ladder, without beginning at the lowest: Men ignorant of things knowable, by *Natural Reason*, are unprepared for higher things. 2. It is reasonably expected that he be one that is not treacherous and false to those Natural Truths which he hath received: For how can he be expected to be impartial and faithfull in seeking after more Truth, who is unfaithfull to that which he is convinced of? or that he should receive that Truth which he doth not yet know, who is false to that which he already knoweth? Or that he should discern the evidence of extraordinary Revelation, who opposeth with enmity the ordinary light or Law of Nature? Or that God should vouchsafe his further light and conduct to that Man, who willfully sinneth against him, in despite of all his former teachings? 3. It is requisite that he be one that is not a stranger to himself, but acquainted with the case of his heart and life, and know his sins, and his corrupt inclinations, and that guilt, and disorder, and misery, in which his need of mercy doth consist: For he is no fit Judge of the Prescripts of his Physician, who knoweth not his own disease and temperature. But of this more anon.

§. 8. III. *The third way of the Spirits witness to Jesus Christ, is Concomitantly, by the miraculous gifts and works of Himself, and his Disciples; which are a cogent Evidence of Gods attestation to the truth of his Doctrine.*

§. 9. By the *Miracles of Christ* I mean, 1. His miraculous actions upon others: 2. His miracles in his Death and Resurrection: 3. His predictions.

The appearance of the Angel to Zachary, and his dumb-

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ness,

nels, his Prophecie and *Elizabeth's*, with the Angels appearance to *Mary*, the Angels appearance and Evangelizing to the Shepherds; the Prophecie of *Simeon* and of *Anna*, the Star and the testimony of the wise Men of the East, the testimony of *John Baptist*, that Christ should baptize with the Holy Ghost, and with Fire, and that he was the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the World: These and more such I pass by as presupposed. At twelve years of age he disputed with the Doctors in the Temple, to their admiration. At his Baptism the Holy Ghost came down upon him in the likeness of a Dove, and a voice from Heaven said, *Thou art my beloved Son, in Thee I am well-pleased*. When he was baptized, he fasted forty dayes and nights, and permitted Satan to tempt him extraordinarily, by carrying him from place to place, that he might extraordinarily overcome.

Luk. 2. 46.

Luk. 3. 22.

Luk. 4. Mat. 4.

At qui causas causas, partes partibus volumus æquare, magis nos valemus ostendere quid in Christo fuerimus secuti, quam in Philosophis quid vos. Ac nos quidem in illo secuti hæc sumus: Opera illa magnifica potentissimæq; virtutes, quas variis edidit, exhibuitq; miraculis, quibus quisvis posset ad necessitatem credulitatis adduci, & judicare fideliter, non esse quæ fierent hominis sed Divinæ alicujus & incognitæ potestatis. Vos in Philosophis virtutes secuti quas estis? ut magis vos illis, quam

nos Christo oportuerit credere? Quisquam ne illorum aliquando verbo uno posuit, aut unius imperii iussione non dictis maris insanas aut tempestatum furoribus prohibere, compescere, non cecis restituere lumina, non ad vitam revocare defunctos, non innocuos dissolvere passiones sed quod levissimum est furenculum, scabiem, aut inhzrentem spiritalem callo una inarditione sanare? — Personarum conventio non est eloquentia viribus, sed gestorum operum virtute pendenda. *Arnob. adv. Gentes. 2.*

word,

word, *Luk. 7.* He raiseth the Son of a Widow from death that was carried out in a Biere to be buried, *Luk. 7.* With five Barley Loaves and two small Fishes, he feedeth five thousand, and twelve baskets full of the fragments did remain, *Mat. 14. Job. 6.* He walketh upon the waters of the Sea, *Mat. 14.* He causeth *Peter* to do the like, *Mat. 14.* All the diseased of the Countrey were perfectly healed by touching the hem of his garment, *Mat. 14. 36.* He again healed multitudes, lame, dumb, blinde, maimed, &c. *Math. 15.* He again fed four thousand with seven Loaves, and a few little Fishes, and seven baskets full were left, *Math. 15.* He restoreth a man born blinde to his sight, *Job. 9.* In the sight of three of his Disciples he is transfigured into a Glory which they could not behold, and *Moses* and *Elias* talked with him, and a voice out of the Cloud said, *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well-pleased, hear ye him,* *Mat. 17.* *Luk. 9.* He healed the Lunatick, *Mat. 17.* Multitudes are healed by him, *Mat. 19. 2.* Two blinde men are healed, *Mat. 20.* He healed a Crooked woman, *Luk. 13. 11.* He withereth up a fruitless Tree at a word, *Mark. 11.* He restoreth a blinde man nigh to *Jericho*, *Luk. 18. 35.* He restoreth *Lazarus* from death to life, that was four dayes dead and buried, *Job. 11.* He foretellet *Judas*, that he would betray him: And he frequently and plainly foretold his own sufferings, death and resurrection. And he expressly foretold the destruction of *Jerusalem* and of the Temple, and the great calamity of that place, even before that generation past away, *Mat. 24. &c.* He prophesied his death the night before in the institution of his Supper. When he dyed, the Sun was darkened, and the Earth trembled, and the Vail of the Temple rent, and the dead bodies of many arose, and appeared: so that the Captain that kept guard, said, *Truly this was the Son of God,* *Mat. 27.* When he was crucified and buried, though his Grave-stone was sealed, and a guard of Souldiers set to watch it, Angels appeared, and rolled away the Stone, and spake to those that enquired after him: And he rose and revived, and staid forty dayes on Earth with his Disciples: He appeared to them by the way: He came oft among them on the First day of the week, at their Meetings, when the doors were shut: He called *Thomas* to see the prints of

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the Nails, and put his finger into his side, and not be faith-
less but believing, till he forced him to cry out, *My Lord,*
and my God! Joh. 20. He appeareth to them as they are
fishing, and worketh a miracle in their draught, and pro-
videth them broiled Fish, and eateth with them: He ex-
postulated with *Simon*, and engaged him as he loved him to
feed his Sheep, and discoursed of the age of *John*, Joh. 21.
He giveth his Apostles their full Commission for their ga-
thering his Church by Preaching and Baptism, and edifying
it by teaching them all that he had commanded them, and
giveth them the Keyes of it, *Mat.* 28. *Joh.* 19. & 20. He
appeareth to above five hundred Brethren at once, *1 Cor.* 15.
He shewed himself to them by many infallible proofs, being
seen of them forty dayes, and speaking of the things per-
taining to the Kingdom of God; and being assembled with
them, commanded them to tarry at *Jerusalem* till the Spirit
came down (miraculously) upon them: And he ascended
up to Heaven, before their eyes, *Act.* 1. And two Angels
appeared to them, as they were gazing after him, and told
them, that thus he should come again. When *Pentecost* was
come, when they were all together (about a hundred and
twenty) the Holy Spirit came upon them visibly, in the ap-
pearance of fiery Cloven Tongues, and sate on each of them,
and caused them to speak the languages of many Nations,
which they had never learned, in the hearing of all: Upon
the notice of which, and by *Peters* Exhortation, about three
thousand were then at once converted. *Act.* 2. After this,
Peter and *John* do heal a man at the entrance of the Temple,
who had been lame from his birth, and this by the name
of *Jesus*, before the People: *Act.* 3. One that was above
forty years old, *Act.* 4. 22. When they were forbidden to
preach, upon their praises to God, the place was shaken,
and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, *Act.* 4. 31.
Ananias and *Sapphira* are struck dead by *Peters* word, for
hypocrisie and lying, *Act.* 5. And many Signs and Wonders
were done by them among the People, *Act.* 5. 12. Insomuch
that they brought the sick into the streets, and laid them on
Beds and Couches, that at least *Peters* shadow might over-
shadow them, *Act.* 5. 14, 15. And a multitude came out
of the Cities round about to *Jerusalem* bringing sick folks,
and

and *Demoniacs*, and they were healed every one, *v. 16.* Upon this, the *Apostles* were shut into the common Prison; But an *Angel* by night opened the Prison and brought them out, and bid them go preach to the *People* in the Temple, *Act. 5.* When *Stephen* was martyred, he saw the glory of God, and *Jesus* standing at his right hand, *Act. 7.* *Philip* at *Samaritania* cured *Demoniacs*, *Palsies*, *Lamenesses*, and so converted the people of that City; insomuch that *Simon* the Sorcerer himself believed: The Holy Ghost is then given by the Imposition of the hands of *Peter* and *John*, so that *Simon* offered money for that gift, *Act. 8.* *Philip* is led by the Spirit to convert the *Æthiopian* Nobleman, and then carried away, *Act. 8.* *Saul* who was one of the murderers of *Stephen*, and a great Persecuter of the Church, is stricken down to the Earth, and called by *Jesus Christ*, appearing in a light, and speaking to him from Heaven, and is sent to preach the Gospel, which he doth with zeal and power, and patient labours, to the death, *Act. 9.* *Ananias* is commanded by God to instruct him and baptize him after his first call, *Act. 9.* *Peter* at *Lydda* cureth *Eneas* by a word, who had kept his bed eight years of a *Palsie*, *Act. 8.* At *Joppa* he raiseth *Tabitha* from the dead, *Act. 9.* *Cornelius* by an Angel is directed to send for *Peter* to preach the Gospel to him: The Holy Ghost fell on all that heard his words, *Act. 10.* *Agabus* prophetied of the Dearth, *Act. 11.* *Peter* imprisoned by *Herod* is delivered by an Angel, who opened the doors, and loosed his bonds, and brought him out, *Act. 12.* *Herod* is eaten to death with worms, *Act. 12.* At *Paphos* *Elymas* the Sorcerer is stricken blinde by *Pauls* word, for resisting the Gospel; and *Sergius* the Roman Deputy is thereby made a Believer, *Act. 13.* At *Lystra*, *Paul* by a word cureth a Creeple that was so born: insomuch as the People would have done sacrifice to him and *Barnabas* as to *Mercury* and *Jupiter*, *Act. 14.* *Paul* casteth out a divining Devil, *Act. 16.* And being imprisoned and scourged with *Silas*, and their feet in the Stocks, at midnight as they sang Praises to God, an Earthquake shook the foundations of the Prison, the doors were all opened, and all their bonds loosed, and the Jailor converted, *Act. 16.* The Holy Ghost came upon twelve Disciples, upon the imposition of *Pauls* hands, *Act. 19.* And God

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wrought so many miracles by his hands at *Ephesus*, that from his body were brought to the sick, handkerchiefs, and aprons, and the diseases departed from them, *Act. 19.* At *Troas* he raised *Eutychus* to life, *Act. 20.* His sufferings at *Jerusalem* are foretold by *Agabus*, *Act. 21.* At *Melita* the people took him for a God, because the Viper hurt him not that fastened on his hand: And there he cured the Father of *Publius* the chief man of the Island, of a Flux and Feaver, by Prayer and Imposition of hands. In a word, in all places where the Apostles came these miracles were wrought, and in all the Churches the gifts of the Holy Ghost were usual, either of Prophecie or of healing, or of speaking strange languages, or interpreting them, some had one, and some another, and some had most or all. And by such miracles were the Christian Churches planted. And all this power Christ had foretold them of at his departure from them, *Mark. 16. 17.* [*These signs shall follow them that believe: in my Name shall they cast out Devils, they shall speak with new tongues, they shall take up Serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay their hands on the sick and they shall recover.*] Yea in his Life-time on Earth, he sent forth his Apostles, and seventy Disciples with the same power, which they exercised openly, *Luk. 9. 1. &c. & 10. 16, 17.* Thus was the Gospel confirmed by multitudes of open miracles.

And Christs own Resurrection and Ascension was the greatest of all. And here it must be noted, that these Miracles were 1. Not one or two, but multitudes: 2. Not obscure and doubtfull, but evident and unquestionable: 3. Not controlled or checked by any greater contrary Miracles, as the wonders of the *Egyptian* Sorcerers were by *Moses*; but altogether uncontrolled: 4. Not in one place only, but in all Countreys where they came: 5. Not by one or two persons only, but by very many who were scattered up and down in the World.

And that miracles, and such miracles as these, are a certain proof of the truth of Christ and Christianity, is most evident; in that they are the attestation of God himself.

1. It is undeniable, that they are the effects of Gods own Power: If any question whether God do them immediately,
or

Tria totus mundus
mirabatur: Christum
post mortem surrex-
isse; cum carne coe-
lum ascendisse; &
per duodecim Aposto-
los Piscatores mun-
dum convertisse. Chry-
sost. in Matb.

or whether an Angel or Spirit may not do them, that makes no difference in the case considerable: for all creatures are absolutely dependant upon God, and can use no power but what he giveth them, and continueth in them, and exerciseth by them: the power of the creatures is all of it the power of God: without him they *are* nothing, and can *do* nothing: and God is as near to the effect himself, when he useth an instrument, as when he useth none. So that undoubtedly it is God's work.

2. And God having no voice, but created, revealeth his mind to man by his operations: and as he cannot lie, so his infinite wisdom and goodness will not give up the world to such unavoidable deceit, as such a multitude of miracles would lead them into, if they were used to attest a lie. If I cannot know him to be sent of God, who raiseth the dead, and sheweth me such a Seal of Omnipotency to his Commission, I have no possibility of knowing who speaketh from God at all, nor of escaping deceit in the greatest matters; of which God by his Omnipotent Arm would be the cause. But none of this can stand with the Nature and righteous Government of God. This therefore is an infallible proof of the Veracity of Christ and his Apostles: and the truth of the History of these Miracles shall be further opened anon.

§. 10. IV. *The fourth part of the Spirit's Testimony to Christ is subsequent, in the work of Regeneration or Sanctification: in which he effectually illuminateth the mind, and reneweth the soul and life to a true resignation, obedience, and love of God, and to a heavenly mind and conversation: and so proveth Christ to be really and effectually the SAVIOUR.*

This evidence is commonly much over-look'd, and made little account of by the ungodly, who have no such Renovation on themselves: because though it may be discerned in others by the fruits, yet they that have it not in themselves, are much hindered from discerning it; partly because it is at a distance from them, and because it is in it self seated in the heart, where it is neither felt nor seen by others, but in the effects. And partly because the effects are imperfect, and clouded with a mixture of remaining faults: but especially, because that ungodly men have a secret enmity to holy things, and thence to holy persons; and therefore

Ideo non omnibus sanctis miracula attribuantur, ne perniciosissimo errore decipiantur infirmi, astantes in talibus factis esse majora bona, quam in operibus iustitiae, quibus vita aeterna comparatur. Aug. de Civ. Dei, 33.

Christianity is thus truly and orderly described by Augustine, de Agon. cap. 18.

Fides est prima, quæ subjugat animam Deo; deinde præcepta datur vivendi; quibus custoditis spes nostra firmatur & nutritur, cum quod cognitio & actio beatum faciunt, in cognitione cavendus est error, in actione nequitia.

Ille justus & sancti vivit, qui rerum in rege æstimator est: Iple est qui ordinatam habet charitatem, ne aut diligit quod non est diligendum, aut non diligit quod est diligendum, aut amplius diligit quod minus est diligendum, aut minus diligit quod amplius est diligendum; aut minus aut amplius quod æque diligendum est. *August. de Doctr. Christian.*

therefore are falsely prejudic'd against them: which is encreased by cross interests and courses in their converse. But yet indeed, the Spirit of Regeneration is a plenary evidence of the truth of Christ and Christianity.

To manifest which, I shall 1. consider, *What it is*, and *doth*. 2. How and by what means. 3. On whom. 4. Against what opposition. 5. That it is Christ indeed that doth it.

1. The change which is made by the Spirit of Christ, doth consist in these particulars following: 1. It taketh down *pride*, and maketh men *humble* and low in their own eyes: to which end it acquainteth them with their sin, and their desert and misery. 2. It teacheth men *self-denial*, and causeth them to resign themselves to God, and use themselves as being wholly his own. 3. It absolutely subjegeth the Soul to God, and setteth up his Authority as a s^ulute, over our thoughts, and words, and all our actions. And maketh the Christians life a course of careful obedience to his Laws, so far as they understand them. 4. It taketh up a Christians mind with the thankful sense of his Redemption; so that the pardon of his sins, and his deliverance from hell, and his hopes of everlasting glory, do form his soul to a holy gratitude, and make the expressions of it to be his work. 5. It giveth man a sense of the *love of God*, as his gracious Redeemer; and so of the goodness and mercifulness of his Nature: It causeth them to think of God as their greatest Benefactor, and as one that loveth them; and as LOVE it self: and so it reconcileth their estranged alienated minds to him, and maketh the love of God to be the very constitution and life of the Soul. 6. It causeth men to believe that there is an everlasting Glory to be enjoyed by holy Souls; where we shall see the glory of God, and be filled with his love, and exercised in perfect love and praise, and be with Christ, his Angels and Saints, for evermore: It causeth them to take this felicity for their portion, and to set their hearts upon it, and to make it the chief care and business of all their lives to seek it. 7. It causeth them to live in the joyful hopes and foresight of this blessedness, and to do all that they do as means thereunto: and thus it sweetneth all their lives, and maketh Religion their chief delight. 8. It accordingly employeth their thoughts and tongues; so that the praises of God,

God, and the mention of their everlasting blessedness, and of the way thereto, is their most delightful conference, as it becometh travellers to the City of God: and so their political converse is in heaven. 9. And thus it abateth the fears of death, as being but their passage to everlasting life: And those that are confirmed Christians indeed, do joyfully entertain it, and long to see their glorified Lord, and the blessed Majesty of their great Creator. 10. It causeth men to love all sanctified persons with a special love of complacency, and all mankind with a love of benevolence; even to love our neighbours as our selves, and to abhor that selfishness which would engage us against our neighbours good. 11. It causeth men to love their enemies, and to forgive and forbear, and to avoid all unjust and unmerciful revenge. It maketh men meek, long-suffering and patient, though not impassionate, insensible, or void of that anger, which is the necessary opposer of sin and folly. 12. It employeth men in doing all the good they can: it maketh them long for the holiness and happiness of one another's souls, and desirous to do good to those that are in need, according to our power. 13. This true Regeneration by the Spirit of Christ, doth make those Superiours that hath it, even Princes, Magistrates, Parents and Masters, to Rule those under them in holiness, love and justice, with self-denial; seeking more the pleasing of God, and the happiness of their Subjects, for soul and body, than any carnal selfish interest of their own: and therefore it must needs be the blessing of that happy Kingdom, Society or Family, which hath such a holy Governour, (O that they were not so few!) 14. It maketh subjects, and children, and servants, submissive, and conscionable in all the duties of their Relations; and to honour their Superiours as the Officers of God, and to obey them in all just subordination to him. 15. It causeth men to love Justice, and to do as they would be done by, and to desire the welfare of the souls, bodies, estates and honour of their neighbours as their own. 16. It causeth men to subdue their appetites, and lusts, and fleshly desires, and to set up the government of God and sanctified Reason over them; and to take their flesh for that greatest enemy (in our corrupted state) which we must chiefly watch against, and master, as

Apud Christianos, non qui patitur, sed qui facit injuriam miser est. H. gen.

Sanctitatis causa servanda sunt, pudicitia corporis, castitas animæ, & veritas doctrinæ. Aug. ibid.

being a Rebel against God and Reason. It alloweth a man so much sensitive pleasure as God forbiddeth not, and as tendeth to the holiness of the soul, and furthereth us in God's service; and all the rest it rebuketh and resisteth. 17. It causeth men to estimate all the wealth, and honour, and dignities of the world, as they have respect to God and a better world, and as they either help or hinder us in the pleasing of God, and seeking immortality: and as they are against God and our spiritual work and happiness, it causeth us to account them but as meer vanity, loss and dung. 18. It keepeth men in a life of watchfulness against all those temptations, which would draw them from this holy course, and in a continual warfare against Satan and his Kingdom, under conduct of Jesus Christ. 19. It causeth men to prepare for sufferings in this world, and to look for no great matters here: to expect persecutions, crosses, losses, wants, defamations, injuries, and painful sicknesses, and death; and to spend their time in preparing all that furniture of mind, which is necessary to their support and comfort in such a day of trial; that they may be patient and joyful in tribulation and bodily distress, as having a comfortable relation to God and Heaven, which will incomparably weigh down all. 20. It causeth men to acknowledge, that all this grace and mercy is from the love of God alone, and to depend on him for it by faith in Christ; and to devote and refer all to himself again; and make it our ultimate end to please him; and thus to subserve him as the first Efficient, the chief Dirigent, and the ultimate final Cause of all: of whom, and through whom, and to whom are all things; to whom be Glory for ever, *Amen*.

This is the true description of that Regenerate Sanctified state, which the Spirit of Christ doth work on all whom he will save, and that are Christians indeed, and not in Name only. And certainly this is the Image of God's Holiness, and the just constitution and use of a reasonable Soul: And therefore he that bringeth men to this is a *Real Saviour*, (of whom more anon.)

II. And it is very considerable, by *what means*, and in *what manner* all this is done: It is done by the preaching of the Gospel of Christ, and that in plainness and simplicity: The curiosity

Fides attingit inaccessa, deprehendit ignota, comprehendit immensa, apprehendit novissima: ipsam denique eternitatem suo illo vastissimo sinu quodammodo circumcludit. *Bern. in Cant.*

Quatuor mirabilis fecit Deus: de Piscatore primum Ecclesiarum pastorem: de persecutore magistrum & doctorem gentium: de publicano primum Evangelistam; de latrone primum Cœlicolam. *Chrysoſt. in Math.*

curiosity of artificial oratory doth usually but hinder the success, as painting doth the light of windows: It was a few plain men, that came with spiritual power, and not with the enticing words of humane wisdom, or curiosities of vain Philosophy, who did more in this work than any of their successors have done since. As in Naturals, every thing is apt to communicate its own nature, and not anothers; heat causeth heat, and cold causeth cold; so wit by communication causeth wit, and common learning causeth common learning; and so it is holiness and love which are fittest to communicate and cause holiness and love: which common qualifications are too low for (though they may be helpful in their several places and degrees.) what condemned instruments hath God used in the world, to do that for the regenerating of souls, which the greatest Emperors by their Laws, nor the subtlest Philosophers by their Precepts, did not? The *Athenian* Philosophers despised *Paul*, and *Gallio* counted his doctrine but a superstitious talk about names and words; but Satan himself despised not those, whom he tempted men to despise, but perceived they were like to be the ruine of his Kingdom, and therefore every where stirred up the most vehement furious resistance of them. It is evident therefore, that there is an inward effectual operation of the holy Ghost, which giveth success to these means, which are naturally in themselves so weak.

And it is to be observed, that this great change is very often wrought on a sudden, in a prevalent (though not a perfect) degree. One Sermon hath done that for a many thousand sinners, which twenty years teaching of the greatest Philosophers never did. One Sermon hath turned them from the sins which they had lived in all their days; and hath turned them to a life which they were strangers to before, or else abhorred: One Sermon hath taken down the world, which had their hearts, and hath put it under their feet, and hath turned their hearts to another world: which sheweth that there is an internal Agent, more powerful than the speaker.

And it is remarkable that in the main, the change is wrought in one and the same method: first, humbling men for sin and misery, and then leading them to Jesus Christ as

Multo melius est, ex duobus imperfectis rusticitatem sanctam habere, quam eloquentiam peccatricem. Hieron. ad Ne. 10.

The better any Philosopher was, the nearer he came to the Christian Pastors, as to the converting of souls; that is, They wrought the greatest reformation on their Auditors. Laetius saith of Socrates, that Theætetus cum de disciplina differeret, ut ait Plato, mirifice immutatum, divinumque ferme remisit. Euclyphrona, qui patri diem dixerat, quidam de justitia & pietate loquens, ab instituto revocavit. Lyfidem horando maxime moralem fecit. Lamprocleum filium in matrem immitem & ferum, ut ait Xenophon, suadendo ad reverentiam reduxit. Glauconem Platonis fratrem ad rempublicam accedere volentem, a proposito retraxit, quod is rudis esset, ignarusque rerum. These were the converts of Socrates; a change agreeable to the verities which he delivered. But it is another kind of success that the doctrine of Christianity hath had.

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the remedy, and to God by him; and so kindling the love of God in them by the bellows of faith; and then leading them towards perfection in the exercises of that holy love.

III. And it will further lead us to the original of this *Change*, to consider *on whom* it is thus wrought. 1. For their place and time. 2. Their quality in themselves. 3. And as compared to each other. 4. And as to their numbers.

1. For *time and place*, it is in all ages since Christ (to say nothing of the former ages now) and in all Nations and Countries which have received him and his Gospel, that Souls have been thus regenerated to God. If it had been only a fanatic rapture of brain-sick men, it would have been like the effects of the Heretics of the *Valentinians*, *Basilidians*, *Gnosticks*, *Montanists*, &c. or of the *Swenckfeldians*, *Weigelians*, *Bebmenists*, *Quakers*, and other such Enthusiasts, who make a stir for one Age, in some one corner of the world, and then go out with a perpetual stink. In all Ages and Countries, these effects of Christian Doctrine are the very same as they were in the first Age, and the first Country where it was preached. Just such effects as it hath in one Kingdom or Family, it hath in all others who equally receive it; and just such persons as Christians were in the first Ages at *Jerusalem*, *Rome*, *Antioch*, *Philippi*, &c. such are they now in *England*, according to their several degrees of grace, (though not in miracles and things extraordinary to the Church.) The children of no one father are so like as all God's sanctified children are throughout the world.

2. As to their *civil quality*, it is men of all degrees that are thus sanctified, though fewest of the Princes and great ones of the world. And as to their *moral qualification*, it sometime falleth on men prepared by a considering sober temper, and by natural plainness and honesty of heart; and sometimes it befalleth such as are most prophane, and drown'd in sin, and never dreamt of such a change; nay, purposely set their minds against it: These God doth often suddenly surprize by an over-powering light, and suitable-constraining-overcoming attraction, and maketh them new men.

3. And as to their *capacities compared*, there is plainly a *distinguishing* hand that disposeth of the work. Sometimes a persecuting *Saul* is converted by a voice from Heaven, when Pharisees

Pharisees that were less Persecutors are left in their unregeneracy. Sometimes under the same Sermon, one that was more prophane and less prepared is converted, when another that was more sober and better disposed remaineth as he was before: The husband and the wife, the Parents and the Children, Brothers and Sisters, Companions and Friends, are divided by this work, and one converted and the other not: Though none is deprived of this Mercy, but upon the guilt of their forfeiture, resistance, or contempt; yet is there plainly the effect of some special choice of the Holy Spirit, in taking out some of these that abused and forfeited grace, and changing them by an insuperable work.

4. And as to the *number*, it is many thousands that are thus renewed; enow to shew the Love and Power of him that calleth them: But yet the far smaller part of mankind, to shew his *Dominion*, and distinguishing will, who knoweth the reason of all his works: (Of which more anon.)

IV. Consider what *Opposition* this work of Grace doth overcome: 1. Within us. 2. Without us.

1. Within men, it findeth 1. A dungeon of *Ignorance*, which it dispelleth by it's heavenly light. 2. Abundance of error and prejudice which it unteacheth men. 3. A stupid hardened heart, which it softeneth; and a senseless sleepiness of Soul, which it overcometh, by awakening quickening power: 4. A love to sin, which it turneth into hatred: 5. An idolizing self-esteem, and self-conceitedness, and self-love, and self-willedness, which it turneth into self-loathing and self-denyall: not making us loath our selves as Natural, or as Renewed, but as corrupt with sin, and abusers of Mercy; and such as by wilfull folly have wronged God, and undone themselves: So that Repentance maketh men fall out with themselves, and become as loathsome in their own eyes. 6. It findeth in us an over-valuing love of

Nullus sanctus & justus caret peccato; nec tamen ex hoc desinit esse justus vel sanctus: Cum affectu teneat sanctitatem. *August. de desin. Eccles. dogm.*

To the grand objection, of the many that are not reformed by Christianity, let Cicero answer, who tell us how few Philosophers lived as they taught, objecteth. [Nonne verendum, si est ira ut dicis, ne Philoso-

phiam falsa gloria exornes? Quod est enim majus argumentum nihil eam prodesse, quam quosdam perfectos Philosophos turpiter vivere? *Resp.* Nullum vero id quidem argumentum est: nam ut agri non omnes frugiferi sunt qui coluntur, sic animi non omnes culti fructum ferunt; atq; ut ager quamvis fertilis sine cultura fructuosus esse non potest, sic sine doctrina animus: ita est utraq; res sine altera debilis. Cultura autem animi Philosophia est, quæ extrahit vitia radicitus, & præparat animos ad salutem accipiendos. *Tuscul. 2. p. 152, 253.*

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this present World, and a foolish inordinate desire to its profits, dignities, and honours; which it destroyeth and turneth into a rational contempt. 7. It findeth in us a prevailing sensuality, and an unreasonable appetite and lust; and a Flesh that would bear down both Reason and the Authority of God: And this it subdueth, and mortifieth it's inordinate desires, and bringeth it under the Laws of God. 8. It findeth all this radicated and confirmed by *Custom*: And overcometh those sins, which a sinner hath turned as into his Nature, and hath lived in the love and practice of all his dayes. All this and more opposition *within* us grace doth overcome in all the sanctified: And there is not one of all these if well considered of, but will appear to be of no small strength, and difficulty to be truly conquered.

2. And *without* us, the *holy Spirit* overcometh, 1. Worldly allurements, 2. Worldly men, 3. All other assaults of Satan.

1. While the Soul is in flesh, and worketh by the means of the outward senses, these present things will be a strong temptation to us: Prosperity and plenty, wealth and honour, ease and pleasure are accommodated to the desires of the flesh; partly to its *natural* appetite, and much more to it as inordinate by corruption: And the flesh careth not for *Reason*, how much soever it gainsay: And then all these enticing things are *neer* us, and still present with us, and before our eyes; when Heavenly things are all unseen: And the sweetness of honour, wealth and pleasure, is known by *feeling*, and therefore known *easily* and by *all*; when the goodness of things spiritual is known only by Reason, and believing: All which laid together (with sad experience) do fully shew, that it must be a very great work to overcome this World, and raise the heart above it to a better, and so to sanctifie a soul.

2. And *worldly men* do rise up against this *Holy work*, as as well as worldly things: Undeniyable experience assureth us, that through all the World, *ungodly sensual* men, have a marvellous implacable hatred to *Godlyness* and true mortification; and will by flattery or slanders, or scorn, or plots, or cruel violence, do all that they are able to resist

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it: So that he that will live a holy temperate life, must make himself a scorn, if not a prey: The foolish wit of the ungodly is bent, to reason men out of Faith, Hope, and Holiness, and to cavill against our obedience to God, and to disgrace all that course of life, which is necessary to salvation. And it is a great work to overcome all these temptations of the foolish and furious World. Great I say, because of the great folly and corruption of unregenerate men, on whom it must be wrought; though it would be smaller to a wise and considerate person. To be made as an Owl, and hunted as a Partridge or a beast of Prey, by those that we converse with, when we might have their favour, and friendship, and Preferments, if we would say and do as they, this is not easie to flesh and blood: But its easie to the Spirit of God.

3. The Devil is so notoriously an enemy to this sanctifying work, that it is a strong discovery that Christ was sent from God to do it. What a stir doth he first make to keep out the Gospel, that it may not be Preached to the Nations of the World? And where that will not serve, what a stir doth he make to debauch Christs Ministers, and corrupt them by ignorance, heresie, error, schism, domineering pride, sensuality, covetousness, slothfulness and negligence, that they may do the work of Christ deceitfully, as if they did it not: Yea, and if it may be, to win them to his service, to destroy the Church by Oppression or Division, under pretense of serving Christ? And what cunning and industry doth this Serpent use, to insinuate into great ones and Rulers of the Earth, a prejudice against Christ and Godliness, and to make them believe, that all that are seriously Godly are their enemies, and are against some interest of theirs, that so he might take the sword which God hath put into their hands, and turn it to his own service against him that gave it? How cunning and diligent is he to seduce men that begin to set themselves to a Religious life, into some false Opinions, or dividing Sects, or scandalous unjustifiable practice, that thereby he may triumph against Christ, and have something to say against Religion, from the faults of men, when he hath nothing to say against it justly from it self? and that he may have something to
say

say to those Rulers and People, with whom he would fain make Religion odious? How cunningly doth he engage ungodly men, to be his Servants in seducing others, and making them such as they are themselves, and in standing up for sin and darkness against the light and life of Faith? So that ungodly men are but the Souldiers and Preachers of the Devil, in all parts employed to fight against God, and draw men from holiness and justice, and temperance, to sin, and to damnation: So that it is a very discernable thing, that *Satan* is the *Head* of one party in the World, as the Destroying Prince of Darkness and deceit; and that *Christ* is the *Head* of the other party, as the Prince of light, and truth, and holiness: And that there is a continued war or opposition, between these two Kingdoms or Armies, in all parts and ages of the World (of which I have fullyer treated in another Book *) If any shall say, How know you that all this is the work of Satan? I shall have fitter occasion to answer that anon: I shall now say but this, that the *nature* of the work, the *tendency* of it, the *irrational*, *erroneous*, or brutish tyrannical *manner* of doing it, the *internal importunity* and manner of his suggestions, and the *effects* of all, and the *contrariety* of it to *God* and *Man*, will soon shew a considerate man the author. (Though more shall be anon added.)

* Treatise against Iudaeity, Part 3.

V. All this foregoing will shew a reasonable man, that the Spirits Regenerating work is such, as is a full attestation of God to that Doctrine, by which it is effected. And if any now say, How prove you, that all this is to be ascribed to *Jesus Christ*, any more than to *Socrates* or to *Seneca*, or *Cicero*: I answer: 1. So much truth of a sacred tendency, as *Plato*, or *Pythagoras*, or *Socrates*, or any Philosopher taught, might do some good, and work some reformation, according to its quality and degree: But as it was a lame imperfect doctrine which they taught, so was it a very lame imperfect reformation which they wrought, unlike the effects of the Doctrine and Spirit of *Jesus Christ*: I need to say no more of this, than to desire any man to make an impartial and judicious comparison between them. And, besides much more, he shall quickly finde these differences following: 1. That the Philosophers Disciples had a very poor,

poor, dark, disordered knowledge of God, in comparison of the Christians: and that mixt with odious fopperies, either blasphemous or idolatrous. 2. The Philosophers spake of God, and the Life to come almost altogether *notionally*, as they did of Logick or Physicks; and very few of them *Practically*, as a thing that mans happiness or misery was so much concerned in. 3. They spake very jejune and dryly about a holy state and course of life, and the duty of Man to God, in resignation, devotedness, obedience and love. 4. They said little comparatively to the true humbling of a Soul, nor in the just discovery of the evil of sin, nor for self-denyall. 5. They gave too great countenance to Pride, and Worldliness, and pleasing the senses by excess. 6. The Doctrine of true Love to one another, is taught by them exceeding lamely and defectively: 7. Revenge is too much indulged by them, and loving our Enemies, and forgiving great wrongs, was little known, or taught, or practised: 8. They were so pitifully unacquainted with the certainty and blessedness of the Life to come, that they say nothing of it, that is ever likely to make any considerable number set their hearts on Heaven, and to live a heavenly Life. 9. They were so unacquainted with the nature and will of God, that they taught and used such a manner of Worship as tended rather to delude and corrupt men, than to sanctifie them: 10. They medled so little with the inward sins and duties of the heart, especially about the holy Love of God; and their goodness was so much in outward acts, and in meer respect to men; that they were not like to sanctifie the Soul, or make the *Man good*, that his *actions* might be good; but only to polish men for Civil Societies; with the addition of a little Varnish of Superstition and Hypocrisie. 11. Their very style is either suitable to dead speculation, as a Lecture of Metaphysicks; or sleight and dull, and unlike to be effectual to convert and sanctifie mens Souls: 12. Almost all is done in such a disputing sophistical way, and clogg'd with so many obscurities, uncertainties, and self-contradictions, and mixt in heaps of Physical and Logieal Subtilties, that they were unfit for the common peoples benefit, and could tend but to the benefit of a few. 13. Experience taught, and still teacheth the World, that *Holy*

Difference between the effects of Philosophy and Christianity.

Some of the strictest of the Philosophers, were for a Community of Wives; Laertius saith of the Stoicks (in Zenone li. 6. p. 442.) Placet item illis uxores quoq; communes esse oportere apud sapientes, ut quilibet illi congregiatur quæ sibi prior occurrit, ut ait Zeno in Rep. & Chrysippus de Rep. Diogene item Cynico & Platone hujus rei autoribus. What blindness and impurity against Nature was in this opinion?

Souls and Lives, that were sincerely set upon God and Heaven, were strangers amongst the Disciples of the Philosophers, and other Heathens: Or if it be thought that there were some such among them, certainly, they were very few, in comparison of true Christians, and those few very dark, and diseased and defective: with us, a Childe at ten years old will know more of God, and shew more true piety, than did any of their Philosophers; with us poor women, and labouring persons, do live in that holiness, and heavenliness of minde and conversation, which the wisest of the Philosophers never did attain. I spake of this before, but here also thought meet, to shew you the difference between the effect of Christs doctrine and the Philosophers.

2. And that all this is justly to be imputed to Christ himself, I shall now prove. 1. He gave them a perfect pattern for his holy, obedient, heavenly Life, in his own person and his conversation here on Earth. 2. His Doctrine and Law requireth all this holiness which I described to you: You finde the Prescript in his Word, of which the holy Souls and Lives of men are but a transcript. 3. All his Institutions and Ordinances are but means and helps to this. 4. He hath made it the condition of mans Salvation to be thus holy, in sincerity, and to *desire* and *seek after* perfection in it: He taketh no other for true Christians indeed, nor will save any other at the last. 5. All his comforting Promises of mercy and defence are made only to such. 6. He hath made it the Office of his Ministers through the World, to perswade and draw men to this Holiness: And if you hear the Sermons, and read the Books which any faithfull Minister of Christ doth preach or write, you will soon see that this is the business of them all: And you may soon perceive, that these Ministers have another kinde of preaching and writing than the Philosophers had; more clear, more congruous, more spiritual, more powerfull, and likely to win men to Holiness and Heavenliness: When our Divines and their Philosophers are compared, as to their promoting of true Holiness, verily, the latter seem to be but as Glow-worms, and the former to be the Candles for the Family of God: And yet I truly value the wisdom and virtue which I finde in a *Plato*, a *Seneca*, a *Cicero*, an

Antonine, or any of them. If you say, our advantage is because coming after all, we have the helps of all, even of those Philosophers. I answer, mark in our Books and Sermons whether it be any thing but Christianity which we preach? It is from Christ and Scripture, that we fetch our Doctrine, and not from the Philosophers: we use their helps in Logick, Physicks, &c. But that's nothing to our Doctrine! He that taught me to speak English, did not teach me the Doctrine which I preach in English: And he that teacheth me to use the Instruments of Logick, doth not teach me the doctrine about which I use them. And why did not those Philosophers by all their art, attain to that skill in this Sacred work, as the Ministers of Christ do, when they had as much or more of the Arts than we? I read indeed of many good Orations then used; even in those of the Emperour *Julian*, there is much good; and in *Antonine*, *Arrian*, *Epicletus*, *Plutarch*, more: And I read of much talking-Oratory of the *Bongii* in *Japan*, &c. But compared to the endeavours of Christian Divines, they are poor, pedantick, barren things, and little sparks; and the success of them is but answerable. 7. Christ did before hand promise to send his Spirit into mens Souls, to do all this work upon all his Chosen. And as he promised, just so he doth. 8. And we finde by experience, that it is the preaching of Christs doctrine by which the work is done: It is by the reading of the sacred Scripture, or hearing the Doctrine of it opened and applied to us, that Souls are thus changed, as is before described: And if it be by the medicines which he sendeth us himself, by the hands of his own Servants, that we are healed, we need not doubt whether it be *he* that healed us. His *Doctrine* doth it as the instrumental Cause; for we finde it adapted thereunto, and we finde nothing done upon us but by that Doctrine; nor any remaining effect but what is the impression of it: But his *Spirit* inwardly reneweth us as the *Principal cause*, and worketh with and by the Word: For we finde that the Word doth not work upon all; nor upon all alike, that are alike prepared: But we easily perceive a voluntary distinguishing choice in the operation. And we finde a power more than can be in the words alone, in the effect upon our selves. The heart is

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like the Wax, and the Word like the Seal, and the Spirit like the hand that strongly applyeth it: We feel upon our hearts, that (though nothing is done without the Seal, yet) a greater force doth make the impression than the weight of the Seal alone could cause.

By this time it is evident, that this work of Sanctification is the attestation of God by which he publicly owneth the Gospel, and declareth to the World, that Christ is the Saviour, and his Word is true: For 1. It is certain that this work of Renovation is the work of God: For 1. It is his Image on the Soul: It is the life of the Soul as flowing from his Holy Life: wherein are contained the Trinity of Perfections: It is the *Power* of the Soul, by which it can overcome the *Flesh*, the *World* and the *Devil*, which without it none is able to do: It is the *Wisdom* of the Soul, produced by his Light and *Wisdom*; by which we know the difference between Good and Evil, and our Reason is restored to its dominion over fleshly sense: It is the *Goodness* of the Soul, by which it is made suitable to the Eternal Good; and fit to know him, love him, praise him, serve him, and enjoy him: And therefore nothing lower than his Goodness can be its principal Cause.

2. It subverteth the Interest of God in the World: And recovereth the apostate Soul to himself: It disposeth it to honour him, love him and obey him: It delivereth up the whole man to him as his own: It casketh down all that rebelleth against him: It casteth out all which was preferred before him: It rejecteth all which standeth up against him, and would seduce and tempt us from him: And therefore it is certainly his work.

3. Whose else should it be? Would Satan or any evil cause produce so excellent an effect? would the worst of beings do the best of works? (It is the best that is done in this lower world) Would any enemy of God so much honour him, and promote his interest, and restore him his own? would any enemy of mankind thus advance us, and bring us up to a life of the highest honour and delights, that we are capable of on earth, and give us the hopes of life eternal?

And if any good Angel, or other Cause, should do it, all reason will confess, that they do it but as the Messengers or Instru-

Instruments of God, and as second causes, and not as the first Cause: for otherwise we should make them gods. For my own part, my Soul perceiveth, that it is God himself that hath imprinted this his Image on me, and hath hereby, as it were, written upon me his Name and Mark, even *HOLINESS TO THE LORD*; and I bear about me continually a Witness of Himself, his Son, and holy Spirit; a Witness within me, which is the Seal of God, and the pledge of his love, and the earnest of my heavenly inheritance.

And if our Sanctification be thus of *GOD*, it is certainly his attestation to the truth of Christ, and to his Gospel: for, 1. No man that knoweth the perfections of God, will ever believe, that he would bless a deceiver, and a lie, to be the means of the most *holy* and excellent work that ever was done in the world. If Christ were a Deceiver, his crime would be so execrable, as would engage the Justice of God against him, as he is the righteous Governour of the world: And therefore he would not so highly honour him, to be his chiefest instrument for the worlds Renovation. He is not *impotent* to need such instruments; he is not *ignorant*, that he should so mistake in the choice of instruments; he is not *bad*, that he should love and use such Instruments, and comply with their deceptions. These things are all so clear and sure, that I cannot doubt of them.

2. No man that knoweth the *mercifulness* of God, and the *Justice* of his Government can believe, that he would give up Mankind so remedilessly to seduction; yea, and be the principal causer of it himself. For if besides *Prophecies*, and a *holy Doctrine*, and a multitude of famous *Miracles*, a Deceiver might also be the great *Renewer and Sanctifier* of the world, to bring man back to the obedience of God, and to repair his Image on Mankind; what possibility were there of our discovery of that deceit? Or rather should we not say, he were a *blessed Deceiver*, that had deceived us from our sin and misery, and brought back our straying souls to God?

3. Nay, when Christ fore-told men, that he would send his Spirit to do all this work, and would renew men for eternal life, and thus be with us to the end of the world; and when I see all this done, I must needs believe, that he that can send down a *Sanctifying Spirit*, a *Spirit of Life*, a

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Spirit of Power, Light and Love, to make his Doctrine in the mouths of his Ministers *effectual* to mens Regeneration and Sanctification, is no less himself than God, or certainly no less than his certain Administrator.

4. What need I more to prove the *Cause* than the *adequate effect*? When I find that Christ doth actually *save me*, shall I question whether he be *my Saviour*? When I find that he saveth thousands about me, and offereth the same to others, shall I doubt whether he be the Saviour of the world? Sure he that *bealeth* us all, and that so wonderfully and so cheaply, may well be called our *Physician*. If he had *promised* only to *save* us, I might have doubted whether he would perform it, and consequently whether he be indeed the *Saviour*. But when he *performeth* it on *myself*, and *performeth* it on thousands round about me, to doubt yet whether he be the *Saviour*, when he *actually saveth* us, is to be ignorant in despite of Reason and Experience. I conclude therefore that the *Spirit of Sanctification* is the *infallible Witness* of the *Verity of the Gospel*, and the *Veracity of Jesus Christ*.

5. And I entreat all that read this, further to observe, the great use and advantage of this testimony above others: in that it is *continued* from Generation to Generation, and not as the gift and testimony of *Miracles*, which continued plentifully but one Age, and with diminution somewhat after: this is Christ's witness to the end of the world, in every Country, and to every Soul: yea, and continually dwelling in them: *For if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his, Rom. 8. 9.* He that is not able to examine the History which reporteth the Miracles to him, may be able to find upon his Soul the Image of God imprinted by the Gospel, and to know that the Gospel hath that Image in it self which it imprinteth upon others; and that it cometh from God, which leadeth men so directly unto God; and that it is certainly his own means which he blesteth to so great and excellent ends.

6. Note also, that part of the work of the *Spirit of God* in succeeding the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, doth consist in the *effectual production of Faith in self*: for though the work be wrought by the *Reasons* of the Gospel, and the *Evidences of Truth*; yet is it also wrought by the *Spirit of God*, concurring

cunning with that evidence, and as the internal Efficient, exciting the sluggish faculties to do their office, and illustrating the understanding, and fitting the will to entertain the truth: for the *difficulties* are so great, and the temptations to unbelief so subtil and violent, and our own *indisposedness* through corruption, the greatest impediment of all, that the bare Word alone would not produce a belief of that lively vigorous nature, as is necessary to its noble effects and ends, without the internal co-operation of the Spirit. So that Christ doth not only *teach* us the *Christian Faith* and *Religion*, but doth *give* it us, and *work it in us* by his *Spirit*. And he that can *do so*, doth prove the Divine approbation of his Doctrine, without which, he could not have the command of mens Souls.

7. Note also, that the Gospel proposeth to the Soul of man both *Truth* and *Goodness*: and the *Truth* is in order to the *Good*, and subservient to it: That *Christ* is indeed the *Saviour*, and his Word infallibly true, is believed, that we may be made partakers of *his Salvation*, and of the *Grace* and *Glory* promised. And when the Spirit by the Gospel hath regenerated and renewed any Soul, he hath given him part of that grace in possession, and hath procreated in him the *habitual love of God*, and of *holiness*, with a love to that Saviour and holy Word which brought him to it. So that this *Love* is now become as a *new Nature* to the Soul: and this being done, the Soul cleaveth now as fast to Christ and the Gospel by *Love*, as by *Belief*: not that love becometh an irrational causeless love, nor continueth without the continuance of Belief, or Belief without the Reasons and Evidence of Verity and Credibility: But Love now by concurrence greatly assisteth *Faith* it self, and is the faster hold of the two: so that the Soul that is very weak in its *Reasoning* faculty, and may oft lose the sight of these Evidences of truth, which it did once perceive, may still hold fast by this holy Love. As the man that by reasoning hath been convinced that hony is sweet, will easilier change his mind than he that hath *tasted* it: so *Love* is the Souls *taste*, which causeth its fastest adherence to God and to the Gospel. If a caviller dispute with a loving child, or parent, or friend, to alienate their hearts from one another, and would perswade them that

that it is but dissimul'd love that is profess'd to them by their relations and friends; *Love* will do more here to hinder the belief of such a slander, than *Reason* alone can do: and where *Reason* is not strong enough to answer all that the caviller can say, yet *Love* may be strong enough to reject it.

And here I must observe how oft I have noted the great mercy of God, to abundance of poor people, whose reasoning faculty would have fail'd them in temptations to Atheism and Infidelity, if they had not had a stronger hold than that, and their *Faith* had not been radicated in the *Will* by *Love*: I have known a great number of *women* who never read a Treatise that pleaded the Cause of the Christian Religion, nor were able to answer a crafty Infidel, that yet in the very decaying time of Nature, at fourscore years of age and upward, have lived in that sense of the Love of God, and in such Love to him and to their Saviour, as that they have longed to die, and be with Christ, and lived in all humility, charity, and piety, such blameless, exemplary, heavenly Lives, in the joyfull expectation of their Change, as hath shewed the firmness of their *Faith*; and the *Love* and *Experience* which was in them, would have rejected a temptation to Atheism and Unbelief, more effectually than the strongest Reason alone could ever do. Yet none have cause to reproach such, and say, Their *Wills* lead their *Understandings*, and they customarily and obstinately believe they know not why: for they have known sufficient reason to believe, and their understandings have been illuminated to see the truth of true Religion; and it was this knowledge of Faith which bred their Love and Experience: but when that is done, as Love is the more noble and perfect operation of the Soul (having the most excellent object) so it will act more powerfully and prevailingly, and hath the strongest hold: Nor are all they without Light and Reason for their belief, who cannot form it into arguments, and answer all that is said against it.

Obj. But may not all this which you call Regeneration, and the Image of God, be the meer power of fantasie, and affectation? and may not all these people force themselves, like melancholy persons, to conceit that they have that which indeed they have not?

Ans. I.

Ans. 1. They are not melancholly persons that I speak of, but those that are as capable as any others to know their own minds, and what is upon their own hearts. 2. It is not one or two, but millions. 3. Nature hath given man so great acquaintance with himself, by a power of perceiving his own operations, that his own cogitations and desires are the first thing that naturally he can know: and therefore if he cannot know them, he can know nothing. If I cannot know what I think, and what I love and hate, I can know nothing at all. 4. That they are really minded and affected as they seem, and have in them that love to God, and Heaven, and Holiness which they profess, they shew to all the world by the effects: 1. In that it ruleth the main course of their lives, and disposeth of them in the world. 2. In that these apprehensions and affections over-rule all their worldly fleshly interest, and cause them to deny the pleasures of the flesh, and the profits and honours of the world. 3. In that they are constant in it to the death, and have no other mind in their distress; when as *Seneca* saith, Nothing feigned is of long continuance, for all forc'd things are bending back to their natural state. 4. In that they will lay down their lives, and forsake all the world, for the hopes which faith in Christ begetteth in them.

And if the objectors mean, that all this is true, and yet it is but upon delusion or mistake that they raise these hopes, and raise these affections; I answer, This is the thing that I am disproving: 1. The love of God, and a holy mind and life, is not a dream of the Soul, or a deliration: I have proved from Natural reason in the first Book, that it is the end, and use, and perfection of man's faculties: that if God be God, and man be man, we are to love him above all, and to obey him as our absolute Sovereign, and to live as devoted to him, and to delight in his love. Man were more ignoble or miserable than a beast, if this were not his work. And is that a dream or a delusion, which causeth a man to live as a man? to the ends that he was made for? and according to the nature and use of his reason and all his faculties? 2. While the proofs of the excellency and necessity of a holy life are so fully before laid down, from natural and supernatural revelation, the Objector doth but refuse to see

I plead for no superstition, granting what Torquatus the Epicurean in Cic. de fin. l. 1. p. 87. that Superstitione qui imbutus est, quietus esse nunquam potest: But I like not the quietness which intoxication, madness, or ignorance of danger do procure.

Though there be much difference, and though prejudice, and faction, and the interest of their parties, cause uncharitable hypocrites to slander and rail at all that are against their self and mind, yet among all Christians, there are holy serious persons to be found, though such as the worldly sort do vilifie: And all of them write for Purity, Holiness, Love and Peace, (of which more after.) Read the writings of Thaulerus, and that excellent holy Book of Gerardus Zutphanensis. de Reformatione interiori, & de spiritualibus ascensionibus; where you will see a speculum of other kind of purity than the Philosophers build forth.

Of the WITNESS of JESUS CHRIST, or the

in the open light, when he satisfieth himself with a bare assertion, that all this is no sufficient ground for a *holy life*, but that it is taken up upon mistake. 3. All the world is convinced at one time or other, that on the contrary it is the *unholy, fleshly, worldly life*, which is the *dream and dotage*, and is caused by the grossest error and deceit.

Object. But how shall I know that there is indeed such holiness in Christians as you mention, and that it is not dissembled and counterfeited?

Ans. I have told you in the fore-going answer. 1. If you were truly Christians, you might know it by possession in your selves: as you know that you love your friend, or a learned man knoweth that he hath learning. 2. If you have it not your selves, you may see that others do not dissemble; when you see them, as afore-said, make it the drift of all their lives, and prefer it before their worldly interest, and their lives, and hold on constantly in it to the death. When you see a holy life, what reason have you to question a holy heart? especially among so great a number, you may well know, that if some be dissemblers, all the rest are not so.

Obj. But I see no Christians that are really so holy: I see nothing in the best of them above civility, but only self-concern, and affectation, and strictness in their several forms and modes of Worship.

Ans. 1. If you are no better than such your self, it is the greatest shame and plague of heart that you could have confessed: and it must needs be, because you have been false to the very light of Nature, and of Grace. 2. If you know no Christians that are truly holy, it must needs be, either because you are unacquainted with them, or because your malice will not give you leave to see any good in these that you dislike. And if you have acquainted your self with no Christians that were truly holy, what could it be but malice or sensuality that turned you away from their acquaintance, when there have been so many round about you? If you have been intimate with them, and known their secret and open conversation, and yet have not seen any holiness in them, it can be no better than wilful malice that hath blinded you. And because a negative witness that *knoweth not* whether it be so or not, is not to be regarded against an affirming witness who

who knoweth what he saith, I will here leave my testimony as in the presence of God, the searcher of hearts, and the revenger of a lie, yea, even of lies pretended for his glory?

I have considered of the characters of a Christian in the twenty particulars before expressed in this Chapter, (§. 10.) and I have examined my soul concerning them all; and as far as I am able to know my self, I must profess, in humble thankfulness to my Redeemer, that there is none of them which I find not in me: And seeing God hath given me his testimony within me, to the truth of the Gospel of his Son, I take it to be my duty in the profession of it, to give my testimony of it to unbelievers. And I must as solemnly profess, that I have had acquaintance with hundreds, if not thousands, on whom I have seen such evidences of a holy heavenly mind, which nothing but uncharitable and unrighteous censure could deny. And I have had *special intimate familiarity* with very many, in all whom I have discerned the Image of God, in such innocency, charity, justice, holiness, contempt of the world, mortification, self-denial, humility, patience and heavenly mindedness, in such a measure, that I have seen no cause to question their sincerity, but great cause to love and honour them as the Saints of God: yea, I bless the Lord that *most* of my converse in the world, since the 22^d year of my age, hath been with such; and *much* of it, six years sooner. Therefore for my own part, I cannot be ignorant that Christ hath a sanctified people upon earth.

Object. But how can one man know another's heart to be sincere?

Answer. I pretend not to know by an infallible certainty the heart of any single individual person: But, 1. I have in such a course of effects as is mentioned before, great reason to be very confident of it, and no reason to deny it, concerning very many. A child cannot be infallibly certain that his father or mother loveth him, because he knoweth not the heart: But when he considereth of the ordinariness of natural affection, and hath always found such usage, as dearest love doth use to cause, he hath much reason to be confident of it, and none to deny it. 2. There may be a certainty that *all* conjunctly do not counterfeit, when you have no certainty of

Serpit hodie putrida
tabes hypocrisis per
omne corpus eccle-
siaz; & quo toleran-
tius, eo desperatius;
eoque periculosius
quo communius. Ber-
nard.

Cum dilectione fides
Christiani: sine dile-
ctione fides demo-
num: Qui autem
non credunt, peiores
sunt quam demones.
Aug. de Charit.

Hypocrita ut sine fine
crucietur, vivere sine
fine compellitur: ut
cujus vita hic mor-
tua fuit in culpa, illic
ejus mors vivit in
pœna. *Greg. Mor. l. 3.*

Nihil prodest esti-
mare quod non sis:
& duplicis peccati
reus es, non habere
quod crederis, &
quod habueris simu-
lare. *Hieron. ep. ad
fil. Mauri.*

Siquis hominem qui sanctus non est, sanctum esse crediderit, & Dei cum juxerit societati, Christum violat e jus membra famus — — Omnes credentes Christi corpus violant: Qui in Christi corpore errat & labetur dicens membrum ejus esse sanctum cum non sit, vel non sanctus cum sit, vide quali crimine obnoxius fiat. *Eccl. in Phil.*

any single individual. As I can be sure that all the mothers in the world do not counterfeit love to their children, though I cannot be certain of it in any individual.

Object. But it is not all Christians, nor most, that are thus holy.

Answer. It is all that are Christians in deed and truth. Christ is so far from owning any other, that he will condemn them the more for abusing his Name to the covering of their sins: All are not Christians who have the name of Christians: in all professions, the vulgar rabble of the ignorant and ungodly, do use to join with the party that is uppermost, and seem to be of the Religion which is most for their worldly ends, be it right or wrong, when indeed they are of none at all. Hypocrites are no true Christians, but the persons that Christ is most displeased with. Judge but by his precepts and example, and you will see who they are that are Christians indeed.

Object. But what if the preaching or writings of a Minister do convert and sanctifie men, it doth not follow that they are Saviours of the world.

Answer. What ever they do, they do it as the Ministers and Messengers of Christ, by his Doctrine, and not by any of their own: by his Commission, and in his Name, and by his Power or Spirit. Therefore it witnesseth to his truth and honour, who is indeed the Saviour, which they never affirmed of themselves.

Object. What if Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, the Japonian Bonzii, the Indian Bramenes, &c. do bring any souls to a holy state, (as its like they did) it will not follow that they were all Saviours of the world.

Answer. 1. They have but an imperfect Doctrine, and consequently make on the minds of men but a lame defective persons. Their renown was got by the most transcendent, unjust and most inhumane cruelties: Their Alexanders and Cæsars were venomous murderers and thieves. Aristotle and Cicero make revenge a laudable thing, and the omission of it a dishonour. Of the cruel murderous sport of their Gladiators; the killing their servants when they were angry; their streams of blood wherewith Rome almost in every age had flowed, by those Civil Wars which pride and unjust usurpations had produced, &c. it is needless to tell any that have read their Histories.

Even Cato could lend his wife to his neighbour; and the Mahometans may have many, and put them away again: and many other such sensualities are the temperance of their Religion, which was hatch'd in war, and maintained by it, and even constituted of war and carnality, added to some precepts of honesty borrowed from Christianity, and from the honest Heathens.

change:

change: and that change but upon few, and that but for a few Ages, and then another Sect succeedeth them: So that they have no such attestation and approbation of God, as Christ hath in the renovation of so many thousands all abroad the world, and that for so many ages together. 2. They did not affirm themselves to be the Sons of God, and the Saviours of the world; if they had, God would not have annexed such a testimony to their word, as he doth to Christ. 3. The mercy of God is over all his works. He hath compassion upon all Nations; and setteth up some candles, where the Sun is not yet risen: The Light and Law of Nature are his, as well as the Light and Law of Supernatural Revelation: and accordingly he hath his instruments for the communication of them, to the rude and ignorant part of the world. All the truth which any Philosopher teacheth, is God's truth: and it is no wonder if a God of so much goodness, do bless his own truth, according to its nature and proportion, who ever be the messenger of it. Whether the success of Philosophy, be ever the true sanctification and salvation of any souls, is a thing that I meddle not with; (it belongeth not to us, and therefore is not revealed to us:) But it is visible in the Gospel, that all that part of practical doctrine which the Philosophers taught, is contained in the doctrine of Christ, as a part in the whole: and therefore the impress and effect is more full and perfect, as the doctrine; and the impress and effect of the Philosophers doctrine, can be no better than the cause, which is partial and defective, and mixt with much corruption and untruth. All that is good in the Philosophers is in the doctrine of Christ: but they had abundance of false opinions and idolatries to corrupt it; when Christianity hath nothing but clean and pure. So that as no Philosopher affirmed himself to be the *Saviour*, so his doctrine was not attested by the plenary and common effect of Regeneration, as Christ's was: but as they were but the *Ministers* of the God of Nature, so they had but an answerable help from God; who could not be supposed (however, had they wrought miracles) to have attested more than themselves asserted, or laid claim to.

Object. But Mahomet ventured on a higher arrogation and pretence; and yet if his doctrine sanctifie men, it will not justifie his pretences.

Q^a 3

Ans^r. 1.

Ans. 1. It is not proved, that his Doctrine doth truly sanctifie any : 2. The effect which it hath can be but lame, defective, and mixt with much vanity and error, as his doctrine is: for the effect cannot excell the cause. 3. That part of his doctrine which is good, and doth good, is not his own, but part of *Christs*, from whom he borrowed it, and to whom the good effects are to be ascribed. 4. *Mabomet* never pretended to be the Son of God, and Saviour of the World, but only to be a Prophet: Therefore his cause is much like that of the Philosophers forementioned, saving that he giveth a fuller testimony to Christ. 5. If *Mabomet* had proved his Word, by antecedent Prophecies, Promises, and Types, through many ages; and by *inherent purity*, and by *concomitant Miracles*, and by such wonderfull subsequent communications of renewing sanctifying grace, by the Spirit of God, so ordinary in the World; we should all have had reason to believe his Word: But if he pretend only to be a Prophet, and give us none of all these proofs, but a foppish, ridiculous bundle of Non-sense, full of carnal doctrines, mixt with holy truth, which he had from Christ, we must judge accordingly of his Authority and Word, notwithstanding God may make use of that common truth, to produce an answerable degree of Goodness, among those that hear and know no better.

These Objections may be further answered anon, among the rest: And thus much shall here suffice of the great and cogent Evidences of the truth of the Christian Faith.

CHAP. VII.

Of the subservient proofs, and means, by which the forementioned Evidences are brought to our certain knowledge.

THE witness of the Spirit in the four ways of Evidence already opened, is proved to be sure, and cogent, if first it be proved to be true, that indeed such a witness to Jesus Christ, hath been given to the World:

The

The Argument is undeniable, when the Minor is proved, [*He, whose Word is attested by God, by many thousand years predictions, by the inherent Image of God upon the frame of his doctrine, by multitudes of uncontrolled Miracles, and by the success of his Doctrine to the true Regeneration of a great part of the World, is certainly to be believed: But such is Jesus Christ: Ergo, —*] I have been hitherto for the most part proving the Major Proposition, and now come to the Minor; as to the several branches.

§. 1. I. *The Prophetical Testimony of the Spirit, is yet legible, in the Promises, Prophecies and Types, and main design of the Old Testament.*

§. 2. *The Books of Holy Scripture where all these are found, are certain uncorrupted records thereof: preserved by the unquestioned tradition and care, and to this day attested by the generall confession, of the Jewes, who are the bitterest enemies to Christianity.*

There are no men of reason that I have heard of, that deny the Books of *Moses*, and the *Psalms*, and the *Prophets*, &c. to be indeed those that went under those titles from the beginning: And that there can be no considerable corruption in them, which might much concern their testimony to Christ, the comparing of all the Copies, and the Versions, yet extant, will evince; together with the testimony of all sorts of enemies; and the morall impossibility of their corruption. But I will not stand to prove that which no sober adversary doth deny. To these Books the Christians did appeal, and to these the *Jews* profess to stand.

§. 3. II. *The constitutive inherent image of God upon the Gospel of Christ, is also still visible in the Books themselves; and needeth no other proof, than a capable Reader (as afore described.)*

§. 4. *The preaching and Writings of the Ministers of Christ, do serve to illustrate this, and help men to discern it; but adde nothing to the inherent perfection of the Gospel, for matter, or for method.*

§. 5. III. *The testimony of the age of Miracles fore-described, can be known naturally no way, but by sight or other senses to those present, and by report or history to those absent.*

§. 6. *The*

Miracula ubicunq; fi-
unt, vix à tota civi-
tate feruntur, &c.
Nam plerumq; sunt
ignorantibus exteris,
maxime si magna sit
civitas; at quando
alibi aliisq; narran-
tur, tanta ea com-
mendat autoritas, ut
sine difficultate vel
dubitatione credan-
tur. *Aug. de Civit.*
Dei. 22.

§. 6. *The Apostles and many thousand others saw the Mira-
cles wrought by Christ; and needed no other proof of them than
their senses.*

The many thousands who at twice were fed by Miracle were witnesses of that. The multitude were witnesses of his healing the blinde, the lame, the paralitick, the Demoniacks, &c. The Pharisees themselves made the strictest search into the cure of the man born blinde, *Job. 9.* and the raising of *Lazarus* from the dead, and many more. His miracles were few of them hid, but openly done before the World.

§. 7. *The Apostles and many hundreds more, were witnesses
of Christs own Resurrection; and needed no other proof but their
sense.*

At divers times he appeared to them, together and apart: and yielded to *Thomas* his unbelief so farre, as to call him to put his finger into his side, and see the print of the Nails: He instructed them concerning the Kingdom of God, for forty dayes, *Act. 1.* He gave them their Commission, *Mar. 16. Mat. 28. Job. 21.* He expostulated with *Peter*, and engaged him to feed his Lambs: He was seen of more than five hundred brethren at once: And lastly appeared after his ascension to *Paul*, and to *John* that wrote the *Revelations*.

§. 8. *The Apostles also were eye-witnesses of his ascension:
Act. 1.*

What he had foretold them, they saw him fulfill.

§. 9. *All these eye-witnesses were not themselves deluded,
in thinking they saw those things which indeed they did not
see.*

For 1. They were persons of competent understanding, as their Writings shew; and therefore not like Children that might be cheated with palpable deceits. 2. They were many (the twelve Apostles, and 70 Disciples, and all the rest, besides the many thousands of the common people that only wondered at him, but followed him not. One or two may be easilier deceived than such multitudes. 3. The matters of fact were done near them, where they were present, and not far off. 4. They were done in the open light, and not in a corner, or in the dark. 5. They were done many times over,
and

and not once or twice only. 6. The nature of the things was such, as a juggling deluding of the senses could not serve for so common a deceit: As when the persons that were born blinde, the lame, the Paralitick, &c. were seen to be perfectly healed; and so of the rest. 7. They were persons who followed Christ, and were still with him, (or very off): and therefore if they had been once deceived, they could not be so alwayes. 8. And vigilant subtile enemies were about them, that would have helped them to have detected a deceit. 9. Yea, the twelve Apostles and 70 Disciples were employed themselves in working Miracles, healing the sick and Demoniacs, in Christs own life-time; and rejoyced in it: And they could not be deceived for divers years together in the things which they saw, and heard, and felt, and also in that which they did themselves: Besides that, all their own Miracles which they wrought after Christs ascension, prove that they were not deceived. 10. There is no way left then but one to deceive them; and that is, if God himself should alter and delude all their senses, which it is certain that he did not doe: For then he had been the chief cause of all the delusion, and all the consequents of it in the World: He that hath given men sight, and hearing, and feeling, will not delude them all by unresistable alterations and deceits, and then forbid them to believe those lies, and propagate them to others. Man hath no other way of knowing things sensible but by sense. He that hath his senses sound, and the object proportionate and at a just distance, and the medium fit, and his understanding sound, may well trust his senses; especially when it is the case of many: And if sense in those cases should be deceived, we should be bound to be deceived, as having no other way of knowing, or of detecting the deceit.

6. 10. Those that saw not Christs miracles, nor saw him risen, received all these matters of fact, from the testimony of them that said they saw them: (Having no other way by which they could receive them.)

6. 11. Supposing now Christs Resurrection and Miracles to be true, it is certain, that their use and obligation must extend to more than those that saw them; even to persons absent, and of other generations.

Unum boni Viri verbum; upus natus, sexcentis argumentis ac verborum continuationibus parem fidem meretur. Plutar. in Phocion.

Pluris est oculatus testis unus, quam auriti decem. Qui audiunt, audacia dicunt: qui vident, plane sciunt. Plaut. Truc.

This I have fully and undenyably proved, in a Disputation in my Book against Infidelity: by such arguments as these.

1. The use and obligation of such Miracles doth extend to all that have sufficient evidence of their truth. But the Nations and generations which never saw them, may have sufficient evidence of their truth (that they were done); *Ergo*, the use and obligation doth extend to such.

The Major is past all contradiction. He that hath sufficient evidence of the truth of the fact, is obliged to believe it. The Minor is to be proved in the following Sections.

2. The contrary doctrine maketh it impossible for God to oblige the World by Miracles, according to their proper use. But it is not impossible: Therefore that doctrine is false.

Here note, that the use and force of miracles lyeth in their being *extraordinary*, rather than in the *Power* which they manifest: For it is as great an effect of Omnipotency to have the Sun move, as to stand still: Now if miracles oblige none to believe but those that see them, then every man in every City, Countrey, Town, Family, and in all generations to the end of the World, must see Christ risen, or not believe it, and must see *Lazarus* risen, or not believe it; and must see all the miracles himself which oblige him to believe: But this is an absurdity, and contradiction, making Miracles Gods ordinary works, and so as no miracles.

Every man expecteth himself to be believed: and therefore oweth just belief to others,

The testimony of one or two eye-witnesses, is to be preferred before many learned conjectures and arguments. Many wise men heretofore thought

that they proved by argument, that there were no Antipodes, and others that men could not live under the Equator and Poles; But one Voyage of Columbus hath fully confuted all the first; and many since have confuted both the one and the other; and are now believed against all these learned Arguments by almost all.

3. They that teach men that they are bound to believe no Miracles but what they see, do deprive all after-ages of all the benefit of all the miraculous works of God, both Mercies and Judgements, which their forefathers saw: But God wrought them not only for them that saw them; but also for the absent, and after-times.

4. By the same reason, they will disoblige men from believing any other matters of fact, which they never saw themselves: And that is to make them like new comers into

the World, yea, like Children and Fools, and to be incapable of Humane Society.

5. This reasoning would rob God of the honour of all his most wonderous works, as from any but those that see them: so that no absent person, nor following age should be obliged to mention them, believe them, or honour him for them: which is absurd and impious.

6. The World would be still as it were to begin anew, and no age must be the wiser for all the experiences of those that have gone before; if we must not believe what we never saw. And if men must not learn thus much of their Ancestors, why should they be obliged to learn any thing else, but Children be left to learn only by their own eyesight?

7. If we are not bound to believe Gods wonderous works which have been before our dayes, then our ancestors are not bound to tell them us, nor we to be thankfull for them: The *Israelites* should not have told their Posterity how they were brought out of the Land of *Egypt*, nor *England* keep a day of Thanksgiving for its deliverance from the *Powder-plot*: But the consequent is absurd: *Ergo*, so is the antecedent. What have we our tongues for, but to speak of what we know to others? The love that Parents have to their Children will oblige them to acquaint them with all things usefull which they know. The Love which men have naturally to truth, will oblige them to divulge it. Who that had but seen an Angel, or received instructions by a Voice from Heaven, or seen the dead raised, would not tell others what he had seen and heard? And to what end should he tell them, if they were not obliged to believe it.

8. Governments, and Justice, and all humane converse is maintained by the belief of others, and the reports and records of things which we see not: Few of the Subjects see their King. Witnesses carry it in every cause of Justice: Thus Princes prove their Successions and title to their Crowns, and all men their Estates, by the records or testimony of others.

9. It is impudent arrogancy for every Infidel to tie God to be at his beck, to work Miracles as oft as he requireth it: To say, I will not believe without a Miracle; and if thou

work never so many in the sight of others, I will not believe unless I may see them my self.

§. 12. There need not be new Revelations and Miracles, to confirm the former, and oblige men to believe them: For then there must be more Revelations and Miracles, to confirm the former, and oblige men to believe those; and so on to the end of the World: And then God could not govern the World by a settled Law by Revelations once made; which is absurd.

§. 13. Therefore the only natural way to know all such matters of fact is sensible apprehension to those that are present; and credible report, tradition or history, to those that are absent (as is aforesaid): which is the necessary medium to convey it from their sense to our understandings: And in this must we acquiesce, as the natural means which God will use.

§. 14. We are not bound to believe all history or report: Therefore we must be able to discern between the credible, and the incredible; neither receiving all, nor rejecting all; but making choice, as there is cause.

§. 15. History is more or less credible, as it hath more or less evidence of truth: 1. Some that is credible hath only evidence of probability; and such is that of meer Humane Faith: 2. Some hath evidence of certainty, from Natural causes concurring; where the conclusion is both of knowledge, and of Humane Faith. 3. And some hath evidence of certainty from supernatural attestation, which is both of Humane Faith, and of Divine.

Quod si falsa historia illa rerum est, unde tam brevi tempore totus mundus ista religione completus est; aut in unam coire qui potuerunt mentem, gentes regionibus disjunctas; Ventis, celo, convexionibusq; dimotiz: Imò, quia hæc omnia & ab ipso cernebantur geri, & ab ejus præconibus qui

§. 16. That history or report which hath no more evidence than the meer wisdom and honesty of the author or reporter (supposing him an imperfect man) is but probable, and the Conclusion though credible, is not infallible, and can have no certainty, but that which some call Moral; and that in several degrees, as the wisdom and honesty of the reporter is either more or less.

§. 17. II. Where there is an evident impossibility that all the witnesses or reporters should lie, or be deceived, there the Conclusion is credible, by humane Faith, and also sure, by a natural certainty.

per orbem totum missi — veritatis ipsius vi victæ, & dederunt se Deo, nec in magnis potuere dispendiis, membra vobis projicere, & viscera sua lanianda præbere. *Agob. 1.17.9.*

§. 18. Where

§. 18. Where these things concur, it is impossible that that report or history should be false: 1. When it is certain, that the reporters were not themselves deceived: 2. When it is certain that indeed the report is theirs. 3. When they took their salvation to lie upon the truth of the thing reported, and of their own report. 4. When they expected Worldly ruin by their testimony, and could look for no commodity by it, which would make them any reparation. 5. When they give full proof of their honesty and conscience. 6. When their testimony is concordant, and they speak the same things, though they had no opportunity to conspire to deceive men; yea, when their numbers, distance and quality make this impossible. 7. When they bear their testimony in the time and place, where it might well be contradicted, and the falsity detected, if it were not true; and among the most malicious enemies; and yet those enemies, either confess the matter of fact, or give no regardable reason against it. 8. When the reporters are men of various tempers, countreys, and civil interests. 9. When the reporters fall out, or greatly differ among themselves, even to separations, and condemnations of one another, and yet none ever detecteth or confesseth any falshood in the said reports. 10. When the reporters being numerous, and such as profess that Lying is a damnable sin, and such as laid down their liberties, or lives in asserting their testimonies, did yet never any of them in life or death, repent and confess any falshood or deceit. 11. When their report convinceth thousands, in that place and time, who would have more abhorred them if it had been untrue.

Nay, where some of these concur, the conclusion may be of certainty: some of these instances resolve the point into natural necessity. 1. It is of natural necessity that men love themselves, and their own felicity, and be unwilling of their undoing and misery. The Will though free, is *quodam natura*; and hath its natural necessary inclination to that good, which is apprehended as its own felicity, or else to have *omni modam rationem boni*; and its natural necessary inclination against that evil, (or averfation from it) which is apprehended as its own undoing or misery, or to have *omni modam rationem mali*: Its liberty is only *servato ordine finis*: And some acts that are free are nevertheless of infallible cer-

tain faturition, and of some kinde of necessity; like the Love and Obedience of the Saints in Heaven. 2. Nothing can be without a *cause* sufficient to produce it: But some things here instanced can have no cause sufficient to produce them, if the thing testified were false: As the consent of enemies; their not gainsaying; the concurrence of so many, and so distant, and of such bitter Opposites, against their own common worldly interest, and to the confessed ruine of their souls; and the belief of many thousands that could have disproved it if false; and more which I shall open by and by. There is a natural certainty that *Alexander* was the King of *Macedonia*, and *Cesar* Emperour of *Rome*, and that there is such a place as *Rome* and *Paris*, and *Venice* and *Constantinople*: And that we have had Civil Warrs between the King and Parliament, in *England*, and between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*; and that many thousands were murdered by the *French* Massacre, and many more by the *Irish*, and that the Statutes of this Land were made by the Kings and Parliaments whose names they bear, &c. Because that 1. There is no cause in Nature which could produce the concurrence of so many testimonies; of men so distant and contrary, if it were not true. 2. And on the contrary side, there are natural causes which would infallibly produce a credible contradiction to these reports if they were false.

§. 19. III. *When they that testifie such matters of fact, do affirm that they do it by Gods own command, and prove this by multitudes of evident uncontrolled Miracles, their report is both humane and divine, and to be believed as most certain by divine belief.*

This is before proved, in the proof of the validity of the testimony of Miracles, and such Miracles as these.

§. 20. *The Testimonies of the Apostles and other Disciples of Christ, concerning his Resurrection and Miracles, were credible by all these three several sorts of credibility: 1. They were credible (and most credible) by a humane belief, as they were the testimony of honest (and extraordinarily honest) men. 2. They were credible, as reported with consciousness of natural certainty. 3. They were credible, as attested by God, by Miracles, and therefore certain, by a certainty of Divine belief.*

§. 21. 1. They that observe in the Writings of the said Disciples, the footsteps of eminent piety, sincerity, simplicity, self-denial, contempt of the World, expectation of a better World, a desire to please and glorifie God, though by their own reproach and sufferings, mortification, love to souls, forgiving enemies, condemning lyars, with high spirituality and heavenly-mindedness, &c. Must needs confess them to be most eminently credible by a humane Faith: (They being also acquainted with the thing reported).

§. 22. II. 1. That the Apostles were not themselves deceived I have proved before. 2. That the Report was theirs, the Churches that saw and heard them knew by sense (And how we know it, I am to shew anon). 3. That they took their own salvation to lie upon the belief of the Gospel which they preached, is very evident, both in the whole drift and manner of their Writings, and in their labours, sufferings and death: And that they took a Lie to be a damning sin.

He that doth but impartially read the Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, will easily believe that they believed what they preach'd themselves, and lookt for salvation by Jesus Christ: Much more if he further consider of their forsaking all, and labouring and dying in and for these expectations: And Nature taught them as well as Christ, to know that a Lie was a damning sin: They teach us themselves, that Lyars are without, as Dogs, and not admitted into the Kingdom of God: And that God needeth not our Lie to his Glory; nor must we do evil that good may come by it: Therefore they could never think that it would help them to Heaven, to spend their labours, and lay down their lives, in promoting a known lie, to deceive the World.

Rev. 21. 22.

§. 22. 4. That they expected temporal ruine by their Religion, without any worldly satisfaction, is manifest both in Christ's prediction, telling them that it would be so, and in the tenour of his Covenant, calling them to forsake life and all, if they will be his Disciples, and in the history of their own lives and labours, in which they met with no other usage than was thus foretold them.

Ambigua, si quando
citabere testis
Incertaq; rei, Pha-
laria licet imperet ut
sis
Falsus, & admore
didit perjuris tauro;
Summum crede nefas
vitam præferre pu-
dori,
Et propter vitam vi-
vendi perdere causas.

Many of them had not much wealth to lose; but every man naturally loveth his ease, and peace, and life. And some of them, though not many, had Worldly riches, (as Zacchæus,

Joseph

Joseph of Arimathea, &c.) and commonly they had possessions, which they sold, and laid down the price at the Apostles feet. And the Apostles had ways of comfortable living in the world: instead of all this they underwent reproach, imprisonments, scourgings, and death. Commodity or preferment they could not expect by it.

Object. But to men that had been but low in the world, the very applause of the people would seem a sufficient satisfaction for their sufferings; To be Teachers, and have many followers, is a thing that some people would venture liberty and life for.

Ans. Lay all these following things together, and you may be certain that this was not the case. 1. Even women, and many that were not teachers, were of the same belief. 2. The Teachers did all of them set up their Lord, and not themselves, but despised and denied themselves for his honour and service. 3. Their way of teaching was in travel and labour, where they must deny all fleshly ease and pleasure, and so must have nothing but bare applause, if that had been it which they sought after. 4. They suffered so much reproach and shame from the unbelievers, who were the rich and ruling party, as would have much over-balanced their applause among believers. They were persecuted, imprisoned, scourged, scorned, and made as the off-scouring of the world. 5. They were so many, that no single person was like to be carried so far with that ambition, when his honour was held in equality with so many. 6. One of the great vices which they preach'd and wrote against was pride, and self-seeking, and over-valuing men, and following sect-masters, and crying up Paul, Apollo, or Cephas, &c. And those that thus sought to set up themselves, and draw away Disciples after them, were the men whom they especially condemned. 7. If they had done, as this objection supposeth, they must have all the way gone on against their certain knowledge

1 Cor. 1. & 2. & 3.
Act. 20.

Sed non creditis gesta hęc. Sed qui ea conspiciati sunt fieri, & sub oculis suis viderunt agi, testes optimi certissimique auctores, & crediderunt hęc ipsi & credenda posteris nobis haud exilibus cum approbationibus tradiderunt. Quinam isti sunt, fortasse quæritis: Gentes, populi, nationes, & incredulum illud genus humanum; quod nisi aperta res esset, & hęc ipsa clarior, nunquam rebus hujusmodi credulitatis suæ commodarent assensum? At non quid dicemus illius temporis homines usque adeo fuisse vanos, mendaces, stolidos, brutos, ut quæ nunquam viderant, vidisse se fingerent? & quæ facta non erant falsis proderent testimoniis, ut periculi assertionem firmarent? Cumque possent vobiscum & unanimiter vivere, & inoffensas ducere conjunctiones, gratia suscipere odia, & exetabili haberentur nomine. *Arnob. l. 1.*

and conscience, in teaching lies in matter of fact. And though some men would go far in seeking followers and applause, when they believe the doctrine which they preach themselves, yet hardly in preaching that which they know to be false: the stirrings of conscience would torment some of them, among so many, and at last break out into open confession and detection of the fraud. 8. And if they had gone thus violently against their consciences, they must needs know that it was their *Souls*, as well as their lives and liberties which they forfeited. 9. And the piety and humility of their writings sheweth, that applause was not their end and prize: if they had sought this, they would have fitted their endeavours to it; whereas it is the sanctifying and saving of souls, through faith in Jesus Christ, which they bent their labours towards. 10. So many men could never have agreed among themselves in such a scatter'd case, to carry on the juggle and deceit, without detection. Now tell us, if you can, where ever so many persons in the world, so notably humble, pious and self-denying, did preach against pride, man-pleasing and lying, as damnable sins, and debase themselves, and suffer so much reproach and persecution, and go through such labour and travel, and lay down their lives, and confessedly hazard their souls for ever, and all this to get followers, that should believe in another man, by perswading men that *he wrought miracles, and rose from the dead*, when they knew themselves that all were lies which they thus laboriously divulged? If you give an instance in the Disciples of *Mahomet*, the case was nothing so: no such miracles attested! no such witnesses to proclaim it! no such consequents of such a testimony! none of all this was so: but only a Deceiver maketh a few barbarous people believe that he had Revelations, and was a Prophet, and being a Souldier, and prospering in War, he setteth up and keepeth up a Kingdom by the Sword, his Preachers being such as being thus deluded, did themselves believe the things which they spake, and found it the way to worldly greatness.

§. 24. 5. *That the witnesses of Christ were men of honesty and conscience, is before proved.* 6. *That it was not possible for so many persons, to conspire so successfully to deceive the world, is*

Of the subservient Proofs and Means,

manifest from 1. *their persons*; 2. *their calling*; 3. *their doctrine*; 4. *and their manner of ministration and labours*.

1. For their *Persons*, they were, 1. Many; 2. Not men of such worldly craft and subtilty, as to be apt for such designs: 3. Of variety of tempers and interests; men and women. 2. For their *Callings*, the Apostles knew the matter of fact indeed by common sense; but their sufficiency and gifts by which they carried on their ministry, were suddenly given them by the holy Ghost, when Christ himself was ascended from them. And *Paul*, that had conferred with none of them, yet preached the same Gospel, being converted by a voice from heaven in the heat of his persecution. 3. Their doctrine containeth so many and mysterious particulars, that they could never have concorded in it all, in their way. 4. And their labours did so disperse them about the world, that many new emergent cases must needs have cast them into several minds or ways, if they had not agreed by the unity of that Spirit, which was the common Teacher of them all.

§. 25. 7. *That the Disciples of Christ divulged his Miracles and Resurrection, in the same Place and Age, where the truth or falshood might soon have been search'd out, and yet that the bitterest enemies either denied not, or confuted not their report, is apparent, partly by their confessions, and partly by the non-existence of any such confutations.*

That the Disciples in that Age and Country did divulge these Miracles, is denied by none: for it was their *employment*, and by it they gathered the several Churches: and their writings not long after written declare it to this day. That the enemies *confuted* not their report appeareth, 1. not only in the Gospel-history, which sheweth that they denied not many of his Miracles, but imputed them to conjuration and the power of Satan; but also by the disputes and writings of the *Jews*, in all Ages since, which do go the same way. 2. And if the enemies had been able to confute these Miracles, no doubt but they would have done it; having so much advantage, wit and malice.

Object. Perhaps they did, and their writings never come to our knowledge.

Answer. The unbelieving *Jews* were as careful to preserve their writings as any other men: and they had better advantage

vantage to do it than the Christians had: and therefore if there had been any such writings, yea, or verbal confutations, the *Jews* of this age had been as like to have received them, as all the other ancient writings which they yet receive. *Josephus* his testimony of Christ is commonly known; and though some think it so full and plain, that it is like to be inserted by some Christian; yet they give no proof of their opinion; and the credit of all copies justifieth the contrary; except only that these words are like to have been thrust in, [*This is Christ*] which some Annotator putting into the Margin, might after be put into the Text. And that the *Jews* wanted not will or industry to confute the Christians, appeareth by what *Justin Martyr* saith to *Tryphon* of their malice, [*That they sent out into all parts of the world their choicest men to perswade the people against the Christians, that they are Atheists, and would abolish the Deity, and that they were convicted of gross impiety.*]

§. 26. 8. *The great diversity of believers and reporters of the Gospel Miracles, doth the more fully evince, that there was no conspiracy for deceit.*

There were learned and unlearned *Jews* and *Gentils*, rich and poor, men and women, some that followed Christ, and some (as *Paul*) that perhaps never saw him: and for all these to be at once inspired by the holy Ghost, and thenceforth unanimously to accord and concur in the same doctrine and work, doth shew a supernatural cause.

§. 27. 9. *There were dissensions upon many accidents, and some of them to the utmost distance, which would certainly have detected the fallacy, if there had been any such, in the matters of fact, so easily detected.*

1. In Christ's own family there was a *Judas*, who betrayed him for money: This *Judas* was one that had followed Christ, and seen his Miracles, and had been sent out to preach, and wrought miracles himself. If there had been any collusion in all this, what likelier man was there in the world to have detected it? yea, and his conscience would never have accused, but justified him, he need not to have gone and hanged or precipitated himself, and said, I have sinned in betraying the innocent blood? The Pharisees who hired him to betray his Master, might, by money and authority,

SS 2

have

Prophetizare & virtutes facere & demonia ejicere interdum non est meriti illius qui operatur; sed invocatio Christi hec agit, vel ob utilitatem eorum qui vident & audiunt, vel, &c. Hieron. in Math. 7.

Operum Dei causa si lateat hominem, non se obliviscatur esse hominem, nec propterea Deo det insipientiam, quia non bene capit ejus sapientiam. Aug. de spir. & lit.

Rationem de occulto Dei consilio quærere, nil aliud est quam contra ejus consilium superbire. Gregor. Hom.

have easily procured him, to have wrote against him, and detected his fraud, if he had been fraudulent: it would have tended to *Judas* his justification and advancement. But God is the great defender of truth.

2. And there were many baptized persons, who were long in good repute and communion with the Christians, who fell off from them to several Sects and Heresies; not denying the dignity and truth of Christ, but superinducing into his doctrine many corrupting fancies of their own; such as the *Judaizers*, the *Simonians*, the *Nicolaitans*, the *Ebionites*, the *Cerinthians*, the *Gnosticks*, the *Valentinians*, *Basilidians*, and many more: And many of these were in the days of the Apostles, and greatly troubled the Churches, and hindered the Gospel; insomuch as the Apostles rise up against them with more indignation, than against the Infidels; calling them dogs, wolves, evil workers, deceivers, bruit beasts, made to be taken and destroyed, &c. They write largely against them; they charge the Churches to avoid them, and turn away from them, and after a first and second admonition to reject them as men that are self-condemned, &c. And who knoweth not that among so many men thus excommunicated, vilified, and thereby irritated, some of them would certainly have detected the deceit, if they had known any deceit to have been in the reports of the afore-said Miracles. Passion would not have been restrained among so many and such, when they were thus provoked.

3. And some in those times, as well as in all following ages, have forsaken the faith, and apostatized to open infidelity: and certainly *their judgment*, *their interest*, and *their malice*, would have caused them to detect the fraud, if they had known any in the matters of fact of these Miracles. For it is not possible that all these causes should not bring forth this effect, where there was no valuable impediment. If you again say, *It may be they did detect such frauds by words or writings, which come not to our knowledge*; I answer again, 1. The Jews then, that have in all ages disputed and written against Christianity, would certainly have made use of some such testimony, instead of charging all upon Magick, and the power of the devil. 2. And it is to me a full evidence, that there were no such deniers of the Miracles of Christ, when

2 Pet. 2. Jude.

Tir. 3. 10.

Nulla major est comprobatio quam gestarum ab eo fides rerum; quam virtutum novitas, quam omnia victa decreta, dissolutaque fatalia, quæ populi gentesque suo generis sub limine nullo dissentiente videre: quæ nec ipsi audent falsitatis arguere, quorum antiquas seu patrias leges vanitatis esse plenissimas atque inmissimæ superstitionis ostendit. *Arab. adv. Gent. l. 1.*

when I find that the Apostles never wrote against any such, nor contended with them, nor were ever put to answer any of their writings or objections: When all men will confess that their writings must needs be written according to the state and occasion of those times in which they wrote them: and if then there had been any books or reasonings divulged against Christ's miracles, they would either have wrote purposely against them, or let fall some confutations of them, in their Epistles to the Churches: but there are no such things at all.

§. 28. 10. Seeing it is so heinous a crime to divulge lies in multitudes of matters of fact, to deceive the world into a blasphemy, it is scarce possible, that the consciences of so many persons, of so much piety as their writings prove, should never be touched with remorse for so great a villany, either in life, or at the hour of death, and force some one of them to detect all the fraud, if they had been guilty of it.

There is a natural conscience in the worst of men, (much more in the best) which will at some time do its office, and will constrain men to confess, especially their heinous crimes, and especially at the time of death, when they see that their lies will serve their worldly interest no more: and especially if they be men that indeed believe another life. Now consider if the Apostles and Disciples had been deceivers, how heinous a crime they had committed: 1. To affirm a man to be God incarnate, and to be the Saviour of the world, on whom all men must trust their souls, &c. if he had been but a deceiver. 2. To make such abundance of lies in open matters of fact. 3. To frame hereupon a new Law to the world. 4. To overthrow the Law of Moses, which was there in force. 5. To abuse the intellects of so many thousand persons with such untruths, and to call the world to such a needless work as the Christian Religion would be, if all this were false! to put the world upon such tasks, as forsaking

Occursurus forsitan est cum aliis multis calumniosis & puerilibus vocibus. Magus fuit, clandestinis artibus omnia illa perfecit, Aegyptiorum ex adytis angelorum potentium nomina, & remoras furatus est disciplinae. Quid dicitis O parvuli?

incomperta vobis & nescia temerariae vocis loquacitate garrientes? Ergone illa quae gesta sunt, daemonum suere praestigiae, & magicarum artium lud? Potestis aliquem nobis designare, monstrare, ex omnibus illis Magis, qui unquam fuere per secula, consimile aliquod Christo millesima ex parte qui fecerit? Qui sine ulla vi carminum, &c. *Arnob. ubi sup. l. 1.*

all for Christ. 6. To draw so many to lose their lives in martyrdom to attest a lie. 7. To lose their own time, and spend all their lives and labour upon so bad a work: All these set together, would prove them far worse than any thieves, or murderers, or traitors, if they knew it to be a lie which they preached and attested: There are now no men known on earth, even in this age of villanies, guilty of such a heinous crime as this. And let any man that readeth the Apostles writings, or considereth of their lives and deaths, consider whether it be not next to an impossibility, that so many, and such persons, should go on in such a way, upon no greater motives of benefit than they expected; nay, through such labours, reproach and sufferings, and not one of them to the death be constrained by conscience to detect the fraud, and undeceive the world.

§. 29. 11. *Lastly, it is not possible, that so many thousands of such persons as they presently converted, should ever have been persuaded to believe their reports of these matters of fact, in a time and place, where it was so easie to disprove them, if they had been false.*

For, 1. The understanding is not free as the will is, but only participative, in quantum à voluntate imperatur: and a man cannot believe what he will, nor deny belief to cogent evidence, though against his will: The Intellects acts, as in themselves, are necessitated, and per modum naturæ. 2. And all these new converts had understandings which were naturally inclined to truth as truth, and averse to falsehood: and they had all self-love: and they all embraced now a doctrine which would expose them to suffering and calamity in the world: And therefore both nature and interest obliged them to be at the labour of enquiring, whether these things were so or not, before they ran themselves into so great misery: And the three thousand which Peter converted at his first Sermon, must also take the shame of being murderers of their Saviour, and for this they were pricked at the heart: And Paul must be branded for a confessed persecutor, and guilty of the blood of Stephen? And would so many men run themselves into all this for nothing, to save the labour of an easie enquiry, after some matters of publick fact? How easily might they go and be satisfied, whether
Christ

Christ fed so many thousand twice miraculously, and whether he healed such as he was said to heal, who were then living? and whether he raised *Lazarus*, and others, from death, who were then living? and whether the earth trembled, and the vail of the Temple rent, and the Sun was darkened at his death? And whether the witnesses of his Resurrection were sufficient? And if none of this had been true, it would have turned them all from the belief of the Apostles, to deride them.

Object. Is not the unbelief of the most, a greater reason against the Gospel, than the belief of the smaller number is for it.

Answer. No: 1. Because it is a *negative* which they were for: and many witnesses to a *negative*, is not so good as a few to an *affirmative*. 2. Most of them were kept from the very *bearing* of the Apostles, which should inform them and excite them. 3. Most men every where follow their Rulers, and look to their worldly interest, and never much *mind* or discuss such matters, as tend to their salvation, especially by the way of suffering and disgrace. 4. We believe not that the unbelieving party did deny Christ's miracles, but fathered them upon the devil; therefore even their testimony is for Christ: only they hired the Souldiers to say, that Christ was stoln out of the Sepulchre while they slept, of which they never brought any proof, nor could possibly do it, (if asleep.)

§. 29. III. *I have proved Christ's Miracles to be,* 1. Credible, by the *biggest* humane faith. 2. Certain, by natural evidence, there being a natural impossibility that the testimonies should be false. 3. *I am next to prove that they are certain by supernatural evidence, (which is the same with natural evidence, as in the effect, but is called supernatural from the way of causing it.)*

§. 30. *The same works of the SPIRIT, inherent, concomitant and subsequent, werethe infalible proof of the truth of the Disciples testimony of Christ, his Person, Miracles and Doctrine.*

2 Pet. 2. 16.

Eye-witnesses of his Majesty on the Mount.

§. 31. I. *They were persons of holy lives, and holiness is the lively impress or constitution of their doctrine, now visible in their writings.*

What was before said of the Doctrine of Christ himself,

is

is true of theirs: And as the Kings Coyn is known by his Image and Superscription, or rather as an unimitable author is known by his Writings, for matter, method and style, even so is Gods Spirit known in them and in their doctrine.

§. 32. II. Their miraculous gifts and works were so evident and so many and uncontrolled, as amount to an infallible proof, that God is his Witness in the World, and sheweth the most infallible proof of his assertions.

§. 33. I. Their gifts and miracles were many in kinde: as their sudden illumination, when the Spirit fell upon them, and knowing that which they were ignorant of before: Their prophesying and speaking in languages never before learn'd by them; and interpreting such prophecies and languages; their dispossessing Demoniacks, and healing diseases, their deliverances by Angels out of closed Prisons and Fetters; their inflicting Judgements on Opposers and offenders, their raising the dead; and the conveying of the same Spirit to others by the Imposition of the Apostles hands.

1. It is not the least testimony of the veracity of the Apostles, that even while they lived with Jesus Christ, they remained ignorant of much of the mystery of the Gospel, and some (that are since necessary) articles of Faith, as of his Death and Burial, and Resurrection, and Ascension, and much of the spiritual nature of his Kingdom, and Privileges of Believers; and that all this was made known to them upon a sudden, without any teaching, studying or common means, by the coming down of the Holy Ghost upon them: And that Christ had promised them his Spirit before, to lead them into all truth, and bid them wait at Jerusalem till they received it: And it came upon them at the appointed time, on the day of Pentecost: And he promised that this Spirit should be sent on others, and become his Agent or Advocate in the World, to do his work in his bodily absence, and bear witness of him. And he told his Disciples, that this Spirit should be better to them than his bodily presence; and therefore it would be for their good that he should go from them into Heaven: So that Christs teaching them immediately and miraculously by this sudden giving them his Spirit, is an infallible proof both of his truth and theirs.

Act. 1. & 2.
Joh. 14. & 16.

2. This prophesying was partly by foretelling things to come (as *Agabus* did the dearth, and *Paul's* bonds) and partly the exposition of old Prophecies, and partly the spiritual instruction of the People, by sudden inspirations; And those that were enabled to it, were people of themselves unable for such things, and ignorant but a little while before.

3. Their speaking in various languages was a thing which no natural means could produce. *Fernelius* and many other Physicians, who were very loth to believe diabolical possessions, do confess themselves convinced by hearing the possessed speak Greek and Hebrew, which they had never learn'd: How much more convincing is this evidence, when so many speak in so many languages, even in the language of all the Inhabitants of the Countreys round about them; and this upon these sudden inspirations of the Spirit.

4. Their interpreting of such tongues also, which they never learnt, was no less a proof of a supernatural power and attestation.

5. Their deliverances are recorded in the Scriptures: *Peter*, *Act. 12.* and *Paul* and *Silas*, *Act. 16.* had their bonds all loosed, and the Prison-doors opened by an Angel and a Miracle; which must be by a Power that sufficiently attesteth their verity.

6. And they inflicted judgments on Delinquents by no less a power: *Ananias* and *Sapphira* one after another were struck dead upon the word of *Peter*, for their Hypocrisie and lyes: *Elymas* the Sorcerer was struck blinde by *Paul*, in the presence (or knowledge) of the Governour of the Countrey: And the excommunicated were often given up to Satan, to suffer some extraordinary penalty.

7. Their healing Demoniacks, the lame, the blinde, the paralitick, and all manner of diseases with a word, or by Prayer and Imposition of hands in the name of Christ, yea upon the conveyance of Napkins and Cloaths from their bodies, is witnessed in the many Texts which I have before cited out of the *Acts* of the Apostles. And this Christ promised them particularly before-hand: And it was the occasion of that *Unction* of the sick, which some have still continued as a Sacrament.

8. Their raising the dead, is also among the fore-cited passages,

passages; so Peter raised Dorcas or Tabitha, *Act. 9.* and (its like) Paul Eutychus, *Act. 20.*

9. And it is the greatest evidence of all, that the same Spirit was given to so many others, by their Imposition of hands and Prayer; and all these had some of these wonderfull gifts; either propheties, tongues, healing, or some such like.

§. 34. 2. These Miracles were wrought by multitudes of persons, and not only by a few; even by the Apostles, and seventy Disciples, and others on whom they laid their hands; which was by the generality or greater part of the Christians.

If it were but by one or two men that Miracles were wrought, there would be greater room for doubting of the truth: But when it shall be by hundreds and thousands, there can be no difficulty in the proof: That the Apostles and the seventy Disciples wrought them in Christs own time, is declared before: That they wrought them more abundantly after, and that the same Spirit was then commonly given to others, I shall now further prove (besides all the Histories of it before recited.) That upon the Imposition of the Apostles hands, or Baptism, or Prayer, the Holy Ghost was given, is expressed *Act. 2. 38.* to three thousand at once the Holy Ghost was given. *Act. 4. 31.* All the assembly were filled with the Holy Ghost: And with great power gave the Apostles witness of the Resurrection of the Lord Jesus, and great grace was upon them all. *v. 33. Act. 8. 15, 17.* The Samaritans received the Holy Ghost upon the prayer of Peter and John, so that Simon Magus would fain have bought that gift with Money. *Act. 9. 7.* Paul was filled with the Holy Ghost by the imposition of Ananias's hands. *Act. 10. 44, 45, 47.* Upon Peters preaching, the Holy Ghost fell on all the Family, and Kindred, and Friends of Cornelius who heard him preach, and they spake with tongues, and magnified God. *Act. 11. 15.* Even in the same manner as it fell on the Apostles. *Act. 13. 52.* The Disciples were filled with the Holy Ghost. *Act. 19. 6.* Twelve men upon Pauls imposition of hands, received the Holy Ghost, and spake with tongues, and prophesied. The Holy Ghost was given to the Roman Christians, *Rom. 8. 9.* Yea, he telleth them, Many have not the Spirit of Christ, the same

Math. 16. 17.

Math. 10. 1, 2.

Luk. 10. 1, 17, 19.

Act. 2. 1, 2, 3.

Math. 3. 11.

same is none of his, *Rom. 8. 9.* The same was given to the Church of the *Corinthians*, *1 Cor. 6. 19. & 12. 12, 13.* And to the Church of the *Galatians*, *Gal. 3. 1, 2, 3, 5.* And to the Church of the *Ephesians*, *Eph. 1. 13. & 4. 30.* To the *Philippians*, *Phil. 1. 19. 27. & 2. 1.* To the *Colossians*, *Col. 1. 8.* To the *Thessalonians*, *1 Thess. 5. 19. & 1. 6.* And what this Spirit was and did, you may find in *1 Cor. 12. 4, 7, &c.* There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit: But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit with- all: For, to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit, to another faith by the same Spirit, to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit, to another the working of miracles, to another prophe- cy, to another discerning of Spirits, to another divers kinds of tongues, to another the interpretation of tongues: But all these worketh that one and the self same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will — For by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body, whether we be Jewes or Gentiles, bond or free, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit. And in *1 Cor. 14.* the gift of speaking with tongues was so com- mon in the Church of the *Corinthians*, that the Apostle is fain to give them instructions for the moderate use of it, lest they hindered the edification of the Church, by suppressing prophecy or instruction in known tongues: And therefore he perswadeth them to use it but more sparingly.

And James (*5. 14, 15.*) exhorteth Christians when they were sick, to send to the Elders of the Church, that they may pray for them and anoynt them, and they may be forgiven and recover: By which it seems it was no unusual thing in those times to be healed by the Prayers of the Elders. Yea, the very Hypocrites, and ungodly persons, that had only the barren profession of Christianity, had the gift of Miracles, without the grace of Sanctification: And this Christ foretold, *Matth. 7. 22.* Many shall say in that day, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy Name? and in thy Name cast out devils? and done many wonderfull works?

Quid soboles, vir-
tusq; Dei, & sapien-
tia Christus?
Nonne satis vanis cu-
ras erroribus aufert?
Nosq; simul monitis
& factis edocet unum
Cuncta Deum rege-
re, — et cum
Omnipotens verbo
sternit mare, vel pe-
de calcas;
Et verbo morbos abig-
it, vel Dæmonas
urget;

Aut reduces animas in corpora sancta remittit; Jamq; diu exanimæ cumulis juberet ire reclusis;
Integraq; purres vitæ remeant sepultos: Nonne potestatem propriam satis indicat auctor?
Qui solus naturam omnem vitamq; gubernat. *Claudian. Mammeri. Carmen post lib. de Anim.*

Obj. But all were not healed by them: Paul left Trophimus at Miletum sick: Why doth not Paul cure Timothy of his weak stomach and infirmity, without drinking of Wine, if he could do it?

Ans. 1. Certainly, they did not cure all men that were sick: For then who would have dyed? It was none of the intent of the Spirit of Christ, in working Miracles, to make men immortal here on earth; and to keep them from Heaven? 2. And it is easily confess'd, that the Spirit was not at the command or will of them that had it: And therefore they could not do what and when they pleased, but what the Spirit pleased; And his operations were at his own time and disposal. And this proveth the more fully, that it was the testimony of God, and not the contrivance of the wit of man. 3. And miracles and tongues were not for them that believed, but rather for them that believed not: And therefore a Trophimus or a Timothee might be unhealed.

§. 35. 3. These Miracles were oftentimes wrought, even for many years together, in several Countreys and places through the World, where the Apostles and Disciples came: and not only once, or for a little space of time.

Disimulation might be easilier cloaked for a few acts, than it can be for so many years. At least these gifts and miracles continued during the Age of the Apostles, though not performed every day, or so commonly as might make them uneffectual, yet so frequently as to give success to the Gospel, and to keep up a reverence of Christianity in the World. They were wrought not only at Jerusalem, but at Samaria, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, Philippi, and the rest of the Churches through the World.

§. 36. 4. They were also wrought in the presence of multitudes, and not only in a corner, where there was more possibility of deceit.

The Holy Ghost fell on the Apostles and all the Disciples at Jerusalem before all the people; that is, They all heard them speak in several tongues, the wonderfull works of God; even the Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the Inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Judaea, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia, Egypt, Lybia, Cyrene, Rome, Jews and Proselytes, Cretes, and Arabians, Act. 2. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. It

was three thousand that the Holy Ghost fell on, *Act. 2. 38.* Those that went into the Temple, and all the people, saw the lame man, that was cured by Peter and John, *Act. 3.* The death of Ananias and Sapphira was a publick thing, to that fear fell on all, and hypocrites were deterred from joyn- ing with the Church, *Act. 5.* The gifts of tongues, and in- terpretation, were commonly exercised before Congregati- ons or multitudes. And crowds of people flocked to them to be healed; As with Christ they uncovered the roofs of the houses to lay the sick before him; so with the Apostles they strove who might come within their shadow, or touch the hem of their garment, or have Cloaths or Napkins from them, that they might be healed. So that here was an age of publick Miracles.

§. 37. 5. All these miracles were uncontrolled; that is; They were not wrought in opposition to any controlling Truth, which bath certain evidence contradicting this; nor yet were they overtopt by any greater miracles for the contrary.

A miracle (if God should permit it to be wrought in such a case) might be said to be controlled, either of these two wayes: 1. If a man should work Miracles to contradict the certain light of Nature, or perswade men to that which is certainly false: 2. If men should do wonders as *Jannes and Jannes* the Egyptian Sorcerers, which should be overtopt by greater wonders, as those of *Moses*, and as *Simon Magus*, and *Elymas* by Peter and Paul; In these cases God could not be said to deceive men, by his power or permission, when he giveth them a sufficient preservative. But these Miracles had no such controll, but prevailed without any check from contradictory Truths or Miracles. Thus Christ performed his Promise, *Job. 14. 12. Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me, the works that I do, shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do, because I goe unto the Father.*

§. 38. III. The third testimony of the Spirit to the truth of the Apostles witness, was the marvellous success of their doctrine to the sanctifying of souls; which as it could not be done without the power and Spirit of God, so neither would the righteous and mercifull Governour of the World; have made a company of profligate lyars and deceivers his instruments of doing this ex- cellent work by cheats and falsehoods.

This I spake of before, as it is the Seal of *Christ's* own doctrine: I now speak of it only as it is the Seal of the *Apostles* verity in their testimony of the Resurrection and Miracles of Christ. Peter converted three thousand at once: Many thousands and myriads up and down the world were speedily converted. And what was this Conversion. They were brought unfeignedly to love God above all, and their neighbours as themselves. *Act. 2. 42, 46. They continued stedfastly in the Apostles doctrine, and fellowship, and breaking of bread and prayer: And all that believed were together and had all things common, (not by levelling, but by love) and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need, and did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favour with all the People.*

Act. 4. 32. The multitude of Believers were of one heart, and of one soul, neither said any of them that ought of the things that he possessed was his own, but they had all things common.

All that are in Christ, have his Spirit, and are spiritually minded, and walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit, *Rom. 8. They that are Christs, have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts: The world is crucified to them, and they to the world, Gal. 5. 24. & 6. 14. They are chosen to be holy and unblameable in love, Eph. 1. 4. They walk as renewed in the spirit of their mindes, with all lowliness and meekness, and long-suffering, forbearing one another, endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace: Eph. 4. 23. 2. 3. As being created unto good works in Christ: Eph. 2. 10. Without corrupt communication, bitterness, wrath, clamor, evil-speaking, fornication, uncleanness, covetousness, filthiness, foolish talking and jesting, Eph. 4. 29. & 5. 3. 4. Denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, living soberly, righteously and godly in this present world, as redeemed from all iniquity, and purified as a peculiar people to Christ, zealous of good works: Tit. 2. 12, 14. Having their conversation in Heaven, from whence they expect their Redeemer to translate them into Glory, Phil. 3. 20, 21. These were the fruits of the Ministry of the Apostles.*

And God was pleased to bless their labours more than any others

by which the forementioned Evidences are known.

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others since, and make better, holier, heavenly Christians, by the means of their endeavours; that so he might give, a fuller proof of the truth of their testimony of Christ.

§. 39. *It is the great advantage of our Faith, that these second attestations to the Disciples testimony of the Miracles of Christ, are much more open, evident, and convincing, to us at this distance, than the Miracles of Christ himself; that so there might be no place for rational doubting.*

The sorts of their miracles were as numerous as his: They were wrought by hundreds and thousands, and not by Christ alone. They were wrought for an age, and not for three years and a half alone: They were wrought in a great part of the World, and not in Judea and Galilee alone: They were done in the face of abundance of Congregations, and not before the Jews only: And they succeeded to the conversion and sanctification of many thousands more than did the preaching of Christ himself. So that if any thing that is said before, of the confirmation of Christs own miracles, had wanted evidence, it is abundantly made up in the evidence of their miracles who were the reporters and witnesses of his.

§. 40. *I have hitherto been shewing you, how the miracles of Christ were proved, attested, and made certainly known to the first Churches planted by the Apostles themselves, viz. by the testimony of the Spirit, 1. In their doctrine and lives, 2. In their miracles, and 3. In their success, in the sanctification of mens souls: I am next to shew you how these matters of fact, or actions of the Apostles, are certainly proved, or brought down to us.*

§. 41. *And this is by the same three ways of proof as the Apostles proved to the first Churches, their testimony: (though with much difference in the point of miracles) viz. I. We have it by the most credible humane testimony: II. By such testimony as hath a natural certainty: III. And by some of that testimony of God, which is also a supernatural evidence: Of all which I must speak in order (supposing what is said before.)*

§. 42. *I. The only natural way of transmitting those things down to us, is by Historical Conveyance: And the authors of this History, are, both the Churches of Christ, and their enemies: The credibility of which Testimonies will be fully opened,*

opened, under the second degree of proofs; which comprehendeth this.

§. 43. II. That there is a natural Impossibility that our History of the Apostles gifts and miracles should be false, will appear by reviewing all the particulars by which the same was proved of the Apostles testimony of the miracles of Christ; And in many respects, with much more advantage.

§. 44. (1.) It is naturally impossible that all Reporters could be themselves deceived: For 1. They were many thousands, in several Countreys through the World: And therefore could not be all either mad or senseless: 2. They were men that took their salvation to be most nearly concerned in the thing, and were to forsake the pleasures of the World, and suffer from men for their Religion: and therefore could not be utterly careless in examining the thing: 3. They were present upon the place, and eye-witnesses, and ear-witnesses of all. 4. The Languages were said to be spoken, in their assemblies, and the miracles done among them, for many years, even an age together: And it is impossible all Countreys could be cheated by juggling, in matters which their eyes and ears were such competent witnesses of, for so many years together. 5. They were said to be the objects of many of these miracles themselves; viz. That the cures were wrought on many of them; that the same Spirit was given to them all. 6. And they were said to be the Agents themselves in the several works of that Spirit, according to their several gifts. So that their common deceit must be impossible.

If any man should now among us, take on him to speak with divers Languages, or tell the Churches that divers Languages are spoke among them in their hearing, by unlearned men; and that Prophecysings, Interpretations, miraculous cures, &c. are wrought among them, and name the persons, time and place; and should tell them that they had all some sort or other of the same gifts themselves; were it possible for the people to believe all this, if it were a Lie? Would they not say, when did we ever hear your Languages? or when did we ever see your Cures and other Miracles? when did we see an *Ananias* and *Saphira* die? When did we do any such works our selves? Do we not know what we doe? Men could not believe such palpable untruths

in matter of publick fact, so near them, among them, upon them, and much less could so many thousands believe this, in so many Nations, if it were false: Because the understanding is not free in it self; but *per modum nature* is necessitated by cogent evidence. Absurd *doctrines* may easily deceive many thousands; and so may false History do by men at a sufficient distance: But he that thinks the ears and eyes and other senses of so many thousand sound persons, were all deceived thus in *presence*, will sure never trust his own ears or eyes or sense in any thing; nor expect that any man else should ever believe him, who so little believeth his own sense and understanding.

§. 45. (2.) That the reporters were not purposely the Deceivers of the World by wilfull falsehood, is also certain by these following evidences.

§. 46. It was not possible that so many thousands in all Countreys, should have wit and cunning enough for such a contrivance, and could keep it secret among themselves, that it should never be detected.

They that think they were all so stupid as to be themselves deceived, cannot also think that they were all so cunning as to conspire the deceiving of all the World, so successfully and undiscovered. But it is past doubt, that for their Naturals, they were ordinary persons, neither such mad people as all to think they saw, and heard, and did things which were nothing so, for so long together; nor yet so subtle as to be able to lay such a deceiving plot, and carry it on so closely to the end. And they that suspect the Apostles and first Disciples to be the Authors of the plot, will not suspect all the Churches too: For if there were Deceivers, there must be some to be deceived by them: If Christ deceived the Disciples, then the Disciples could not be wilfull deceivers themselves: For if they were themselves deceived, they could not (therein) be wilfull deceivers: And then how came they to confirm their testimony by Miracles? If the Apostles only were deceivers, then all the Disciples and Evangelists who assisted them must be deceived, and not wilfull deceivers. And then how came they also to do miracles? If all the Apostles and Disciples of the first Edition were wilfull Deceivers, then all the Churches through the World which were gathered

thered by them, were deceived by them, and then they were not wilful deceivers themselves: which is all that I am now proving, having proved before that they were not deceived.

§. 47. 2. If they had been cunning enough, it is most improbable that so many thousands in so many Nations, should be so bad, as to desire and endeavour at such a rate as their own temporal and eternal ruine, to deceive all the world into a blasphemy without any benefit to themselves, which might be rationally sufficient to seem a tempting compensation to them.

Nemo jam infamiam incutiat; nemo aliud existimet: quia nec fas est ulli de sua religione mentiri. Tertul. Apo'. c. 20.

§. 48. For all these Churches which witnessed the Apostles Miracles, 1. Did profess to believe lying and deceiving to be a heinous sin. 2. And to believe an everlasting punishment for liars. 3. They were taught by their Religion to expect calamity in this world. 4. They had experience enough to confirm them in that expectation: Therefore they had no motive which could be sufficient to make them guilty of so costly a deceit.

For, 1. Operari sequitur esse. A man will do ill, but according to the measure that he is ill; and as bad as humane nature is, it is not yet so much depraved, as that thousands through the world could agree, without any commodity to move them to it, to ruine their own estates, and lives, and souls for ever, merely to make the world believe that other men did miracles, and to draw them to believe a known untruth. And, 2. as free as the will is, it is yet a thing that hath its nature and inclination, and cannot act without a cause and object; which must be some apparent good: Therefore when there is no good-appearing, but wickedness and misery, it cannot will it. So that this seemeth inconsistent with humane nature.

Quid adeo simile Philosophus & Christianus? Græci discipulus & cœli? famæ negotiator & vix verborum & factorum operator. Tertul. Apol. c. 46.

§. 49. And the certain history of their lives doth shew, that they were persons extraordinary good and conscionable: being holy, heavenly and contemners of this world, and ready to suffer for their Religion: and therefore could not be so extremely bad, as to ruine themselves only to do mischief to the world and their posterity.

§. 50. And their enemies bare them witness, that they did and suffered all this in the hopes of a reward in heaven: which proveth that they were not wilful liars and deceivers: for no man can look for a reward in heaven, for the greatest known-villany on earth, even for suffering, to cheat all the world into a blasphemy. Even

by which the fore-mentioned Evidences are known.

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Even Lucian scoffeth at the Christians for running into sufferings, and hoping to be rewarded for it with a life everlasting.

§. 51. 3. *If they had been never so cunning and so bad, yet was it impossible that they should be able for the successful execution of such a deceit, as will appear by all these following evidences.*

§. 52. 1. *It was impossible that so many thousands, at such a distance, who never saw each others faces, could lay the plot, in a way of concord; but one would have been of one mind, and another of another.*

§. 53. 2. *It is impossible that they should agree in carrying it on, and keeping it secret through all the world, if they had accorded in the first contrivance and attempts.*

§. 54. 3. *It is impossible that all the thousands of adversaries among them, who were eye-witnesses and ear-witnesses as well as they, should not discover the deceit.*

All those Partians, Medes, Elamites, and other Countrymen, mentioned *Act. 2.* were not Christians: and the Christians, though many, were but a small part of the Cities and Countries where they dwelt. And *Paul* saith, that Tongues and Miracles were for the sake of unbelievers; and unbelievers were ordinarily admitted into the Christian assemblies: and the Christians went among them to preach; and most of the miracles were wrought in their sight and hearing.

§. 55. 4. *It is impossible that the falling out of Christians among themselves, among so many thousands in several Nations, should never have detected the deceit, if they had been all such deceivers.*

§. 56. 5. *It is impossible but some of the multitudes of the perverted, exasperated, separating, or excommunicate Hereticks, (which were then in most Countries where there were Christians, and opposed the Orthodox, and were opposed by them) should have detected this deceit, if it had been such.*

§. 57. 6. *It is impossible but some of the Apostates of those times, who are supposed to have joyned in the deceit, would have detected it to the world, when they fell off from Christianity.*

§. 58. 7. *It is scarce possible among so many thousands in several Lands, that none of their own consciences living or dying,*
Uu 2 *should*

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should be constrained in remorse and terror, to detect so great an evil to the world.

§. 59. 8. Much more impossible is it, that under the conscience of such a villany, they should live, and suffer, and die rejoicingly, and think it a happy exchange to forsake life and all, for the hopes of a reward in heaven for this very thing.

§. 60. 9. Lastly, it is impossible, that these thousands of Christians should be able to deceive many more than themselves, into the belief of the same untruths, in the very time and place, where the things were said to be done; and where the detection of the deceit had been easie, yea, unavoidable.

Christianity was then upon the increase: they that were converted, did convert more than themselves. Suppose in Jerusalem, Ephesus, Corinth, Rome, &c. some thousands believed by the preaching of the Apostles, in a few years at the first: in a few years more, there were as many more added. Now supposing all this had been but a cheat, if the Christians had told their neighbours, [Among us, unlearned men speak in the Languages of all Countries; they cast out devils; they cure all diseases with prayer and anointing; they prophesie, and interpret Tongues; they do many other miracles; and the same Spirit is given to others by their imposition of hands; and all this in the Name and by the Power of Jesus:] would not their neighbours easily know whether this were true or not? And if it were false, would they not hate such deceivers, and make them a common scorn, instead of being converted by them?

§. 61. The foresaid impossibilities are herein founded: 1. There is no effect without a sufficient cause. 2. A necessary cause, not sufficiently hindered, will bring forth its answerable effect. But the opposed supposition maketh effects without any sufficient cause, and necessary causes without their adequate effects.

§. 62. The providence of God permitted dissensions and brawls to arise among Christians, and rivals and false Teachers to raise hard reports of the Apostles, and the people to be somewhat alienated from them, that the Apostles might by challenges appeal to miracles; and future ages might be convinced, that the matter of fact could not be contradicted.

The Romans had contentions among themselves, the strong and the weak contemning or condemning one another, about
meats

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meats and days, *Rom. 12. and 15.* The *Corinthians* were divided into factions, and exasperated against *Paul* by false Apostles; so that he is fain at large to vindicate his Ministry: and he doth it partly by appealing both to miracles and works of power wrought among them, and by the Spirit given to themselves, *2 Cor. 12. 12. and 13. 3, 4, 5. and 1 Cor. 12. 7, 12, 13.* The *Galatians* were more alienated from *Paul* by Jewish Teachers, and seemed to take him as an enemy, for telling them the truth, and he feared that he had bestowed on them labour in vain; and in this case he vehemently rebuketh them, and appealeth first to miracles wrought among them, and before their eyes, and next to the Spirit given to themselves: *Gal. 3. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.* O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you that you should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth crucified among you? This only would I learn of you, Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith? He therefore that ministereth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith? Now if no such miracles were wrought among them, and if no such Spirit was received by themselves, would this argument have silenced adversaries, and reconciled the minds of the *Galatians*? or rather have made them deride the cause that must have such a defence, and say, [Who be they that work miracles among us? and when did we receive such a Spirit?] So to the *Romans*, this is *Paul's* testimonial, *Rom. 15. 18, 19.* For I will not dare to speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by me, to make the Gentiles obedient by word and deed: Through mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God, &c. And to the *Corinthians* he saith, *1 Cor. 14. 18.* I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than you all. So *Gal. 2. 8.* *1 Cor. 14. 22.* Tongues are for a sign to them that believe not. So *Acts. 2. 43. and 4. 30. and 5. 12. and 7. 36. and 8. 13. and 14. 3. and 6. 8. and 8. 6, 13. and 15. 12. and 19. 11.* *1 Cor. 12. 10.* Miracles are still made the confirmation of the Apostles testimony and doctrine.

And in *Heb. 2. 3, 4.* you have the just method of the proof and progress of Christianity, [Which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, (but how is that known?) and was con-

Uu 3,

finned.

firmed to us by them that heard him. (But how shall we know that they said truth?) God also bearing them witness with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles and gifts of the holy Ghost, according to his own will.

And Act. 4. 33. And with great power gave the Apostles witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus. 1 Joh. 1. 1, 2, 3. That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life, (for the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and shew unto you that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us;) that which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us, &c.

§. 63. III. The miracles of the Apostles are not only attested by the Churches which were eye-witnesses of them, 1. By the way of most credible humane testimony. 2. And by natural evidence of infallible certainty: but also, 3. By supernatural testimony of God himself, as appeareth in these following evidences.

§. 64. 1. Many miracles were wrought by those first Churches, who were the witnesses of the Apostles miracles; which is a divine attestation to their testimony.

1. The Scriptures fore-cited tell us, that the same holy Ghost was given to them all, though all had not the same gifts; and that tongues, and healing, and miracles were the gifts of many, though not of all: which, as I have shewed, they could not themselves have believed of themselves, if it had not been true. Yea, sufficient historical testimony telleth us, that for three or four hundred years, (at least till Constantine owned and protected Christianity by Secular Power) miracles were wrought in confirmation of the Christian faith. It hath been the devils craft to seek to destroy the credit of them, partly by hypocrites, who have counterfeited miracles; and partly by lying Legends of the carnal proud domineering part of the Church, who have told the world so many palpable lies, that they seemed to do it in design, to perswade them to believe nothing that is true. But yet all wise men will know the difference between History credible and incredible. The many testimonies of the miracles

miracles of Gregory Thaumaturgus, and many others, mentioned by Eusebius, and almost all other Christian Writers of those times, and those mentioned by Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*, lib. 22. cap. 8. and *Retract.* lib. 1. cap. 13. & *passim*; and by Cyprian, Tertullian, and many more, will not be thought incredible by impartial considering men.

§. 65. 2. *The eminent sanctity of the Pastors of the Churches, with the success of their testimony and doctrine, for the true sanctification of many thousand souls, is God's own attestation to their testimony and doctrine.*

How far the sanctifying renewing success of the doctrine, is a Divine attestation to its verity, I have before opened: and how far God owneth even the truths of Philosophy, by blessing them with an adequate proportionable success. The defective partial truths of Philosophy, produce a defective partial reformation; (how far God accepteth it, belongeth not to my present business to determine.) The more full and integral discovery of God's will, by Jesus Christ, doth produce a more full and integral renovation. And, 1. The cause is known by the effect. 2. And God will not (as is before said) bless a lie to do the most excellent work in all the world. Now it is a thing most evident, that God hath still bless'd the Ministry of the Christian Pastors in all ages, to the renewing of many thousand souls: That this is truly so, I shall somewhat fuller shew anon: but that it is God's own attestation, I have shewed before.

§. 66. *I have opened the validity of the Apostles testimony of the Resurrection and miracles of Christ, and the first Churches certain testimony of the miracles of the Apostles; both of them having a three-fold certainty, Moral, Natural, and Supernatural: In all which I have supposed, that such a testimony the Churches have indeed given down to their posterity; which is the thing that remaineth lastly to be here proved.*

§. 67. *The doctrine and miracles of Christ and his Apostles have been delivered us down from the first Churches, by all these following ways of history. 1. By delivering to us the same writings of the Apostles and Evangelists which they received from their hands themselves as certain truth, and delivered down as such to us: even the holy Scriptures of the New Testament. They that believed their words, believed their writings,*
and

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and have told us their belief, by preserving them for posterity as Sacred Verities.

In the holy Scriptures, the life, and death, and doctrine of Christ is contained; with the doctrine of the Apostles, and so much of the history of their Preaching and Miracles, as Luke was an eye-witness of, or had certain knowledge of, (who was commonly Pauls companion) by which we may partly judge of the Acts of the rest of the Apostles. And if the Churches had not believed all these, they would not have delivered them as the infallible Writings of the inspired Apostles to their Posterity.

§. 68. 2. *The very successive Being of Christians and Churches, is the fullest history that they believed those things which made them Christians and Churches; which was the doctrine and miracles of Christ.*

A Christian is nothing else but one that receiveth the Doctrine, Resurrection, and Miracles of Christ, as certain truth, by the preaching and Miracles of his great Witnesses, the Apostles: so many Christians, as there ever were, so many believers of these things there have been. It was this Doctrine and Miracles that made them Christians, and planted these Churches: And if any man think it questionable, whether there have been Christians ever since Christs time, in the World, All history will satisfy him, Roman, Mahometan, Jewish and Christian, without any one dissenting voice. Pliny, Suetonius, Tacitus, Marcellinus, Eunapius, Lucian and Porphyry and Julian, and all such enemies may convince him: He shall read the history of their sufferings, which will tell him, that certainly such a sort of persons there was then in the World.

§. 69. 3. *The succession of Pastors and Preachers in all generations, is another proof: For it was their office to read publicly, and preach this same Scripture to the Church and World, as the truth of God.*

I speak not of a succession of Pastors in this one City or that, or by this or that particular way of ordination, having nothing here to do with that: But that a certain succession there hath been since the dayes of the Apostles, is past question: For 1. Else there had been no particular Churches: 2. Nor no baptism: 3. Nor no publick Worship

of God. 4. Nor no Synods, or Discipline: But this is not denied.

§. 70. 4. The continuance of Baptism, which is the kernel or sum of all Christianity, proveth the continuance of the Christian Faith. For all Christians in Baptism, were baptized into the vowed belief and obedience of the Son and Holy Ghost as well as of the Father.

§. 71. 5. The delivering down of the three breviate Symbols, of Faith, Desire and Duty, the Creed, Lords Prayer and Decalogue, is the Churches delivery of the Christian Religion, as that which all Christians have believed.

§. 72. 6. The constant communion of the Church in solemn Assemblies, and setting apart the Lords Day to that use, was a delivery of the Christian Faith, which those assemblies all professed to believe.

§. 73. 7. The constant preaching and reading of these same Scriptures in those Assemblies, and celebrating there the Sacrament of Christs death, and the custom of open professing their Belief, and the Prayers and praises of God for the Resurrection and Miracles of Christ, are all open, undenyable testimonies that these things were believed by those Churches.

§. 74. 8. The frequent disputes which Christians in all ages have held with the adversaries of the Scripture and Christianity, do shew that they believed all these Scriptures, and the Doctrines and Miracles therein contained.

§. 75. 9. The Writings of the Christians in all ages, their Apologies, Commentaries, Histories, Devotional treatises, all bear the same testimony, that we have these things by their tradition.

§. 76. 10. The Confessions, Sufferings and Martyrdom of many in most ages, do bear the same testimony, that they believed this, for which they suffered; and that posterity received it from them.

§. 77. 11. The Decrees and Canons of the Synods or Councils of the Bishops of the Churches, are another part of the history of the same belief.

§. 78. 12. Lastly, the decrees and laws of Princes concerning them, are another part of the history, shewing that they did believe these things.

§. 79. And if any question whether our Scriptures which contain these

Of the subservient Proofs and Means,

these histories and doctrines be indeed the same, which these Churches received and delivered from the Apostles, be may easily be convinced, as followeth.

§. 80. 1. *Various Copies of it in the Hebrew and Greek text, were very quickly scattered about the World, and are yet found in all Nations agreeing in all material passages.*

§. 81. 2. *These Scriptures were translated into many Languages, of which there are yet extant, the Syriack, Arabick, Ethiopick, Persian, &c. which agree in all material things.*

§. 82. 3. *It was the stated Office of the Ministers in all the Churches in the World, to read these Scriptures openly to the People, and preach on them, in all their solemn Assemblies: And a thing so publicly maintained and used, could not possibly be altered materially.*

§. 83. 4. *All private Christians were exhorted to read and use the same Scriptures also, in their Families, and in secret.*

§. 84. 5. *This being through so many Nations of the World it was not possible that they could all agree upon a corruption of the Scriptures: nor is there mention in any history of any attempt of any such agreement.*

§. 85. 6. *If they would have met together for that end, they could not possibly have all consented: Because they were of so many minds, and parties, and inclinations.*

§. 86. 7. *Especially when all Christians by their Religion, take it to be matter of damnation, to adde to or diminish from these sacred Writings, as being the inspired Word of God.*

§. 87. 8. *And every Christian took it for the rule of his Faith, and the Charter for his heavenly Inheritance; and therefore would certainly have had his action against the Corrupters of it.*

As the Laws of this Land, being recorded, and having Lawyers and Judges whose calling is continually to use them, and men holding their Estates and safety by them, if any would alter them all the rest would quickly detect it, and be upon his head.

§. 88. 9. *Yea, the many Sects and Contentions among Christians, and the many Hereticks that were at enmity with them, would certainly have detected any combination to corrupt the Scriptures.*

§. 89. 10.

by which the fore-mentioned Evidences are known:

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§. 89. 10. *Some few Hereticks in the beginning did attempt to bring in the Gospel of Nicodemus, and some other forged Writings, and to have corrupted some parts of Scripture; and the Churches presently cryed them down.*

§. 90. 11. *Most Hereticks have pleaded these same Scriptures, and denyed them not to be genuine: Yea, Julian, Celsus, Porphyry, and other Heathens did not deny it, but took it as a certain truth.*

§. 91. 12. *The ancient Writers of the Church, Clemens, Ignatius, Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Athenagoras, Lactantius, Eusebius, Nazianzene, Nyssen, Basil, Chrysostom, Epiphanius, Hierom, Augustine, &c. do all cite these Scriptures as we now have them in all things material.*

§. 92. 13. *The Christian Emperours have inserted the mention of some passages in their Laws, in the same words as they are in our Bibles.*

§. 93. 14. *Several Councils have not only cited several passages out of them, but pleaded them still as the Word of God, and enumerated the particular Books which constitute the whole Systeme.*

All this set together will tell any man of reason, consideration, and impartiality, that we have much fuller certainty that these Scriptures are the same which the first Churches received from the Apostles, than they can have that *Virgil's, Ovid's, Cicero's or Plutarch's* works are theirs; or that the Statutes of this Land are currant. Yea, were it not lest I be too tedious, I might distinctly shew you the forementioned threefold certainty of all this: 1. A moral certainty of the strongest humane Faith. 2. A natural certainty grounded upon Physical impossibilities of the contrary. 3. And somewhat of a Divine supernatural attestation, by the continued blessing of God on the Scriptures for the sanctifying of souls in every age.

And this bringeth me up to the last part of this Chapter: I have all this while been shewing how the three first parts of the Spirits witness to Christ, are made known to us, *viz.* Prophecy, the Holyness of the Doctrine, and Miracles: I come now in a word to the fourth.

§. 94. IV. *How may we certainly know the fourth part of*

X x 2

the

Mat. 1. 21. He shall save his People from their sins: Vide quæ de nomine Jesu habet Beda in Luc. 2. 1. 1. c. 7. fol. 62. p. 2. de numero 888. in literis numeralibus Inoës inclusio.

the SPIRITS witness to Christ, viz. The success of his doctrine in the Regeneration of his Disciples, and the actual saving them from their sins?

Ans^r. I shall answer this, 1. As to the times past, and 2. As to the present age.

§. 95. 1. What men have been in times past, we have but these three wayes to know: 1. By the History of those ages; 2. By their remaining works: 3. By their successors in whom their belief and qualities are continued. And 1. that there have been holy persons in all ages (yea, that all true Christians were such) we have as good testimony as History can afford: whether you will judge of them by their profession, life or sufferings. 2. Their remaining works are very great testimonies what a spirit of Holiness, Charity and Justice, doth breath in the writings of those holy men, which are come to our hands? Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, Cyprian, Ephrem Syrus, Macarius, Augustine, Gregory Nazianzene, Gr. Nyssen, Basil, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Salvian, Cassianus, Bernard, &c. 3. Those that succeed them at this day in the serious profession of Christianity, are a living history of the virtues of their ancestors.

§. 96. 2. Of the sanctity of the Christians of this present age, there is a double knowledge to be had: 1. By them that are Regenerate themselves: 2. By them that are not: Between these wayes of knowledge the difference must be great.

§. 97. 1. As he that hath learning, or love to his Parents, or loyalty to his King, or faithfulness to his friend, may know that he hath it; so may he that is renewed by the Spirit of God, and hath a predominant love to God, a heavenly mind and conversation, a hatred of sin, a delight in holiness, a love to all men, even his enemies, a contempt of the World, a mastery over his fleshly appetite, sense and lusts; a holy Government of his passions, thoughts, and tongue; with a longing desire to be perfect in all this, and a supporting hope to see Gods glory, and enjoy him in the delights of Love and Praise, for evermore.

§. 98. This evidence of the Spirit of Sanctification in our

Sicut Ars in eo qui nactus est illam, ita gratia Spiritus in eo qui recepit, semper quidem præsens, at non perpetuo operans est Basil. de Spir. sancto.

Animæ afflictæ ac illustratæ Spiritu, sunt & ipsæ Spirituales; & in alios gratiam emittunt: Hinc futurorum præsentia, arcanorum intelligentia, occultorum comprehensio, donorum distributiones, cœlestis conversatio, cum Angelis chorea; Hinc gaudium nunquam finiendum, hinc in Deo perseverantia, & cum Deo similitudo, & quod nihil sublimius expecti potest, hinc est ut Divinus fiat. Basil. ibid.

Selves.

by which the forementioned Evidences are known.

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Lives is not the reason or motive of our first faith, but of our confirmation; and fuller assurance in believing afterwards: For a man must in some sort believe in Christ before he can know that he is sanctified by him.

The rest of the motives are sufficient to begin the work of Faith: and are the means which God ordinarily useth to that end.

§. 99. *It is Christs appointed Method that by learning of Him and using his appointed means, Men be brought up to such a degree of Holyness, as to be able to discern this witness in themselves, and thence to grow up to full assurance of Faith and Hope: Therefore if any one that hath heard the Gospel, do want this inward assuring testimony, it is because they have been false to the truth and means before revealed to them.*

He that will but enquire into the Gospel, and receive it and obey it so far as he hath reason to do it, and not be false to his own Reason and Interest, shall receive that renewing sanctifying Spirit, which will be an abiding witness in himself. But if he will reject known truth, and refuse known duty, and neglect the most reasonable means that are proposed to him, he must blame himself if he continue in unbelief, and want that evidence which others have. Suppose, that in a common Plague, one Physician should be famed to be the only and infallible Curer of all that take his remedies; and suppose many defame him, and say, He is but a Deceiver; and others tell you, [He hath cured us and many thousands, and we can easily convince you, that his Remedies have nothing in them that is hurtfull; and therefore you may safely try them; especially having no other help;] He that will so far believe in him, and trust him now, as to try his Remedies, may live; but he that will not, must blame none but himself, if he die of his disease: He that tryeth, shall know by his own cure and experience, that his Physician is no Deceiver: And he that will not, and yet complaineth that he wanteth that experimental knowledge, doth but talk like a peevish self-destroyer.

§. 100. 2. *He that yet hath not the evidence of the Spirit of Regeneration in himself, may yet be convinced that it is in others; and thereby may know that Christ is indeed the Saviour of the World, and no deceiver.*

Hoc itaq; prodest in
Deum credere, recta
fide, Deum colere,
Deum nosse, ut &
bene vivendi ab illo
sit nobis auxilium;
& si peccaverimus,
indulgentiam mere-
amur; non in factis
quæ odit, securi per-
severante, &c. Au-
gust. de fid. & operib.
c. 21. p. 34.

Even as in the aforesaid instance, he that never tried the Physician himself, yet if he see thousands cured by him, may know by that, that he is not a deceiver; and so may be perswaded to trust and try him himself.

Non in meditatione Sermonis & structura verborum, sed in rebus opere declarandis, tanquam doctrina viva, professio nostra posita est: *Athenagor. Apol. B. P. p. 78.* Yet there he complaineth that they were accused of the most odious villanies, without all shew of cause.

§. 101. *The way to know that others are thus regenerated, is* 1. *By believing them Fide humana, 2. By discerning it in the effects.*

And though it be too frequent to have presumptuous self-conceited persons, to affirm that the Spirit of Christ hath renewed them, when it is no such matter, yet all humane testimony of matters so near men, even *within* them, is not therefore incredible; but wise men will discern a credible person from an incredible. In the forementioned instance, many may tell you, that they are cured by the Physician, when it is not so; but will you therefore believe *no one* that telleth you that he is cured? Many may boast of that *learning* which they have not, and tell you that they have knowledge in Mathematicks, or in several Arts; But is no man therefore to be believed that saith the same?

But yet I perswade no man here to take up with the bare belief of another mans word, where he seeth not enough in the effects, to second it, and to perswade a reasonable man that it is true. But as he that heareth a man that was sick, profess that he is cured, may well believe him, if he see him eat, and drink, and sleep, and labour, and laugh as the healthfull use to doe; so he that heareth a sober man profess with humble thanks to God, that he hath changed and renewed him by his Spirit, may well believe him, if he see him live like a renewed man.

§. 102. *Though you cannot be infallibly certain of the sincerity of any one individual person, but your self (because we know not the heart); yet may you be certain that all do not dissemble.*

Because there is a natural impossibility, that interests, and motives, and sufficient causes should concur to lead them to it: As before I said, we are not certain of any individual woman that she doth not dissemble Love to her Husband and Children: but we may be certain that all the women in the World do not; from many natural proofs which might be given.

by which the fore-mentioned Evidences are known.

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§. 103. All these effects of Renovation may be discerned in others. 1. You may discern, that they are much grieved for their former sins. 2. That they are weary of the remnant of their corruption or infirmity. 3. That they long and labour to be delivered, and to have their cure perfected, and live in the diligent use of means to that end. 4. That they live in no sin, but smaller humane frailties. 5. That all the riches in the world would not hire them deliberately and wilfully to sin, but they will rather choose to suffer what man can lay upon them. 6. That they are vile in their own eyes, because of their remaining imperfections. 7. That they do no wrong or injustice to any, or if they do wrong any, they are ready to confess it, and make them satisfaction. 8. That they love all good men with a love of complacency, and all bad men with a love of benevolence, yea, even their enemies; and instead of revenge are ready to forgive, and to do what good they can for them and all men. And that they hate bad men in opposition to complacency, but as they hate themselves for their sins. 9. That they love all doctrines, persons and practices which are holy, temperate, just and charitable. 10. That their passions at least are so far governed, that they do not carry them to swear, curse or rail, or slander, or fight, or to do evil. 11. That their tongues are used to speak with reverence of holy and righteous things, and not to filthy ribbald, railing, lying, or other wicked speech. 12. That they suffer not their lusts to carry them to fornication, nor their appetites to drunkenness or notable excess. 13. That nothing below God himself, is the principle object of their devotion: but to know him, to love him, to serve and please him, and to delight in these, is the greatest care, and desire, and endeavour of their souls. 14. That their chiefest hopes are of heaven, and everlasting happiness with God, in the perfection of this sight and love. 15. That the ruling motives are fetch'd from God, and the life to come, which most command their choice, their comforts, and their lives. 16. That in comparison of this, all worldly riches, honours and dignities, are sordid contemptible things in their esteem. 17. That for the hope of this, they are much supported with patience under all sufferings in the way. 18. That they value and use the things of this world, in their callings and labours, in subserviency to God and Heaven, as a means to its proper end. 19. That they use their relations in the same subserviency; ruling chiefly for God,

Spiritus sanctus conceditur ad usum, ad miraculum, ad salutem, ad auxilium, ad solatium, ad fervorem. Ad usum vitæ, bonis & malis communia bona tribuens: Ad miraculum in signis & prodigiis. Ad salutem, cum toto corde reverteretur ad Deum. Ad auxilium, cum in omni collatione adjuvat infirmitatem nostram: Ad solatium, cum testimonium perhibet spiritui nostro, quod filii Dei sumus. Ad fervorem, cum in cordibus perfectorum vehementius spirans validum ignem charitatis accendit. Bern. Serm. 15 Pentecost.

God, if they be superiours, and obeying chiefly for God, if they be inferiours; and that with fidelity, submission and patience, so far as they can know his will. 2c. That their care and daily business in the world is, by diligent redeeming precious time, in getting and doing what good they can, to make ready for death and judgment, to secure their everlasting happiness, and to please their God.

§. 104. All this may be discerned in others, with so great probability of their sincerity, that no charitable reason shall have cause to question it. And I repeat my testimony, that here is not a word which I have not faithfully copied out of my own heart and experience; and that I have been acquainted with multitudes, who, I verily believe, were much better than my self, and had a greater measure of all this grace.

§. 105. If any shall say, that men superstitiously appoint themselves unnecessary tasks, and fortid themselves many lawful things, and then call this by the name of Holiness: I answer, That many indeed do so, but it is no such that I am speaking of: Let reason judge, whether in this or any of the foregoing descriptions of Holiness there be any such thing at all contained.

§. 106. He that will be able to discern this Spirit of God in others, must necessarily observe these reasonable conditions. 1. Choose not those that are notoriously No-Christians, to judge of Christianity by; a drunkard, fornicator, voluptuous, carnal, worldly, proud or selfish person, calling himself a Christian, is certainly but an hypocrite: And shall Christianity be judged of by a lying hypocrite? 2. As you must choose such to try by, as are truly serious in their Religion, so you must be intimate and familiar with them, and not strangers, that see them at a far off: for they make no vain ostentation of their piety. And how can they discern the divine motions of their souls, that only see them in common conversation? 3. You must not judge of them by the revilings of ignorant ungodly men. 4. Nor by the reproach of selfish men, that are moved only by some interest of their own. 5. Nor by the words of faction, (Civil or Religious) which judgeth of all men according to the interest of their sect, or cause and party. 6. Nor by your own partial interest, which will make you judge of men, not as they are indeed, and towards God, but as they either answer or cross your interests and desires. 7. Nor must you judge of all by some that prove hypocrites, who once seemed sincere.

8. Nor

8. Nor must you judge of a man by some particular fall or failing, which is contrary to the bent of his heart and life, and is his greatest sorrow. 9. Nor must you come with a fore-stalled and malicious mind, bating that holiness your self which you enquire after; for malice is blind, and a constant false interpreter and a slanderer. 10. You must know what Holiness and Honesty is, before you can well judge of them.

These conditions are all so reasonable and just, that he, that liveth among religious honest men, and will stand at a distance, unacquainted with their lives, and maliciously revile them, upon the seduction of false reports, or of interest either his own interest, or the interest of a faction, and will say, I see no such honest and renewed persons, but a company of self-conceited hypocrites; this man's confirmed infidelity and damnation, is the just punishment of his wilful blindness, partiality and malice; which made him false to God, to truth, and to his own soul.

§. 107. It is not some but All true Christians, that ever were or are in the world, who have within them this witness or evidence of the Spirit of Regeneration.

As I have before said, Christ will own no others, Rom. 8. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. 2 Cor. 5. 17. Luk. 14. 26. 33. If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his. If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away, behold, all things are become new. He that forsaketh not all that he hath, cannot be my disciple. Gal. 5. 24. They that are Christs, have crucified the flesh, with its affections and lusts. Indeed the Church visible, which is but the congregate Societies of professed Christians, hath many in it, that have none of this Spirit or grace; but such are only Christians equivocally, and not in the primary proper sense: 1 Joh. 5. 7, 8, 9, 10. There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the holy Ghost; and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness on earth, the Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood; and these three agree in one. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater: for this is the witness of God, which he hath testified of his Son. He that believeth on the Son of God, hath the witness in himself: He that believeth not God, hath made him a liar, because he believeth not the record that God gave of his Son.

Inseparabilis est bona vita à fide quæ per dilectionem operatur, imò vero ea ipsa est bona vita. Aug. de fid. & oper. c. 23.

§. 108. The more any one is a Christian in degree, the more he hath of this witness of the sanctifying Spirit in himself, and the holier he is.

See what I cited before of Socrates and his Converts.

§. 109. The nearer any Philosopher or others are like to Christians, the nearer they come to this renewed Image of God.

§. 110. As this Image of God, the holiness of the soul, is the very end and work of a true Saviour, so the true effecting of it on all true Christians, is actually their begun salvation; and therefore the standing infallible witness of Christ, which should confound unbelief in all that are indeed his own.

Nulla in discendo mora est, ubi spiritus sanctus doctor adest. Beda in Luc.

Spiritus Paracletus dat pignus salutis, robur vitæ, scientiæ lumen. Pignus salutis, ut ipse reddat testimonium spiritui tuo quod filius Dei sis: Robur vitæ, ut quod per naturam tibi est impossibile, per gratiam ejus non solum possibile sed facile fiat: Lumen scientiæ, ut cum omnia bene feceris, te servum inutilem putes; & quicquid boni in te inveneris, illi tribuas, à quo omne bonum est. Bern. Sermon. 2. Pentec.

This (which I spake of the fore going Chapter) is a testimony in every holy soul, which the gates of hell shall not prevail against. He that undertaketh to cure all of the Plague, or Stone, or Gout, or Fever, that will take his medicines, and be ruled by him, is certainly no deceiver, if he do that which he undertaketh. He that undertaketh to teach all men Arithmetick, Geometry, Astronomy, Musick, &c. who will come and learn of him, is certainly no deceiver if he do it. What is it that Jesus Christ hath undertaken? Think of that, and then tell me whether he be a deceiver. He never undertook to make his Disciples Kings, or Lords, or rich, or honourable in the world; nor yet to make them the best Logicians, Orators, Astronomers, Mathematicians, Physicians, Musicians, &c. but to make them the best men: to renew them to the love of God in holiness, and thereby to save them from their sins, and give them repentance unto life. Nor hath he promised this to all that are baptized or called Christians, but only to those that sincerely consent to learn of him, and take his counsel, and use the remedies which he prescribeth them. And is it not certain that Christ doth truly perform this undertaking? How then can he be a deceiver, who doth perform all that he undertaketh? Of this all true Christians have a just demonstration in themselves, which is his witness.

Object. But Christ undertaketh more than this, even to bring us to everlasting blessedness in heaven.

Answer. It is our comfort that he doth so: but we think its ease to believe him in that, if he perform the rest: For, 1. I have proved in the first part of this Book, that by the light of nature, a future life of retribution must be expected, and

and that man is made for a future happiness. 2. And who then should have that happiness, but the holy and renewed souls? Doth not natural reason tell you, that so good a God will shew his love to those that are good, that is, to those that love him? 3. And what think you is to be done to bring any man to heaven, but to pardon him, and make him holy?

4. And the nature of the work doth greatly help our faith. For this holiness is nothing but the beginning of *that happiness*.

When we find that Christ hath by his Spirit begun to make us *know God*, and *love him*, and *delight in him*, and *praise him*; it is the easier to make us believe that he will perfect it. He that promiseth to convey me safely to the Antipodes, may easily be believed when he hath brought me past the greatest difficulties of the voyage. He that will teach me to sing artificially, hath merited credit, when he hath taught me the gradual tones, the Scale of Musick, the Sol-fa-ing, the Cliffs, the Quantity, the Moods, the Rules of time, &c. He that causeth me to love God on earth, may be believed if he promise me that I shall love him more in heaven: And he that causeth me to desire heaven above earth, before I see it, may be believed when he promiseth, that it shall be my great delight when I am there. It is God's work to love them that love him, and to reward the obedient; and I must needs believe that God will do *his* work, and will never fail the just expectations of any creature. All my doubt is, whether I shall do *my* part, and whether I shall be a prepared subject for that felicity: and he that resolveth this, resolveth all: He that will make me fit for heaven, hath overcome the greatest difficulty of my belief; and I should the more easily believe that he will do the rest, and that I shall surely come to heaven when I am fit for it.

Object. But Christ doth not only undertake to regenerate and to save us, but also to justify us, and this by a strange way, by his Sacrifice and Merits.

Answer. The greater is his wisdom and goodness, as made known to us. I am sure an unpardoned unrighteous person, is incapable of felicity in that state: and I am sure I cannot pardon my self, nor well know which way else to seek it. And I am sure that so excellent and holy a person, is fitter to be well-beloved of God I than. But I pray you remember,

Of the subservient Proofs and Means,

1. That he undertaketh not to pardon or justify any man, whom he doth not renew and sanctifie. 2. And that all his means, which seem so strange to you, are but to restore God's Image on you, and fit you for his love and service. And this we can testifie by experience that he hath done, in some measure in us : and if I find his means successful, I will not quarrel with it, because it seemeth strange to me. A Phylician may prescribe me remedies for some mortal disease, which I understand not, but seem unlike to do the cure : but if I find that those unlikely means effect it, I will not quarrel with him, nor refuse them, till I know my self to be wiser than he, and have found out some surer means.

It is most evident then, that he who saveth us is our Saviour ; and he that saveth us from sin, will save us from punishment ; and he that maketh us fit for pardon, doth procure our pardon ; and he that causeth us to love God above all, doth fit us to enjoy his love ; and he that maketh us both to love him, and to be beloved by him, doth prepare us for heaven, and is truly the MEDIATOR.

§. 111. *Four or five Consellaries are evident from this, which I have been proving : 1. That we have left no room for their insipid caviil, who say, that we flie to a private spirit, or conceit, or Enthusiasin, for the evidence of our faith.*

Of this see Amyraldus in Thess. Salmurienf.

There are some indeed that talk of the meer perswasion, or inward attestation of the Spirit, as if it were an inward word that said to us, This is the word of God : But this is not it which I have been speaking of ; but the objective testimony, or evidence of our Regeneration, which could not be effected but, 1. by a perfect doctrine ; and, 2. by the concurrent work or blessing of God's Spirit, which he would not give to confirm a lie. The Spirit is Christ's witness in the four ways fore-mentioned : and he doth moreover cause me to believe, and increase that faith, by blessing due means : But for any Enthusiasin, or unproved bare perswasion, we own it not.

§. 112. II. *That Malignity is the high-way to Infidelity : As the holiness of his members is Christ's last continued witness in the world ; so the malicious slandering and scorning at godly men, or vilifying them for self-interest, or the interest of a faction ;*

in the devils means to frustrate this testimony.

§. 113. III. That the destruction of true Church-discipline, tendeth to the destruction of Christianity in the world, by laying Christ's Vineyard common to the Wilderness, and confounding godly and the notoriously ungodly, and representing Christianity to Pagans and Infidels, as a barren notion, or a common and debauching way.

§. 114. IV. That the scandals and wickedness of nominal Christians, is on the same accounts, the devils way, to extirpate Christianity from the earth.

§. 115. V. That the great mercy of God hath provided a sure and standing means for the ascertaining multitudes of holy Christians of the truth of the Gospel, who have neither skill nor leisure to acquaint themselves with the History of the Church, and records of Antiquity, nor to reason it out against a learned subtil caviler, from other extrinsick arguments.

Abundance of honest holy souls, do live in the fervent love of God, and in hatred of sin, and in sincere obedience, in justice and charity to all men, and in heavenly desires and delights; who yet cannot well dispute for their Religion; nor yet do they need to flie to believe as the Church believeth, though they know not what or why, nor what the Church is: But they have that Spirit within them, which is the living witness and Advocate of Christ, and the seal of God, and the earnest of their salvation; not a meer pretence that the Spirit perswadeth them, and they know not by what evidence; nor yet that they count it most pious to believe strongest, without evidence, when they least know why: but they have the spirit of *Renovation and Adoption*, turning the very bent of their hearts and lives from the world to God, and from earth to heaven, and from carnality to spirituality, and from sin to holiness. And this fully assurcth them, that Christ, who hath actually saved them, is their Saviour, and that he who maketh good all his undertaking, is no deceiver, and that God would not sanctifie his people in the world by a blasphemy, a deceit and lie, and that Christ, who hath performed his promise in this, which is his earnest, will perform the rest. And withall the very love to God, and Holiness, and Heaven, which is thus made their new nature by the Spirit of Christ, will hold fast in the hour.

O magna vis veritatis! quæ contra hominum ingenia, calliditatem, sole tiam, contraque fictis omnium insidias facile se per se ipsam defendat! Cicer. pro Cato.

of temptation, when *reasoning* otherwise is too weak. O what a blessed advantage have the sanctified against all temptations to unbelief: And how lamentably are ungodly Sensualists disadvantaged, who have deprived themselves of this inherent testimony. If two men were born blinde, and one of them had been cured, and had been shewed the Candle-light and twilight, how easie is it for him to believe his Physician, if he promise also to shew him the Sun? in comparison of what it is to the other who never saw the light?

CHAP. VIII.

Of some other subservient and Collateral Arguments for the Christian Verity.

HAVING largely opened the great Evidence of the Christian Verity, viz. The SPIRIT in its four ways of testifying, Accidentally, Inherently, Concomitantly, and Subsequently, I shall more briefly recite some other subservient Arguments, which I finde most satisfactory to my own understanding.

§. 1. I. *The natural evidence of the truth of the Scripture, about the Creation of the World, doth make it the more Credible to me in all things else.*

For that is a thing which none but God himself could reveal to us: For the Scripture telleth what was done, before there was any man in being. And that this World is not eternal, nor of any longer continuance, is exceeding probable, by the state of all things in it. 1. Arts and Sciences are far from that maturity, which a longer continuance, or an Eternity would have produced. Guns and Printing are but lately found out: The body of man is not yet well Anatomized; A *Sellius* his milkie *Veines*, and *Pequets* Receptacle of the Chyle, and *Bartsbolines* Glandules, and the *Vasa Lymphatica*, are of late discovery: *Galileus* his Glasses, and his four *Medicean* Planets, and the Lunary mutations of *Venus*, and the strange either opacous parts and

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shape of *Saturn*, or the proximity of two other Stars which misshape it to our sight, the shadowy parts of the Moon, &c. with the innumerable Stars in the *Via Lactea*, &c. were all unknown to former ages. *Gilberts* magnetical discoveries (I speak not of those questionable Inferences which *Campagna* and others contradict) the nature of many Minerals and Plants, the chief operations and effects of Chymistry, abundance of secrets for the cure of many diseases, even the most excellent medicaments, are all of very late invention. Almost all Arts and Sciences are encreasing nearer towards Perfection. Ocular demonstrations by the *Telescope*, and sensible experiments, are daily multiplyed: Yea, the World it self is not all discovered to any one part; but a great part of it was but lately made known even to the *Europeans*, whose knowledge is greatest, by *Columbus*, and *Americus Vesputianus*; and it is not long since it was first measured by a Circumnavigation. If the World had been eternall, or of much longer duration than the Scripture speaketh, it is not credible that multiplyed experiences, would not have brought it above that Infancy of knowledge in which it so long continued.

Obj. *Cursed Warrs by Fire and Depopulation, consume all Antiquities, and put the World still to begin anew.*

Ans. It doth indeed do much this way; but it is not so much that Warre could do: For when it is in one Countrey, others are free, and some would fly, or lie hid or survive, who would preserve Arts and Sciences, and be teachers of the rest. Who can think now that any Wars are like to make *America*, or *Galilae's* Stars unknown again? or any of the forenamed Inventions to be lost.

2. Moreover, it is strange, if the World were eternall, or much elder than Scripture speaketh, that no part of the World should shew us any elder Monument of Antiquity; no engraven Stones or Plates; no *Mausolus*, Pyramids, or Pillars; no Books; no Chronological Tables, no Histories or Genealogies, or other Memorials and Records. I know to this also, cursed Warrs may contribute much: But not so much, as to leave nothing to inquisitive Successors.

§. 2. II. It greatly confirmeth my belief of the Holy Scriptures, to finde by certain experience, the Original and Universal.

versal pravity of mans nature, how great it is, and wherein it doth consist; exactly agreeing with this Sacred Word; when no others have made such a full discovery of it.

This I have opened, and proved before; and he is a stranger to the World and to himself, that seeth it not: Were it not lest I weary the Reader with length, how fully and plainly could I manifest it?

§. 3. III. *The certain observation of the universal Spiritual Warre, which hath been carryed on according to the first Gospel, between the Woman's and the Serpent's seed, doth much confirm me of the truth of the Scriptures.*

Even between the carnal hypocritical nominal Christian, and the true Christian: as Gal. 4. 29. *As then he that was born after the Flesh persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now.*

Such a contrariety there is, even between Cain and Abel, Children of the same Father; such an implacable enmity throughout all the World, in almost all wicked men against Godliness it self, and those that sincerely love and follow it; such a hatred in those that are Orthodoxly bred, against the true power, use and practice, of the Religion which they themselves profess; such a resolute resistance of all that is seriously good and holy, and tendeth but to the saving of the resisters; that it is but a publick visible acting of all those things which the Scripture speaketh of; and a fulfilling them in all ages and places in the sight of all the World. Of which having treated largely in my Treatise against Infidelity, of the sin against the Holy Ghost, I referre you thither.

§. 4. IV. *It much confirmeth me to finde that there is no other Religion professed in the World, that an impartial rational man can rest in.*

That man is made for another life, the light of Nature proveth to all men: And some way or other there must be opened to us to attain it: *Mahometanisme* I think not worthy a confutation. *Judaisme* must be much beholden to Christianity for its proofs, and is but the introduction to it, inclusively considered. The Heathens or meer Naturalists are so blinde, so idolatrous, so divided into innumerable sects, so lost and bewildred in uncertainties, and shew us so little holy fruit of their Theology, that I can incline to no more than to take those natural Verities which they confess, and which they cast among the rubbish of their fopperies and wickedness, and to wipe them clean, and take them

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for some part of my Religion. Christianity or nothing is the way.

§. 5. V. *It much confirmeth me to observe, that commonly the most true and serious Christians, are the holiest and most honest, righteous men; and that the worse men are, the greater enemies they are to true Christianity: And then to think, how incredible it is that God should lead all the worst men into the truth, and leave the best and godlyest in an error.*

In small matters, or common secular things, this were no wonder: But in the matter of Believing, worshipping and pleasing God, and saving of Souls, it is not credible. As for the belief of a Life to come, no men are so far from it as the vilest Whoremongers, Drunkards, perjured persons, Murderers, Oppressors, Tyrants, Thieves, Rebels, or if any other name can denote the worst of men: And none so much believe a Life to come as the most godly, honest-hearted persons: And can a man that knoweth that there is a God, believe that he will leave all good men in so great an error, and rightly inform and guide all these Beasts, or living walking images of the Devil. The same in a great measure is true of the friends and enemies of Christianity.

§. 6. VI. *It hath been a great convincing argument with me, against both Atheisme and Infidelity, to observe the marvelous Providences of God, for divers of his servants, and the strange answer of Prayers, which I my self, and ordinarily other Christians have had.*

I have been and am as backward to ungrounded credulity about wonders, as most men, that will not strive against knowledge. But I have been oft convinced by great experience, and testimonies which I believed equally with my eye-sight, of such actions of God, as I think would have convinced most, that should know as much of them as I did. But few of them are fit to mention: For some of them so much concern my self, that strangers may be tempted to think that they savour of self-esteem; and some of them the factions and parties in these times, will by their interest be engaged to distaste; And some of them have been done on persons, whose after scandalous Crimes have made me think it unfit to mention them; lest I should seem to put honour on a scandalous sinner, or seem to dishonour Gods Works

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by mentioning such an object of them: And I have much observed, that whatever wonder I ever knew done, in answer to Prayer, or attestation of any good, the Devil hath with marvellous subtilty, endeavoured by some error or scandal of men, to turn it all against Christ and to his own advantage. But yet God declareth the truth of his Promises, by the deliverances of his Servants, and the granting of prayers which are put up to him in the name of Christ. I will not dispute whether these actions shall be called *Miracles*, or not: It is enough for my purpose, if they be but attesting Providences. All Church-History telleth us of many such heretofore: how great things have been done, and deliverances wrought upon Christians earnest Prayer to God. The success of the Thundering Legion in the Army of *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, in Germany, is commonly mentioned: You may see it in the *Apolog.* of *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian*: See more in *Pamelius's* Notes on *Tertull.* N. 64. *Cyprian* saith to *Demetrius*, pag. 328 of the Christians casting out of Devils, [*O si audire velles & videre, quando a nobis adjurantur & torquentur spiritualibus flagris, & verborum tormentis de obsessis corporibus ejiciuntur, quando ejulantes & gementes voce humana, & potestate divina flagella & verbera sentientes, venturum judicium confitentur. Veni & cognosce vera esse quae dicimus: & quia sic Deos colere te dicis, vel ipsis quos colis, crede: an si volueris & tibi credere, de te ipso loquetur, audiente te, qui nunc tuum petius obsedit. Videtis nos rogari ab eis quos tu rogas, tamen ab eis quos tu adoras; videbis sub manu nostra stare viros, & tremere captivos, quos tu sufficis & veneraris ut Dominos: certe vel sic confundi in istis erroribus tuis poteris, cum conflexeris & audieris deos tuos, quid sint, interrogatione nostra statim prodere, &c.*]

But it were tedious to recite all that Antiquity telleth us of this kinde: Later times have their testimonies also: *Bo-nan* could tell the Papists, that burned him, in the midst of his flames, [*Lo, ye Papists, here is a Miracle: I feel no more pain in this fire than in a bed of Down; it is as sweet to me as a bed of Roses*]. *Bishop Farrar* could say, when he went to the fire [*If I stirre in the fire, believe not my doctrine*]; and accordingly remain'd unmoved: Many more you may see in *Martyrologies* and *Church-history*. It was the

the mercifull Providence of God to Mrs. *Honywood*, who in her passionate self-accusations, when the Minister was perswading her of the pardon of her sin, threw the glass which was in her hand up to the wall, saying, she was as certainly an hypocrite, as that glass would break; and it fell to the ground, and remained unbroken. They were convincing Providences which God exercised on the leading women of the Familistical Sect which troubled *New-England*: when one of them, Mrs. *Dyer*, brought forth a Monster that had the parts of Man, Beast, Birds and Fishes; and the other their Prophetess, Mrs. *Hutchinson*, brought forth about thirty misshapen lumps or births at once; and thereby the Land was awakened, and delivered from the danger.

See her story in Fuller's Worthy's. of England.

* which Mr. Weld of New-England hath printed: And upon Mr. Stubbs his Extension, in his Book for Sir Henry Vane, against me, in Letters since he hath fully confirmed.

The many Miracles mentioned by such credible persons as Aug-

gustine (de Civit. Dei) and other learned holy men, deserve some credit sure.

Victor Utricensis telleth of many Confessors whose tongues were cut out by the Arian Vandal Hunnerichus, who spake freely without tongues: And Renas Gazzus in a notable Treatise for the Immortality of the soul saith the same, and that he saw them himself; and hath more such wonders.

Ego novi multa bonorum virorum corpora, quæ etiam phalanges demonum, tantopere terrent, quantopere ipsi vexabant hominem abs se captum atque obsessum: itemque morbos innumeros quibus curandis ars medica non sufficeret, ipsa facile curarent, perpurgarent, omninoque auferrent. *Id. ibid. page 411. B. P.*

Even Cicero speaking of some sacrilegious impious persons, could observe, Qui vero ex his & omnium scelorum principes fuerunt, & præter ceteros in omni Religione impii, non solum vita cruciati (vel cum cruciati, ut Lambinus) atque dedecore, verum etiam sepultura ac iustis exequiis caruerunt. *Lib. 2. de leg. p. 245.* And to the objection, that it is false to say otherwise, and that the best suffer most, he answereth, Non recte existimamus quæ poena sit divina: & opinionibus vulgi rapimur in errorem, nec vera cernimus: Morte aut dolore corporis, aut luctu animi aut offensione iudicii, hominum miseras ponderamus: quæ fateor humana esse, & multis bonis viris accidisse: sceleris autem poena tristis, & præter eos eventus qui sequuntur, per se ipsa maxima est. Videmus eos qui nisi odissent patriam, nunquam inimici nobis fuissent, ardentes cum cupiditate, tum metu, tum conscientia; quid agrent modo timentes, vicissim contemnentes Religiones. And he concludeth, Duplicem poenam esse Divinam, quod constaret & ex vexandis vivorum animis, & eâ famâ mortuorum, ut eorum exitium & iudicio vivorum, & gaudio comprobetur. *Ibid.*

I desire the learned Reader to read the three Miracles which *En. Gazzus* saith he saw with his own eyes, in his Theophrast. in Bib. Pat. Gr. To. 2. page 414, 415. The first of an old man, that raised one from the dead: The second of a good man, that when he was dying, promised his S. holier, that was blind, that within seven days he should have his sight; which accordingly came to pass: The third, of the Confessions before mentioned, that by prayer could speak most articulately without tongues: All these he professeth he saw with his own eyes: And the rationality and piety of his writings maketh his testimony the more credible.

Leges Palladii Historiam Lausiac. cap. 52. de Miraculo ab ipso viso.

Though I know that as Apparitions, so Miracles are too oft counterfeited, yet all that are recorded by the ancient Doctors and Historians cannot be so thought, especially when we have seen something like them.

My own deliverances by prayer (because they were my own) I think not fit here to express: Nor many other persons that were familiar with me, some yet living, and some dead: Nor would I mention such small things as corporal deliverances and cures, but only because they are matters of *sense*, and somewhat unusual, and not as supposing them the great matters which Christians have to look after or expect in answer to their prayers: they are far greater things which prayer brings to all true Christians: the strength of the Spirit against temptations, the mortification of those sins, which nature, constitution, temperature, custom and interest, would most strongly draw them to; the special assistances of God in duty, the information of the mind, by a light which sheweth the evidence of truth in a special clearness; the resolution of doubts; the conquest of passions; the elevation of the soul in divine love and praises; the joy of the holy Ghost, and comfortable thoughts of the coming of Christ, and our endless blessedness with God in Heaven. These are the Answers of Prayer, which are the fulfilling of the promises of Christ, and which are of greater moment than Miracles; of which we have ordinary experience.

§. 7. VII. *It confirmeth my belief of the Gospel, to observe the naturalness and suitableness which it hath to the best & holiest souls: that by how much the better, in true honesty, and charity, and heavenliness any man is, by so much the more is the Gospel beloved, pleasant, and suitable to him; as humane food is to humane nature.*

My much converse in the world, with men of all sorts, but most with the persons now described, hath given me opportunity to be fully assured of the truth of this experiment, beyond all doubt. And that which is the *best in man*, is certainly of God: and therefore that which is *suitable and conatural* to the *best in man*, must be of God also.

§. 8. VIII. *It confirmeth my belief of the Gospel, to find it so very suitable to the worlds diseases, necessities and business; to reconcile them to God, and fill them with love and heavenly mindedness; which other Religions do meddle with so little, and superficially, and ineffectually.*

§. 9. IX. *The matter of the Gospel is so holy and spiritual, and against all sin, and evil spirits, that it is incredible that evil spirits, or wry bad men, should be the inventors of it: And yet*

to forge so many miracles and matters of fact, and call a man God, and to perplex the world with needless delusory strictnesses, and to father all this on God himself, would have been a villany so transcendent, that none but men extremely bad could do it. Therefore it must needs be the design of Heaven, and not of Men.

§. 10. X. When I deeply consider the evidence of verity in the Gospel, it hath as much to convince me, as I could have chosen or desired.

§. 11. 1. If I had been put myself to choose by what means God should open to man the things of the unseen world, I could have desired no more than that a messenger might come to us from heaven to tell us; unless we had either sight and sense, or immediate vision and fruition.

And I am fully satisfied, 1. That spiritual things are invisible, and are no objects of corporeal sense. 2. That it is not meet and honourable to God's Wisdom and Justice, to govern rational free Agents *in via*, by sight and sense. It would be no trial, or thanks to the most sensual wretch, to forbear his sin, if Heaven and Hell were open to his sight. 3. That spiritual vision and fruition is our state *in patria*; our end and perfection, and not fit for the state of trial and travellers in the way.

§. 12. 2. If I had been to choose who this Messenger should be, I could have preferred none before him, who is the very Wisdom, Truth, and Word of God.

Had it been but an Angel, I might have thought that his Indefectibility and Veracity is uncertain to mankind on earth: but Wisdom and Truth it self can never lie.

§. 13. 3. If I had been to choose in what way this Messenger should converse with man, as an effectual and suitable Teacher of these Mysteries, and how the work of Mediation between God and man should be performed, I could have desired no fitter way than that he should assume our nature, and in that nature familiarly instruct us, and be our example, and our High Priest toward God, by his Merit, Sacrifice and Intercession.

§. 14. 4. Had I been to choose what way he should prove his Message to be of God, I could not have chosen a more satisfying way than that of Prophecy, Sanctity, and open numerous and uncontroled Miracles, with his own Resurrection and Ascension, and giving the holy Ghost to be his Advocate and Witness continually to the world.

Of some other subservient and

§. 15. 5. I could not have expected that these Miracles should be done in the sight of all the persons in the world, in every place and age, (for then they would be but as common works) but rather before such chosen Witnesses, as were fit to communicate them to others.

§. 16. 6. Nor could I have chosen a fitter way for such Witnesses to confirm their testimony by, than by the same Spirit of holiness and power, and by such a stream of Miracles as the Apostles wrought, and such success in the actual renovation of their followers.

§. 17. 7. Nor could I well have chosen a more meet and convincing way of History or Tradition, to convey down all these things to us, than that before described, which hath been used by God.

§. 18. 8. Nor could I have chosen any one standing Seal and Witness of Christ, so fit for all persons, learned and unlearned, and to endure through all generations, as is the actual saving of men, by the real renovation of their hearts and lives by the holy Spirit, reclaiming them from selfishness, sensuality, worldliness, and other sin, and bringing them up to the Image of God's holiness, in love and heavenliness; which is the continued work of Christ.

So that when God hath done all things so, as my very reason is constrained to acknowledge best, what should I desire more? I confess I feel still, that my nature would fain be satisfied by the way of sight and sense. Could I see heaven and hell, I think it would most effectually end all doubts: But my Reason is satisfied, that it is a thing unmeet, and utterly unsuitable to a world, that must be morally governed and conducted to their end.

§. 19. XI. The temptations of Satan, by which he would hinder us from faith, love and obedience, are so palpable, malicious and importunate, that they do much to confirm me of the truth and goodness of that word and way, which he so much resisteth.

I think that there are few men, good or bad, if they will observe both the inward suggestions with which they are solicited, for matter, manner and season, and the outward impediments to every good work, and invitations to evil, which they meet with in their conversations, but may be convinced

convinced that there are malicious spirits, who are enemies to Christ and us, and continually by temptations fight against him.

§. 20. XII. *The Devils contractis with Witches, opposing Christ, and engaging them to renounce their Baptism, and to forsake his ways, is some confirmation of the Christian verity.*

Of the abundance of Witches at that time read in St. p. Hall, Sol. 15. p. 53, 54. Read Edm. Bower, of the Salisbury Witch.

That Witches really there are, as I said before, he that will read Remigius and Bodin only may be satisfied; as also the *Malleus maleficorum* Daneus, &c. and the numerous instances in Suffolk and Essex about 21 years ago, may further satisfy them. And that the Devil draweth them to such renunciations of the Covenant and Ordinances of Christ; the many Histories of it are full proof.

§. 21. XIII. *Though many such reports are fabulous and delusive, yet there have been certainly proved in all ages, such Apparitions, as either by opposition or defence have born some testimony to the Christian faith.*

Of both these last, see what I have written in my Treat. of Infidelity, and in the *Saints Rest*, Part 2. And read Lavater de *Specibus*, & Zanchius, tom. 3. lib. 4. cap. 10. and cap. 20. Delrio, &c. And what I said before, especially the Narrative called, *The Devil of Mascon*, and Dr. Moor of Atheism.

§. 22. XIV. *The speeches and actions of persons possessed by the Devil, usually raging blasphemously against Christ, doth somewhat confirm the Christian verity.*

That there are and have been many such, there hath been unquestionable evidence. See my *Saints Rest*, part 2. page 258, &c. Zanchius, tom. 3. lib. 4. cap. 10. page 288. Forestus de *Venenis*, observ. 8. in Schol. Pet. Mart. Loc. Com. Clas. 1. cap. 9. Fernel, de *addit. rerum causis*, lib. 2. cap. 16. Platerus observ. pag. 20. de *stupore Dæmon*. &c. Tertul. *Apol.* cap. 23. Cyprian. *Epif. ad Demetrium*. Origen. in *Matth.* 17. Augustin. de *Divinat. Dæmon*. &c.

§. 23. XV. *Lastly, the testimony of the enemies of Christianity is some encouragement to faith.*

What conjectures there be, that Pythagoras had his knowledge from the *Jews*, and Plato was not a stranger to *Moses's* writings, hath been shewed by many. How plain it is, that the wiser and better any Heathens have been, the nearer they have come in their doctrines to that of Jesus Christ. I need

Porphyry was so convinced of the truth of Daniel's Prophecy, that he is said to say, That it was written after the things were fulfilled, saith Grot.

not

In *Indi*, *Petri* miracula
Pblegon *Adriani* Im-
 peratoris libertus in
 Annalibus suis com-
 memoravit : inquit
G. otius de Verit. Rel.
 l. 3.

not say much to convince the considerate, that are men of reading. How the *Jews* were convinced of the miracles of Christ, and fled to the accusation of Christ as a Magician, is already shewed. The wisest and best of the *Roman* Emperours favoured them. *Dion Cassius* in the life of *Nerva Cocceius*, page 1. saith, [*Ceterum Nerva omnes qui impietatis in Deo rei fuerant, eos absolvi voluit: exules in patriam reduxit: (These that were called Impietatis rei, were the Jews and Christians who refused to sacrifice to Idols) And he addeth, (Et ne servi de cetero dominos criminarentur, editio vetuit, neve liceret aut impietatis, aut Judaicae sectae quemquam debinc insimulari.)*] It seemeth by this, that when displeased servants would be revenged on their masters, they used to accuse them of Christianity or Judaism.

Fuit vero prodigio-
 rum apud sepulchra
 editorum tanta fre-
 quentia, tot eorum
 testes, ut etiam *Por-
 phyrus* ejus rei confes-
 sionem expresserit :
 inquit *Grot. l. 3.*

Trajan did something against the Christians, being provoked by the Jews, who (saith *Dion Cassius in vita Trajani*) did make one *Andrew* their Captain, and about *Cyrene* murdered of *Greeks* and *Romans* above two hundred thousand men. But upon *Pliny's* information of the Christians innocency and unjust sufferings, their persecutions were moderated.

I know what a stir is
 made about *Iosephus*
 testimony of Christ,
 some accounting it
 current, and some as
 foisted in by some
 Christian: but I doubt
 not to say, that to
 those who well con-
 sider all, the middle
 opinion of *B. Usher*

Adrian also was exasperated by the Jews, who as *El Spartianus* saith in *Adrian*: *Moverunt bellum, quod uteban-
 tur mutilare genitalia:* (And the Christians were taken for a sort of Jews, and so suffered often for their faults:) But *Severinus Granius Legatus*, a Roman Noble-man, writing to *Adrian* how unjust it was upon vulgar clamour to kill innocent Christians, only for their Religion: *Adrian* wrote to *Minutius Fundanus*, Proconsul of *Asia*, that no Christian should suffer but for proved crimes. *Euseb. Hist. lib. 4.*

will appear to be far the most probable : viz. That the whole sentence is current, except those words, [This was Christ.] And that some Christian having wrote those words as expostory in the margin of his book, they afterward crept thence into the text.

Athenagoras tells *M. Aurel. Antoninus* the Emperour, and *L. Aur. Commodus* to whom he wrote, *Nec dubito quin vos etiam doctissimi & sapientissimi Principes, historici & scripti Mosi, Esaiæ, Hieremie, & reliquorum Prophetarum aliqua ex parte cognoveritis. — Sed vobis relinquo qui libros novistis, studiosius in illorum prophetias inquirere ac perpendere, &c.* *Apol. p. in B. p. 56, 57.* And it's like that *Antonine* learned somewhat from the Scriptures, as well as *Severus*, if he so well knew them; and thence received some of his wisdom and virtue.

Lampridius in *Alexand. Sever.* saith, [*Quod (viz. Templum Christi facere) & Adrianus cogitasse fertur; qui Tempia in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacbris jussit fieri: quæ hodie idcirco, quia non habent numina, dicuntur Adriani; quæ ille ad hoc parasse dicebatur: sed prohibitus est ab his, qui consulentes sacra repperant, omnes Christianos futuros, si id optato evenisset, & templa reliqua deserenda.*

Lucian honoureth the Christians, while he derideth them for their sufferings and faith, saying, [*Persuaserunt sibi infelices Christiani, se immortalitate fruturos, perpetuoque victuros esse: ideo & mortem magno contempnunt animo: ac non pauci sua sponte semetipsos occidendos offerunt: Postquam vero semel à nobis disciverunt, Græcorum Deos constanter abnegant, &c.*

When Adrian had found how the Christians differed from the Jews, and had suffered by Barchochebas, because they would not joyn in the Rebellion, when he had ended the war, he gave Jerusalem to the Christians and others to inhabit, saith Euseb.

Antoninus Pius published this Edict for the Christians, [*Siquisquam cuiquam Christiano, quia Christianus sit, pergat molestia quicquam aut criminis inferre, ille cui crimen illatum erit, etiamsi Christianus reipsa deprehensus sit, absolvatur: qui autem illum accusaverat, justum debitumque supplicium subeat.* Adding a Decree of Adrian's, thus: [*Pro quibus hominibus & alii provinciarum Præsides, jam ante Divo Patri meo scripserunt; Quibus ille rescripsit, nequid inturbarent hoc genus hominum nisi qui convicti essent tentasse quippiam contra Rempublicam.* Euseb. Hist. l. 4.

And though under that excellent Prince, Antoninus Philopbus, some persecution was raised, it was mostly by Officers, at a great distance, in France, &c. yet all was staid, and favour shewed them, upon the miraculous relief of the Army by rain, upon the Christian Souldiers prayers, (called *Legio Fulminatrix*) when they were in war with the Quadi: of which see *Jul. Capitolin. Dion Cass. Tertul. Apolog. Euseb. lib. 5. Orosium, &c.* His Letters to the Senate are these: [*Credibile est Christianos, licet eos impios existimemus, Deum pro munimento habere in pectore: simul enim atque humani sese abjecerunt, & preces fuderunt, ad ignotum mihi Deum, statim è celo pluvia delapsa est, in nos quidem frigidissima, in nostros vero*

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Celsus and Julian do not deny the miracles of Christ: Mahomet himself confesseth Christ to be a true Prophet, and the Word of God, and condemneth the Jews for rejecting him:

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him : he confesseth his miraculous Nativity, and mighty works, and that he was sent from heaven to preach the Gospel : He bringeth in God as saying, [*We have delivered our declarations to Jesus the Son of Mary, and strengthened him by the holy Ghost.*] And, [*We have delivered him the Gospel, in which is direction and light, &c.*] And he teacheth his followers this Creed, [*Say, We believe in God, and that which was delivered to Moses and Jesus, and which was delivered to the Prophets from their Lord : we distinguish not between any of them, and we deliver up our selves to his faith.*] And if Christ be to be believed, as *Mahomet* saith, then Christianity is the true Religion : for as for his and his followers reports, that the Scriptures are changed, and that we have put out Christ's prediction, that *Mahomet* must be sent, &c. they are fables, not only unproved, but before here proved utterly impossible.

Read *Eusebius*, *Eccles. Hist.* l. 8 c. 17, & 18. & l. 9 c. 10. of God's strange judgments on *Maximinus* the Emperor, whose bowels being tormented, and his lower parts ulcerated with innumerable worms, and so great a stink, as kill'd some of his Physicians ; which forced him to confess, that what had befallen him was deservedly, for his madness against Christ, (for he had forbidden the Christians their assemblies, and persecuted them) : wherefore he commanded that they should cease persecuting the Christians ; and that by a Law and Imperial Edict, their Assemblies should be again restored : He confessed his sins, and begg'd the Christians Prayers, and professed that if he were recovered, he would worship the God of the Christians, whom by experience he had found to be the true God.

See Bishop *Fotterby* *Atheomast.* l. 1, c. 3. p. 140, 141. comparing his case with *Antiochus* his.

Paulus Orosius, *hystor.* li. 6. *fine*, telleth us of a Fountain of Oyl which flowed a whole day in *Augustus* Reign, and how *Augustus* refused to be called *Dominus*, and how he shut up *Janus* Temple because of the Universal Peace, and that eo tempore, id est, eo anno quo fortissimam verissimamq; pacem ordinatione Dei Caesar composuit, natus est Christus ; cuius adventum pax ista famulata est ; in cuius ortu audientibus hominibus exultantes Angeli cecinerunt, Gloria in excelsis Deo & in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

See

See also what after others he saith of *Tyberius* motioning to the Senate, that Christ might be accounted a God; and *Sejanus* resisting it: li 7. *Aul. Bib. Pav. To. 1. p. 209.* where he saith also that *aliquanti Græcorum libri* attested the darkness at *Christ's* death. And li. 7. p. 216. he sheweth, that as after the ten Plagues of *Egypt*, the *Israelites* were delivered and the *Egyptians* destroyed, so was it in the *Roman Empire* with the Christians and Pagans, after the particular revenges of the ten Persecutions. But because he is a Christian Historian, I cite no more from him.

CHAP. IX.

Yet Faith hath many Difficulties to overcome: What they are; and what their Causes.

There are two sorts of persons who may possibly peruse these things, and are of tempers so contrary, that what helpeth one may hurt the other: The first are those who see so many objections and difficulties, that they are turned from the due apprehension of the *Evidences* of Christianity, and can think of nothing but stumbling-blocks to their Faith. To tell these men of *more difficulties*, may adde to their discouragement, and do them hurt: And yet I am not of their minde that think they should be therefore silenced: For that may tempt them to imagine them unanswerable, if they come into their mindes: The better way for these men is, to desire them better to study the Evidence of truth: And there are other men, who must be thought on, who seeing *no difficulties* in the work of Faith, do continue unfortified against them, and keep up a Belief by meer extrinick helps and advantages, which will fall as soon as the storms assault it: And because no doubt is well overcome that is not known, and *Nil tam certum quam quod ex dubio certum est*, I will venture to open the Difficulties of Believing.

Omni credendi difficultas non temere ex furili nulliusq; iudicii opinione nascitur; sed ex valida causa, & verisimilitudine plurimum notata: Tum enim incredulitas rationem justam habet, quum ipsa res de qua non creditur, quiddam incredibile continet. Nam rebus quæ dubitandi causam non habent, non credere, eorum est qui sano iudicio in discutienda veritate minime utuntur. *Albenager. leg. pag. 82.*

§. 1. That Believing in Christ is a work of Difficulty, is proved

proved both by the paucity of sound Believers, and the imperfection of Faith in the sincere; and the great and wonderful means which must be used to bring men to believe.

Superficial Believers are a small part of the whole World, and sound Believers are a small part of professed Christians: And these sound Believers have many a temptation, and some of them many a troublesome doubt, and all of them a Faith which is too far from perfection. And yet all the Miracles, Evidences, Arguments and Operations aforesaid, must be used to bring them even to this.

§. 2. The Difficulties are I. Some of them in the things to be believed, II. Some of them in extrinsecal impediments: III. And some of them in the mind of Man who must believe.

§. 3. I. 1. The mysteriousness of the doctrine of the blessed Trinity, hath alwayes been a difficulty to Faith, and occasioned many to avoid Christianity, especially the Mahometanes; and many Hereticks to take up Devices of their own, to shift it off.

§. 4. 2. The Incarnation of the second Person, the Eternal Word, and the personal union of the Divine Nature with the Humane, is so strange a condescension of God to man, as maketh this the greatest of difficulties, and the greatest stumbling-block to Infidels and Hereticks.

§. 5. 3. The Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ, and the advancement of mans nature in him above the Angelical nature, and glory, is a difficulty.

§. 6. 4. To believe all the history of the Miracles of Christ, the Prophets, and Apostles, is difficult, because of the strangeness of the things.

§. 7. 5. It is not without difficulty firmly to believe the Immortality of Souls, and the endlessness of the felicity of the life to come.

§. 8. 6. And it hath proved hard to many to believe the endless miseries of damned souls in Hell.

§. 9. 7. And it is as hard to believe the paucity of the blessed, and that the damned are the farr greater number.

§. 10. 8. And that so great a change, and so holy a life, is necessary to salvation, hath proved a difficulty to some.

§. 11. 9. The doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body, is one of the greatest difficulties of all.

Si enim sit quinque illa, non nominata magis quam intellecta natura: multo integriora & puriora sunt ut à terra longissime se efferant. Cicer. Tuscul. Qu. 1. l. p. 223.

§. 12. 10. So is Christ's coming into the World so late, and the revealing of his Gospel to so few, by Prophecy before, and by Preaching since.

§. 13. 11. So also was the appearing Meanness of the Person of Christ, and of his Parentage, place and condition in the World; together with the manner of his birth.

§. 14. 12. The manner of his sufferings and death, upon a Cross, as a Malefactor, under the charge of Blasphemy, Impiety and Treason, hath still been a stumbling-block both to Jews and Gentiles.

§. 15. 13. So hath the fewness and meanness of his followers, and the number and worldly preeminence and prosperity of unbelievers, and enemies of Christ.

§. 16. 14. The want of excellency of speech and art in the holy Scriptures, that they equall not other Writings in Logical method and exactness, and in Oratorical elegancies, is a great offence to unbelievers.

§. 17. 15. As also that the Physicks of Scripture so much differeth from Philosophers.

§. 18. 16. As also the seeming Contradictions of the Scripture do much offend them.

§. 19. 17. And it offendeth them, that Faith in Christ himself, is made a thing of such excellency and necessity to salvation.

§. 20. 18. And it is hard to believe, that present adversity and undoing in the World, is for our benefit and everlasting good.

§. 21. 19. And it offendeth many, that the doctrine of Christ doth seem not suited to Kingdoms and Civil Government, but only for a few private persons.

§. 22. 20. Lastly, the Prophecies which seem not intelligible or not fulfilled, prove matter of difficulty and offence. There are intrinsecal difficulties of Faith.

§. 23. II. The outward adventitious impediments to the Belief of the Christian Faith are such as these. 1. Because many Christians, especially the Papists, have corrupted the doctrine of Faith, and propose gross falsehoods contrary to common sense and reason, as necessary points of Christian Faith: (as in the point of Transubstantiation.)

§. 24. 2. They have given the World either false or insufficient

cient reasons and motives, for the belief of the Christian Verity, which being discerned confirmeth them in Infidelity.

§. 25. 3. They have corrupted Gods Worship, and have turned it from rational and spiritual, into a multitude of irrational ceremonious fopperies; fitted to move contempt and laughter in unbelievers.

§. 26. 4. They have corrupted the doctrine of Morality, and thereby hidden much of the holyness and purity of the Christian Religion.

§. 27. 5. They have corrupted Church-history, by intruding or divulging a multitude of ridiculous falsehoods in their Legends and Books of Miracles; contrived purposely by Satan to tempt men to disbelieve the Miracles of Christ and his Apostles.

§. 28. 6. They make Christianity odious, by upholding their own Sect and power, by fire and blood and inhumane Cruelties.

§. 29. 7. They openly manifest that ambition and worldly dignities and prosperity, in the Clergy, is their very Religion: and withall pretend, that their party or Sect is all the Church.

§. 30. 8. And the great disagreement among Christians, is a stumbling-block to unbelievers; while the Greeks and Romans strive who shall be the greatest; and both they and many other Sects, are condemning, unchurching, and reproaching one another.

Leg. Nazianz. Orat.
26. & 32.

§. 31. 9. The undisciplined Churches, and wicked lives of the greatest part of professed Christians, especially in the Greek and Latine Churches, is a great confirmation of Infidels in their unbelief.

§. 32. 10. And it tempteth many to Apostasy, to observe the scandalous errors and miscarriages of many who seemed more godly than the rest.

§. 33. 11. It is an impediment to Christianity, that the richest, and greatest, the learned, and the far greatest number in the World, have been still against it.

§. 34. 12. The custom of the Countrey, and Tradition of their Fathers, and the reasonings and cavils of men that have both ability and opportunity, and advantage, doth bear down the truth in the Countreys, while Infidels prevail.

§. 35. 13. The Tyranny of cruel persecuting Princes, in th
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Mahometane and Heathen parts of the World, is the grand Impediment to the progress of Christianity, by keeping away the means of knowledge.

And of this the Roman party of Christians, hath given them an encouraging example, dealing more cruelly with their fellow-Christians than the *Turky* and some Heathen Princes do. So that Tyranny is the great sin which keepeth out the Gospel from most parts of the Earth.

§. 36. III But no Impediments of Faith are so great, as those within us. As 1. the natural strangeness of all corrupted mindes to God, and their blindness in all spiritual things.

§. 37. 2. Most persons in the World, have weak, injudicious, unfurnished heads, wanting the common, natural preparatives to Faith, not able to see the force of a reason, in things beyond the reach of sense.

§. 38. 3. The carnal minde is enmity against the Holiness of Christianity, and therefore will still oppose the receiving of its principles.

§. 39. 4. By the advantages of Nature, Education, Custom, and Company, men are early possess'd with prejudices and false conceits, against a life of Faith and Holiness; which keep out reforming truths.

§. 40. 5. It is very natural to incorporated Souls, to desire a sensible way of satisfaction, and to take up with things present and seen, and to be little affected with things unseen, and above our senses.

§. 41. 6 Our strangeness to the Language, Idioms, Proverbial speeches then used, doth disadvantage us as to the understanding of the Scriptures.

§. 42. 7. So doth our strangeness to the Places and Customs of the Countrey, and many other matters of fact.

§. 43. 8. Our distance from those Ages, doth make it necessary, that matters of fact be received by humane report and Historical Evidence: And too few are well acquainted with such History.

§. 44. 9. Most men do forfeit the helps of Grace by wilfull sinning; and make Atheism and Infidelity seem to be desirable to their carnal Interest, and so are willing to be deceived: and forsaking God, they are forsaken of him, flying from the Light, and

Magni autem est ingenii, revocare mentem a sensibus, & cogitationem a consuetudine abducere. Cicero Tuscul. Qu. 1. l. p. 222.

Yet Faith hath many Difficulties to overcome, &c.
overcoming Truth, and debauching Conscience, and disabling Reason, for their sensual delights.

§. 45. 10. Those men that have most need of means and help, are so averse and lazy, that they will not be at the pains and patience, to read, and conferre, and consider, and pray, and use the means which is needfull to their information; but settle their judgement by slight and slobfull thoughts.

§. 46. 11. Yet are the same men proud and self-conceited, and unacquainted with the weakness of their own understandings, and pass a quick and confident judgement, on things which they never understood: It being natural to men to judge according to what they do actually apprehend, and not according to what they should apprehend, or is apprehended by another.

§. 47. 12. Most men think it the wisest way, because it is the easiest, to be at a venture of the Religion of the King and the Countrey where they live; and to do as the most about them do (which is seldom best.)

§. 48. 13. Men are grown strangers to themselves, and know not what man is; nor what is a reasonable Soul; but have so abused their higher faculties, that they are grown ignorant of their dignity and use; and know not that in themselves which should help their Faith.

§. 49. 14. Men are grown so bad and false, and prone to lying themselves, that it maketh them the more incredulous of God and man, as judging of others by themselves.

§. 50. 15. The cares of the Body and World, do so take up the mindes of men, that they cannot afford the matters of God and their salvation, such retired serious thoughts as they do necessarily require.

§. 51. 16. Too few have the happiness of judicious Guides, who rightly discern the Methods and Evidences of the Gospel, and tempt not men to unbelief, by their mistaken grounds, and unsound reasonings. These are the Impediments and difficulties of Faith, in the Persons themselves who should believe.

CHAP. X.

The Intrinsecal Difficulties in the Christian Faith, resolved.

Object. I. **T**He Doctrine of the Trinity is not intelligible or credible.

Ans. 1. Nothing at all in God can be comprehended, or fully known by any creatures: God were not God, that is, Perfect and Infinite, if he were comprehensible by such Worms as we. Nothing is so certainly known as God, and yet nothing so imperfectly.

2. The doctrine of the Trinity in Unity is so intelligible and credible, and is so admirably apparent in its products, in the methods of Nature and Morality, that to a wise Observer it maketh Christianity much the more credible, because it openeth more fully, these excellent mysteries and methods. It is intelligible and certain that MAN is made in the Image of God: And that the noblest Creatures bear most of the impress of their Makers excellency: And that the invisible Deity is here to be known by us, as in the Glass of his visible works: Of which the Rational or Intellectual Nature is the highest with which we are acquainted. And it is most certain, that in the Unity of mans Minde or Soul, there is a Trinity of Essentialities, or Primalities (as Campanella calleth them) that is, such faculties as are so little distinct from the Essence of the Soul as such, that Philosophers are not yet agreed, whether they shall say, it is *realiter, formaliter, relative vel denominatione extrinseca*. To pass by the three faculties of *Vegetation, sensation and intelligence*; In the Soul as *Intellectual* there are the Essential faculties, of *Power* (executive or communicative *ad extra*) *Intellect* and *Will*. *Posse, Scire, Velle*; And accordingly in *morality or virtue*, there is in *one New-creature*, or holy Nature, *wisdom, goodness, and ability or fortitude* (and promptitude) to act according to them. And in our Relation to things below us, in the unity of *our Dominion or superiority*, there

See Part 1. Chap. 5. Pardon the Repetitions here for the reasons after-mentioned.

See before in the Marg. of Chap. 5. Part 1. the Collection of Christoph. Simpson of Trinity in unity, in the Harmony of Musical Concordance, in The Division-Violist. pag. 17.

Read Campanella's Metaphysics, and his Atheismus triumphatus of this.

Richardus in Opuscul.
ad S. Bernard: de
appropriatis persona-
rum, inquit, Quod
Potentia, Sapientia
& Bonitas, sunt no-
tissima quid sint apud
nos, qui ex visibili-
bus invisibilia Dei

peregrina quæ facta sunt, intellecta conspicimus: Et quoniam in Elementis & plantis & brutis
reperitur *Potentia* sine sapientia; & in Homine & in Angelo reperitur *Potentia*, sed non sine
sapientia: Et in Lucifero reperitur *Potentia* & Sapientia, sine Bonitate & Charitate, seu
Bona Voluntate: Sed in Homine bono, bonoque in Angelo, non datur Bona Voluntas, nisi
ad sit Possesse & Scire: Igitur sunt tria hæc distincta; et POSSE est per se ut principale, SA-
PIENTIA est a POTENTIA, & ab utrisque VOLUNTAS & AMOR.

And though the further we go from the root, the more
darkness, and dissimilitude appeareth to us, yet it is strange
to see even in the *Body*, what Analogies there are to the Fa-
culties of the Soul; In the *superior, middle, and inferior* Re-
gions: And in them the *natural, vital, and animal* parts, with
the three sorts of *Humours*; three sorts of *Concoctions*, and
three sorts of *Spirits*, answerable thereto, and admirably
united: with much more, which a just Scheme would open
to you. And therefore seeing God is known to us by this
his Image, and in this Glass, though we must not think
that any thing in God is *formally* the same as it is in *Man*;
yet certainly we must judge, that all this is *eminently* in
God; and that we have no fitter notions and names con-
cerning his incomprehensible Perfections, than what are bor-
rowed from the Minde of man. Therefore it is thus unde-
nyable, that GOD is in the Unity of his Eternal, Infinite
Essence, a Trinity of *Essentialities*, or Active Principles: viz.
POWER, INTELLECT and WILL: And in their HO-
LY Perfections, they are, *Omnipotency, Omniscience* (or Wis-
dom) and *Goodness*: And in his Relative Supremacy is con-
tained this Trinity of Relations, He is our OWNER, our
RECTOR and our CHIEF GOOD, that is, Our Bene-
factor and our end.

And as in Mans Soul, the *Possesse, Scire, Velle*, are not three
parts of the Soul, it being the *whole* Soul quæ potest, quæ in-
telligit & quæ vult; and yet these three are not *formaliter*,
(or

(or how you will otherwise call the distinction) the same : Even so in GOD, it is not one Part of God that hath POWER, and another that hath UNDERSTANDING, and another that hath WILL ; but the *whole Deity* is POWER, the whole is UNDERSTANDING, and the whole is WILL : The whole is Omnipotency, the whole is Wisdom, and the whole is Goodness (the Fountain of that which in man is called Holiness or Moral Goodness) : And yet formally to *understand* is not to *will*, and to *will* is not to be able to execute.

If you say, what is all this to the Trinity of Hypostases or persons, I answer, Either the three Substances in the Trinity are the same, with the *Potentia*, *Intellectus* and *Voluntas*, in the Divine Essence, or not : If they are the same, there is nothing at all intelligible, incredible or uncertain in it : For natural Reason knoweth that there is all these eminently in God ; And whoever will think that any humane language can speak of him, must confess that his Omnipotence, Wisdom and Goodness, his Power, Intellect and Will, must be thus to mans apprehension distinguished : Otherwise we must say nothing at all of God, or say that his power is his willing, and his willing is his knowing, and that he willeth all the sin which he knoweth, and all that he *can* do : which language will, at best, signifie nothing to any man.

And it is to be noted, that our Saviour in his *Eternal* subsistence, is called in Scripture, The WISDOM of God, (or his internal Word) : and in his *Operations* in the *Creation* ; he is called, *The Word of God*, as operative or efficient : and in his *Incarnation*, he is called *The Son of God* : Though these terms be not *always* and *only* thus used, yet *usually* they are.

The Words of an ancient godly Writer before cited, are considerable ; *Potho Prumensis, de statu domus Dei, lib. 1. p. 567. in Biblioth. Patr. T. 9. [Tria sunt invisibilia Dei, h. e. Potentia, Sapientia, Benignitas, a quibus omnia procedunt, in quibus omnia subsistunt, per quae omnia reguntur : Pater est Potentia, Filius Sapientia, Spiritus sanctus Benignitas. Potentia creat, Sapientia gubernat, Benignitas conservat. Potentia per Benignitatem sapienter creat : Sapientia per potentiam benignè gubernat : Benignitas per sapientiam potenter conservat : Sicut Imago in speculo cernitur, sic*

Ecce in uno capite duo tibi sunt Oculi : sed est substantiae eorum unus Aspectus, &c. Quod si unius substantiae in re ista bina continent unitatem, non v's in Deo Patre & Filio vere duas personas unam habere substantiam. Arnobius Confliet. cum Serapione. p. 354.

Vid. Casarii dialog. Q. 2. de triplici lumine. Socian. ear. ierō. γέννημα αὐτῷ ἑνῷ, inquit Theophil. Antioch. ad Autol. l. 1. p. 3. Leg. A. goss, de Trinitate, & Dialog. ex eo excerpt. de Trinit. in B. P. Gr. Lat. T. 1. p. 540.

Nihil aliud est Filius vel Verbum Dei, quam Cogitatio, vel Ars, vel Sapientia ejus— Nihil aliud Sp. sanctus quam Amor Dei intelligitur, id. ibid. pag. 542, 543. Leg. & Mi/ar. de Trinit.

Vid. *Maxim. Mystagog. Ecclesiast. cap. 6.*

Per talem rationem venit homo ad cognitionem Dei, quod est Unus in substantia, & Trinus in Personis. Istud idem videt homo in seipso: Nam ipse videt bene quod semper habuit homo in seipso Potentiam, & post Potentiam, Sapientiam: — Et de ambabus venit Amor: & quando videt homo quod ita est in seipso, ex hoc intelligit bene quod ita est in Deo, qui est ultra illum: viz. Quod in Deo sit Potestas, & de illa Potestate venit sapientia, & de utraque venit Amor. Et propter hoc quod ex prima persona venit secunda, & de ambabus procedit tertia, ideo prima persona vocatur Pater, secunda Filius, tertia Spiritus S. Isto modo venit homo primo ad cognitionem Dei sui creatoris, quomodo est sine principio, & quare vocatur Deus, unus substantia, trinus personis. Et quia prima persona vocatur Pater, secunda Filius, tertia Spiritus Sanctus; & quia appropinquatur Potestas Patri, Sapientia Filio, Bonitas & Amor Sp. Sancto: Tali modo debet cognoscere Deum Filium, & iste modus cognitionis est fundamentum contemplationis. *Edmund. Archiepif. Cantuari. Specul. Eccles. cap. 28.*

See more of this before, tom. I. cap. 5.

in ratione anime. Huius similitudini Dei approximat homo, cui Potentia Dei dat Bonum posse, sapientia tribuit scire; Benignitas præstat velle: Hæc triplex Anima rationalis vis est; scil. Posse, Scire, Velle; quæ supradictis tribus fidei, spei, & charitati cooperantur, &c. Read more in the Author, and in *Raimundus Lulius*: and among latter Writers, in *Campanella*, *Raimundus de secundis*, &c. as I said before. He that will give you a scheme of Divinity in the true method, will but shew you how all God's Works and Laws flow from these Three Essentialities or Principles; and the three great Relations founded in them, (His being our Owner, Ruler, and Chief Good:) And how all our duty is branch'd out accordingly in our correlations: He will shew you the Trinity of Graces, Faith, Hope and Love; and the three summary Rules, the Creed, Lord's Prayer and Decalogue; and, in a word, would shew you, that the Trinity revealeth it self through the whole frame of true Theology or Morality. But who is able to discern it in the smaller and innumerable branches?

Yea, if ever it were to be hoped, that our *Physicks* should be brought into the light of certainty and true method, you would see *Unity in Trinity* in all things in the world. You would see that in the *Sun*, and the other Celestial *Luminaries*, (which are the glorious Images of the Intellectual world) in the *Unity of their Essence*, there is a *Moving, Illuminating and Heating Power*: and that no one of these is formally the other: nor is any one of them a *Part* of the *Sun* or other *Luminary*, much less a meer *accident* of *quality*, but an *Essential Active Principle or Power*; the *whole Luminary* being essentially a *Principle of Motion, Light and Heat*; which are not accidents in them, but *Acts flowing immediately from their Essential Powers*, as *Intellection* and *Volition* from the *Soul*.

I shall

I shall now say no more of this, but profess, that the discovery of the emanations or products of the Trinity, and the Image and *Vestigia* of it, in the course of Nature, and Method of Morality, doth much increase my reverence to the Christian Doctrine, so far is the Trinity from being to me a stumbling-block.

Object. But what are such Trinities in Unity as these to the Trinity of Persons in the Deity? such weak arguments will but increase incredulity. Will you pretend to prove the Trinity by natural reason? or would you persuade us that it is but three of God's Attributes, or our inadequate conceptions of him? Opera Trinitatis ad extra sunt indivisa: Ergo, No creature can reveal to us the Trinity.

Ans^r. 1. It is one thing to prove the Sacred Trinity of Persons, by such reason (or to undertake *fully to open* the mystery) and it is another thing to prove that the Doctrine is neither incredible nor unlikely to be true; and that it implieth no contradiction or discordancy, but rather seemeth very congruous both to the frame of nature, and of certain moral verities. This only is my task against the Infidel.

2. It is one thing to shew in the creatures a clear demonstration of this Trinity of Persons, by shewing an effect that fully answereth it; and another thing to shew such *vestigia*, adumbration or image of it, as hath those dissimilitudes which must be allowed in any created image of God. This is it which I am to do.

3. He that confoundeth the Attributes of God, and distinguisheth not those which express these three Essential Primalties, or Active Principles, to which our faculties are analogous, from the rest; or that thinketh that we should cast by this distinction, under the name of an inadequate conception, so far as we can imagine these Principles to be the same, and that there is not truly in the Deity a sufficient ground for this distinction, is not the man that I am willing now to debate this cause with; I have done that sufficiently before. Whether the distinction be real, formal or denominative, the *Thomists*, *Scotists* and *Nominals* have disputed more than enough. But even the *Nominals* say, that there is a sufficient ground for the denomination, which some call Virtual, and some Relative. And they that dispute of the distinction

distinction of Persons, do accordingly differ, calling it either Relative, Virtual, Formal or Modal, or *ratione ratiocinata*, as they imagine best. And they that differ about these, do accordingly differ about the difference of the faculties of our souls. For my part I see not the least reason to doubt, but that the Trinity of Divine Primalities, Principles and Perfections hath made its impress on man's soul, in its three parts, viz. the Natural, the Moral, and the Dominative parts: in the first we have an Active Power, an Intellect and Free-will. In the second Fortitude, (or holy promptitude and strength) Wisdom and Goodness, (or Love:) In the third, we are to the inferior creatures their Owners, Rulers and Benefactors, or End: and what ever you will call our faculties and their moral perfections, it is undoubted that in God, his Omnipotency, *Wisdom* and *Goodness* are his *Essence*, and yet as much distinct as is aforesaid. And what mortal man is able to say, whether the distinction of Persons be either greater or less than this? And remember, that as I speak of *Motion*, *Light* and *Heat*, both as in the faculties of the Sun, (as I may call them) and in the *Acts* or *Emanations*; and of the *Power*, *Intellect* and *Will* of man, both as in the *Faculties* and *Acts*; so do I here of the *Divine Primalities*; yet so, as supposing that in God, who is called a Pure Act, there is not such a difference between *Power* and *Act*, as there is in man or other creatures.

4. No man, I think, is able to prove, that the works of the Trinity, *ad extra*, are any more undivided, than the works of the three Essential Active Principles: they are so undivided, as that yet the work of *Creation* is *eminently*, or most notably ascribed to the Father, (as is also the sending of the Son into the world, the forgiving of sin for his sake, &c.) and the work of *Redemption* to the Son, and the work of *Sanctification* to the holy Ghost: We shall be as loth to say, that the Father or holy Ghost was incarnate for us, or died for us, or mediates for us, as that the *Power* or *Love* of God, doth the works which belong to his *Wisdom*. And the Essential Wisdom and Love of God are no more communicable to man, than the Son and holy Spirit, who are said to be given to us, and to dwell within us. The Scripture often calleth Christ the *Wisdom of God*: and *λογος* is both the *Ratin* & *Orain*,

Oratio, the Internal and Expressed (or Incarnate) Word. And he that understandeth that by the *holy Ghost*, which is said in Scripture to be given to *believers*, is meant the habitual or prevalent *LOVE* to *GOD*, will better understand how the holy Ghost is said to be given to them that already have so much of it as to cause them to believe. Abundance of Hereticks have troubled the Church with their self-devised opinions about the Trinity, and the Person and Natures of Christ : and I am loth to say, how much many of the Orthodox have troubled it also, with their self-conceited, misguided, uncharitable zeal, against those whom they judged Hereticks : The present divisions between the *Roman Church*, the *Greeks*, the *Armenians*, *Syrians*, *Copties* and *Ethiopians*, is too sad a proof of this : and the long contention between the *Greeks* and *Latins* about the terms *Hypostasis* and *Persona*.

5. And I would advise the Reader to be none of those, that shall charge with Heresie all those School-men and late Divines, both Papists and Protestants, who say, that the Three Persons are *Deus seipsum intelligens*, *Deus à seipso intellectus*, & *Deus à seipso amatus*, (though I am not one that say as they :) nor yet those holy men whom I have here cited, (*Potho Prumensis*, *Edmundus Archiepisc. Cantuariensis* & *Parisensis*, and many others, who expressly say, that *Potentia*, *Sapientia* & *Amor*, are the Father, Son and holy Ghost.

See Bp. Lucy, in the end of his Book against Hobbs, proving the Trinity by Lully's reasons.

6. But for my own part, as I unfeignedly account the doctrine of the Trinity, the very summ and kernel of the Christian Religion. (as exprest in our Baptism) and *Athanasmus* his Creed, the best explication of it that ever I read ; so I think it very unmeet in these tremendous mysteries, to go further than we have God's own light to guide us : And it is none of my purpose at all to joyn with either of the two fore-mentioned parties ; nor to assert that the myserie of the blessed Trinity of Hypostases or Persons is no other than this uncontroverted Trinity of Essential Principles. All that I endeavour is but as aforesaid, to shew that this Doctrine is neither contradictory, incredible, nor unlikely, by shewing the *vestigia* or Image of it, and that which is as liable to exception, and yet of unquestionable truth. And if the three Hypostases be not the same with the Trinity of Principles

aforsaid, yet no man can give a sufficient reason, why Three in One should not be truly credible and probable in the one instance, when common natural reason is fully satisfied of it in the other. He must better understand the difference between a *Person* and such an Essential Principle in *Divinity*, than any mortal man doth, who will undertake to prove from the Title of a [*Person*] that one is incredible or unlikely, when the other is so clear and sure : or rather, he understandeth it not at all, that so imagineth. For my part, I again from my heart profess, that the *Image* or *Vestigia* of Trinity in Unity through the most notable parts of Nature and Morality, do increase my estimation of the Christian Religion, because of the admirable congruity and harmony.

Arnobius junior, in his conflict, cum Serapion, useth this similitude : As fire and gold are two distinct substances, yet fire is of it self invisible, till by union with the beated gold it becometh visible : So Christ's Divine Nature and his Humane, &c. Leg. pag. 368, 369. And to the question; Utrum Pater Filium genuerit Necessitate an Voluntate, he answereth, Neither because understanding or wisdom is not necessitated, and yet is antecedent to Volition: But by Necessity he seemeth to mean that which is by constraint. Vid. Nar. Fevardent. in loc. Leg. Methodii Resp. ad eos qui dicunt, Quid profuit nobis Filius Dei homo factus? &c. Edit. per Gresler.

Object. II. But who is able to believe the Incarnation and Hypostatical Union? If you should read that a Kings Son, in compassion to poor flies, or fleas, or lice, had himself become a fly, or flea, or louse, (had it been in his power) to save their lives, would you have thought it credible? And yet the condescension had been nothing to this, as being but of a creature to a creature.

Ans^r. This is indeed the greatest difficulty of faith : but if you do not mistake the matter, you will find it also the greatest excellency of faith. 1. Therefore you must take heed of making it difficult by your own error : think not that the Godhead was turned into man, (as you talk of a man becoming a fly) nor yet that there was the least real change upon the Deity by this incarnation : nor the least real abatement, dishonour, loss, injury or suffering to it thereby. For all these are not to be called difficulties, but impossibilities and blasphemies. There is no abatement of any of the Divine Perfections by it, nor no confinement of the Essence : but as the soul of man doth animate the body, so the *Eternal Word* doth, as it were, animate the whole humane Nature of Christ. As Athanasius saith, As the reasonable soul and humane flesh do make one man, so God and Man are one Christ : and that without any coarctation, limitation, or restriction of the Deity. 2. And this should be no strange Doctrine, nor incredible to most of the Philosophers of the world, who have one part of them taught, that God is the *Soul of the world*; and that the whole Universe is thus animated by him : and another

part,

part, that he is the Soul of Souls, or Intelligences, animating them as they do bodies. That therefore which they affirm of all, cannot by them be thought incredible of one. And it is little less, if any thing at all, which the *Peripateticks* themselves have taught of the *assitant Forms (Intelligences)* which move the Orbs; and of the *Agent, Intellect* in man; and some of them, of the universal soul in all men. And what all their vulgar people have thought of the Deifying of *Heroes*, and other men, it is needless to recite; *Julian* himself believed the like of *Æsculapius*. None of these Philosophers then have any reason to stumble at this, which is but agreeable to their own opinions. And indeed the opinion, that God is the Soul of souls, or of the Intellectual world, hath that in it, which may be a strong temptation to the wisest to imagine it: Though indeed he is no constitutive form of any of those creatures, but to be their Creator and total efficient is much more. What Union it is which we call Hypostatical, we do not fully understand our selves: but we are sure that it is such as no more abaseth the Deity, than its concurrence with the Sun in its efficiencies.

Junilius de part. Div. Leg. l. 1. c. 19. scilicet, that Ex essentia vel natura facit, quia ei nihil accidens est, & tamen voluntate, quia nihil facit necessitate vel coactis. Speaking of his operations as he is Bonus, Sapiens, Fortis, Leg. Ruperti Tuitiens. de Divin. Offic. l. 11. c. 2, & 3, & 4. Quod nomen Patris, Filii & Sp. Sancti propria veri Dei descriptio sit, &c. per totam lib. Arnob. ubi supra, l. 1. telleth the Heathens, how many they worship as Gods, who once were men, as Jupiter, Æsculapius, Hercules, &c. p. 6.

Leg. Theodori Presb.

byeri Rhaichuensis Præpar. & Meditar. de Incarnat. Christi, & Heresibus circa eandem.

Leg. & Theodori Abucarz Opuscul. 2. explan. vocum quibus Philosophi utuntur, &c. Et ejusdem fidem orthodox. missam ad Armen. à Thoma Patriarch. Hierosol.

Vide & Theoriami Dialog. cum Generaliss. Armeniorum.

At Deus Verbum nihil ipsum à societate & animæ immutatum neque illorum imbecillitatis particeps, sed eis suam divinitatem impartiens, unum cum eis sit; & permanet, quod erat ante junctionem. Vid. cætera in Nemesio Emisæ. de Naturâ hom. cap. 3.

Objct. But what kin are these assertions of Philosophers to yours, of the Incarnation of the Eternal Word and Wisdom of God?

Ans. What was it but an Incarnation of a Deity, which they affirmed of Æsculapius and such others? And they that thought God to be the Soul of the world, thought that the world was as much animated with the Deity, as we affirm the humane Nature of Christ to have been; yea, for ought I see, whilst they thought that this soul was parcelled out to every individual, and that Matter only did pro tempore individuate, they made every man to be God incarnate. And can they believe that it is so with every man, and yet think it

incredible in Christianity, that our humane Nature is personally united to the Divine? I think in this they contradict themselves.

3. And it is no way incredible that God should value man according to his natural worth and usefulness, as an intellectual agent, capable of Knowing, and Loving, and Praising him, and Enjoying him: His creating us such, and his abundant mercies to us, do abundantly prove the truth of this. Nor is it incredible that he should be willing that his depraved creature should be restored to the use and ends of its nature: nor is it incredible that God should choose the best and fittest means to effect all this. Nothing more credible than all this.

4. And it is not incredible at all, that the Incarnation of the Eternal Word should be the *fittest means* for this reparation: If we consider, 1. What question we should have made of the word of an Angel, or any meer creature, that should have said, he came from God to teach us; seeing we could not be so certain that he was infallible, and indefectible. 2. And how short a creature would have fallen in the Priestly part of Mediation. 3. And how insufficient he would have been for the Kingly Dignity, and universal Government and Protection of the Church, and Judgement of the world. 4. And withall, that *God Himself*, being the *Glorifier of Himself*, and the Donor of all felicity to us, it is very congruous, that he should most eminently *Himself* perform the most eminent of these works of mercy.

5. And it much assisteth my belief of the Incarnation, to consider, that certainly the work that was to be done for man's recovery, was the winning of his heart to the Love of God, from himself and other creatures: and there was no way imaginable so fit to inflame us with love to God, as for him most wonderfully to manifest his love to us: which is more done in the work of man's Redemption, than any other way imaginable; so that being the most suitable means to restore us to the love of God, it is fittest to be the way of our recovery; and so the more credible.

6. And it much suppresseth temptation to unbelief in me, to consider, that the three grand works in which God's Essentialities declare themselves, must needs be all such as be-
seemeth

seemeth God; that is, *most wonderful*, transcending man's comprehension. And as his *Omnipotency* shewed it self (with *Wisdom and Love*) in the great work of *Creation*, so was it meet that his *Wisdom* should shew it self most wonderfully in the great work of *Redemption*, in order to the as *wonderful* declaration of his *Love and Goodness*, in the great work of our *Salvation*, (our *Regeneration*, and *Glorification*.) And therefore if this were not a *wonderful* work, it were not fit to be parallel with the *Creation*, in demonstrating God's Perfections to our minds.

Object. III. *But how incredible is it that humane nature should, in a glorified Christ, be set above the Angelical nature.*

Ans. There is no arguing in the dark, from things unknown, against what is fully brought to light. What God hath done for man, the Scripture hath revealed, and also that Christ himself is far above the Angels: But what Christ hath done for Angels, or for any other world of creatures, God thought not meet to make us acquainted with. There have been Christians who have thought, (by plausible reasonings from many Texts of Scripture) that Christ hath three Natures, the Divine, and a Super-angelical, and a Humane; and that the Eternal Word did first unite it self to the Super-angelical nature, and in that created the world; and in that appeared to *Abraham* and the other Fathers; and then assumed the Humane nature last of all for *Redemption*: And thus they would reconcile the *Arrians* and the *Orthodox*. But the most Christians hold only two Natures in Christ: but then they say, that he that hath promised that we shall be equal with the Angels, doth know that the nature of Man's Soul and of Angels differ so little, that in advancing one, he doth as it were advance both: and certainly maketh no disorder in nature, by exalting the inferiour in *sensu compositum*, above the Superiour and more excellent. Let us not then deceive our selves, by arguing from things unknown.

Object. IV. *There are things so incredible in the Scripture-Miracles, that it is hard to believe them to be true.*

Ans. 1. No doubt but Miracles must be Wonders: they were not else so sufficient to be a divine attestation, if they were not things exceeding our power and reach. But why should they be thought incredible? Is it because they tran-

scend.

scend the Power of God, or his Wisdom, or his Goodness? Or because they are harder to him than the things which our eyes are daily witnesses of? Is not the motion of the Sun and Orbs, and especially of the *Primum Mobile*, which the Peripateticks teach; yea, or that of the Earth and Globes, which others teach, as great a work, as any miracle mentioned in the holy Scriptures? Shall any man that ever considered the number, magnitude, glory, and motions of the Fixed Stars, object any difficulty to God? Is it not as easie to raise one man from the dead, as to give life to all the living?

2. And are not Miracles according to our own necessities and desires? Do not men call for signs and wonders, and say, If I saw one rise from the dead, or saw a Miracle, I would believe? Or at least, I cannot believe that Christ is the Son of God, unless he work Miracles? And shall that be a hinderance to your belief, which is your last remedy against unbelief? Will you not believe without miracles, and yet will you not believe them because they are Miracles? This is but meer perverseness? as much as to say, we will neither believe with Miracles nor without.

3. Impartially consider of the proof I have before given you, of the certain truth of the *matter of Fact*, that such miracles were really done: and then you may see not only that they are to be believed, but the doctrine to be the rather believed for their sakes.

† Obj. V. *It is hard to believe the Immortality of the Soul, and the Life to come, when we consider how much the soul dependeth in its operations on the body; and how it seemeth but gradually to exceed the bruits: Especially to believe the Eternity of it, or its joyes; when omne quod oritur interit; And if Eternity à parte ante be proper to God, why not Eternity à parte post?*

† Fuge garrulitates anxias Philosophorum qui asserere non erubescunt, suas canumq; animas eandem tenere speciem. Basil. Hexam. l. 8. Interp. Eustath.

Leg. Mammetti Claudiani lib. 3. de statu Animæ; & præcipue Gr. Nyssenum: & quæ ex eo citantur in Casarii Dialog. 3.

This stuck with Galen and some such.

His & talibus adductus Socrates, nec patronum quæsit ad iudicium capitis, nec iudicibus supplex fuit: Adhibuitq; liberam concumaciam à magnitudine animi

ductam, non à superbia: & supremo vitæ die de hoc ipso multa dissensit; & paucis ante diebus, cum facile posset educi à custodia, noluit: Et cum pene in manu iam mortiferum illud teneret poculum, locutus ita est, ut non ad mortem, verum in cælum visurus ascendere. Ita enim censebat atq; disseruit: Duas esse vias, duplicisque cursus animarum à corpore excedentium: Nam qui se humanis vitiis contaminassent, & se totos libidinis dedissent quibus cœcati velut domesticis vitiis atq; flagitiis se inquinassent vel in Republica violenda fraudes inexpressibiles concepissent, iis devium quoddam iter esse seclusum à Concilio Deorum: Qui autem se integros castosque servassent, quibusque fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio, seseque ab his semper sevocassent, essentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati Deorum, his ad illos à quibus essent profecti, reditum facilem patere. Cicero. Tuscul. l. 1. pag. 233.

Anso.

Ans. 1. The Immortality of the Soul, and consequently its perpetual duration, and a life of Retribution after this, did not seem things incredible to most of the Heathens and Infidels in the World: And I have proved it before by evidence of Nature to common Reason. So that to make that incredible in Christianity, which Philosophers and almost all the World ho'd, and which hath cogent natural evidence, is to put out the eye of Reason as well as of Faith.

2. And that it hath much use of, or dependance on the body in its present operations, is no proof at all that when it is out of the body it can no otherwise act or operate. Not to meddle with the controversy, whether it take with it hence the material sensitive Soul as a body afterward to act by? or whether it fabricate to it self an æthereal body? or remain without any body of it self? It is certain, that it was not the Body that was the Principle of Intellection and Volition here: but it was the Soul which did all in the body, but according to the mode of its present coexistence: seeing then that it was the Soul that did it here, why may it not also do it hereafter? If the Candle shine in the Lanthorn, It can shine out of it, though with some difference: He is scarce rational that doubteth whether there be such things as incorporeal invisible intelligences, minds or spirits: And if *they* can act without bodies, why may not *our* minds? Though the Egge would die if the shell were broken, or the Hen did not sit upon it, it doth not follow, that therefore the Chicken cannot live without a shell, or sitting on. Though the Embrio and Infant must have a continuity with the mother, and be nourished by her nourishment, it doth not follow, that therefore it must be so with him, when he is born and grown up to ripeness of age. And when there is full proof that Souls have a future life to live, it is a folly to doubt of it, meerly because we cannot conceive of the manner of their acting without a body: For he that is not desirous to be deceived, must reduce things uncertain and dark, to those that are clear and certain; and not contrarily: All good arguing is *à notioribus*, and not *à minus notis*. The nearer any Being is in excellency unto God, the more there is in it which is hard to be comprehended: Spirits

rits and Minds are excellent Beings; and therefore very imperfectly known even by themselves, while they are in the Lanthorn, the Shell, the Womb of flesh. The Eye is not made to see its own light, though it may see in a Glass the Organ of its sight; And as sight seeth not sight, nor hearing heareth not hearing, nor taste tasteth not tasting, &c. the act being not its own object; But yet by seeing other things, I am most certain that I see, and by hearing, tasting, smelling, &c. I am certain that I hear, taste, and smell; so is not the Intellect here fitted intuitively to understand its own act of understanding; but by understanding other objects, it understandeth that it doth understand: (Though I confess, some learned men in this think otherwise, viz. that the Intellect intuitively knoweth it self.) If a man have a Watch which is kept in order, to tell him the hour of the day, though he know not the reason of the frame, the parts and motions, nor how to take it into pieces, and set it again together, yet it serveth his turn to the use he bought it for. And a Ship may carry him who is unacquainted with the workmanship that's in it: And so if a mans Soul know how to love and please its Maker, and know it self morally, it attaineth its end, though it know not it self physically so far, as to be able to anatomize its faculties and acts. Argue not therefore from obscurities against the Light.

Campanella well saith, that the Soul hath naturally a certain inward knowledge or sense of it self; but when men go about to bring this to such a knowledge as we have of things extrinsical by ratiocination, they oft-times reason themselves into Ignorance and Error. And Cicero hath the very same. Nec vero de hoc quisquam dubitare posset, nisi idem nobis accideret diligenter de animo cogitantibus, quod his saepe usu venit, qui acriter oculis deficientem solem intuerentur, ut aspectum omnino amitterent; sic mentis acies seipsam intuens, nonnunquam hebetescit; ob eamque causam contemplandi diligentiam amittimus. *De Tuscul. lib. 1. p. 333.*

And that man doth not differ from a bruit only in degree, but specifically, he that is indeed a man doth know: Considering what operations the minde of man hath above Bruits; not only in all the most abstruse and wonderful Arts and Sciences, Astronomy, Geometry, Musick, Physick, Navigation, Legislation, Logick, Rhetorick, &c. but also his knowledge of a Creator, a love and fear of him, an obedience to him, and a care for an Everlasting Life: Whether Bruits have Analogical Ratiocination or not, it is certain that these things are far above them.

2. If by the Eternity of our felicity were meant only an *Aetium* of very long duration, it would be so strong a motive

to the pursuit of it, that it would be as strong a motive to the pursuit of it, as the desire of it is to the pursuit of it. *De Tuscul. lib. 1. p. 333.*

to Godliness and Christianity, as with any rational man, as to weigh down all the counter-pleasures of this world.

3. But as long as there is no want of *Power* in God to perpetuate our blessedness, nor any proof that it is disagreeable to his *Wisdom* or his *Will*, why should that seem incredible to us, which is sealed and attested so fully by supernatural revelation, as I have proved? If once the revelation be proved to be Divine, there is nothing in this which reason will not believe.

4. And all they that confess the immortality and perpetuity of the soul, must confess the perpetuity of its pleasure or pain.

5. And why should it be hard for the *Peripatetick* to believe the perpetuity of the soul, who will needs believe the eternity of the world it self, both as *a parte ante*, and *a parte post*? Surely it should seem no difficulty to any of that opinion.

Object. VI. *Who can believe that God will torment his creatures in the flames of hell for ever? Is this agreeable to infinite Goodness?*

Ans. 1. I have fully answered this already, *chap. 15. part 1.* and therefore I must intreat the *Obj.* to peruse his Answer there: Only I shall now say, that it is not incredible that God is the Governour of the world; nor that he hath given man a Law; nor that his Law hath penalties to the disobedient; nor that he is just; and will judge the world according to that Law, and make good his threatnings: nor is it incredible that those who chose sin, when they were fore-told of the punishment, and refused Godliness, when they were fore-told of the blessed reward and fruits, and this with obstinacy to the last, should have no better than they chose. It is not incredible that unholy enemies of God and Holiness, should not live hereafter in the blessed sight and love, and holy delightful fruition of God; no more than that a Swine is not made a King: nor that an immortal Soul, who is excluded immortal happiness by his wilful refusal, should know his folly, and know what he hath lost by it: nor that such knowledge should be his continual torment: nor is it incredible that God will not continue to him the pleasures of whoredom, and gluttony, and drunkenness, and

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sports,

Sospetra ubi — incidit in disputationem de anima in genere; quæ ejus pars supplicio puniatur, quæque interitus sit experta, dum furore quodam divino incitata rapitur, &c. *Euseb. in Hist. p. 594.* Et, ut quod notum est pateat, hæc est hominis vera mors, cum animæ nescientes Deum, per longissimi temporis cruciatu consumuntur ignifero, in quem illas jaciunt quidam crudeliter sævi, & ante Christum incogniti, & ab solo scientie detecti. *Ybi* was the counsel of Arnob. *adv. Gen. l. 2. p. 14.*

sports, and worldly wealth, or tyrannical domination, to quiet him in his loss of heaven: nor that he will deprive him of the temporal mercies which now content him, or may afford him any delight hereafter: nor is it incredible, if his body rise again, that it shall be partaker with his soul: nor that God, who might deprive him of his *being*, if he had been *innocent*, may make him worse, or bring him into a condition to which he would prefer annihilation, when he is an *obstinate impenitent* sinner. It is not incredible, that a good King or Judge may hang a Felon or Traitor, for a crime against man and humane society. Nor is it any goodness in them to be unjust, or to cherish murderers by impunity: none of all this is at all incredible. But it is indeed incredible, till conscience have humbled him, that the Thief or Murderer should *like* this penalty, or think well of the Judge: or that a sinner, who judgeth of good and evil in others as Dogs do, by the interest of his throat or flesh, and thinks them good only that love him, and bad that hurt him and are against him, should ever believe that it is the amiable goodness of God, which causeth him in justice to condemn the wicked.

* *We say not that corporeal fire doth touch the soul. Sed memorata apud inferos generibus multiformes: Equis erit tam brutus, & rerum consequentias nesciens, qui animis incorruptibilibus credat, aut tenebras tartareas posse aliquid nocere? aut ignees fluvios aut exnolis gurgitibus paludes; aut rotarum volubiliū circumactus. Quod enim contiguum non est, & a legibus dissolutionis amotum est, licet omnibus ambiatur flammis, — illibatum necesse est permaneat. Arnob. advers. Gent. l. 2. p. 17. Auct. Bibl. Pat. To. 1.*

* 2. But yet let not misunderstanding make this seem harder to you than indeed it is. Do not think that souls in hell are hanged up in flames, as beasts are hanged in a butchers shambles: or that souls have any pain but what is suitable to souls, (and that's more than bodies bear:) It is an affliction in rational ways, which falls on rational spirits. Devils are now in torment, and yet have a malignant kingdom and order, and rule in the children of disobedience; and go up and down seeking whom they may devour. We know not the particular manner of their sufferings, but that they are forsaken of God, and deprived of his complacential love and mercy; and have the rational misery before described, and such also as shall be suitable to such kind of bodies as they shall have. And while they are immortal, no wonder if their misery be so.

Object. VII. *Who can believe that the damned shall be far more than the saved? and the devil have more than God? How will this stand with the infinite goodness of God?*

Answer. I have fully answered this before in Part 1. chap.

11. and should now adde but this; 1. In our enquiries, we must begin with the *primum cognita*, or *notissima*, as aforesaid: that God is most good, and also just, and punisheth sinners, is before proved to be among the *notissima*, or *primum cognita*; and therefore it is most certain, that these are no way contradictory to each other.

2. And if it be no contradiction to God's goodness, to punish and cast off for ever the *lesser part* of the world, then it is none to punish or cast off the *greater part*. The inequality of number will not alter the case.

3. It is no way against the goodness of humane Governours, in some cases, to punish even the *greater number*, according to their deserts.

in eadem videamus expectatione versari? Si irrisione existimamus d'gni, quod spem nobis hujusmodi pollicemur, & vos eadem expectat irrisio, qui spem vobis immortalitatis adsciscitis. Si tenetis aliquam sequiminique ratione, & nobis portione ex ista rationem concedite. Si nobis hac gaudia Plato promississet — Consensaneum fuerat ejus suscipere nos cultus, à quo tantum doni expectaremus & muneris. Nunc cum eam Christus non tantum promiserit, verum etiam virtutibus tantis manifestaverit, posse compleri, quid alienum facimus aut stultitiam crimen quibus rationibus sustineamus, si ejus nomini Majestatique substernimur à quo speramus utrumque & mortem cruciabilem fugere, & vitam æternitate donari? *page 17. Auct. Bib. Pat. To. 1.*

4. Can any man that openeth his eyes deny it in matter of fact, that the far greater part of the world is *actually ungodly*, worldly, sensual and disobedient? Or that such are *meet* for punishment, and *unmeet* for the love and holy fruition of God? When I see that most men are *ungodly*, and *unable* of Heaven, is it not harder to reason, to believe that these *shall have* that joy and employment of which they are *unable*, than that they *shall have* the punishment which agreeth with their capacity, desert and choice? Must I believe that *God's enemies shall love him for ever*, merely because they are the *greater number*? If one man that dieth *unrepented* be capable of heaven, another is so, and all are so: Therefore I must either believe that *no impenitent* ungodly person is saved, or that *all be saved*. The number therefore is nothing to the deciding of the case.

5. Can any man in his wits deny, that it is as sure that God permitteth sin in the world, as that the Sun shineth on us: yea, that he permitteth that universal enormous deluge of wickedness which the world groaneth under at this day?

And seeing most of the Heathens believe the Immortality of souls, and the Justice of God, it is meet that they believe a punishment for the bad, as they do a reward for the good. As Arnobius saith, lib. 2. advers. Gent. Cum igitur hæc ita sunt, quamquam injustitia tanta est, ut fatui vobis credulitate in ista videamur? Cum vos & familia credere, &

quod si in ista vita non habuerint, in altera habebunt. Sed quod si in ista vita non habuerint, in altera habebunt. Sed quod si in ista vita non habuerint, in altera habebunt.

And that this sin is the souls calamity; and to a right judgment, is much worse than punishment, what ever beastly sensuality may gainsay. If then the *visible wickedness* of the world be permitted by God, without any impeachment of his *goodness*, then certainly his *goodness* may consist with punishment, (which as such is good, when sin is evil:) And much of this punishment also is but materially permitted by God, and executed by sinners upon themselves.

6. The *wisdom and goodness* of God saw it meet, for the right government of this world, to put the *threatnings* of an *everlasting punishment* in his *Law*: (and how can that man have the face to say, it was *needless*, or *too much* in the *Law*, with whom it prov'd *not enough* to weigh down the trifling interests of the flesh.) And if it was meet to put that penalty in the *Law*, it is just and meet to put that *Law* into execution, how many soever fall under the penalty of it, (as hath been proved.)

7. The *goodness* of God consisteth not in a Will to make all his creatures as *great*, or *good and happy*, as he *can*: but it is *essentially* in his *infinite perfections*, and *expressively* in the *communication* of so much to his creatures, as he *seeth meet*, and in the accomplishment of his *own pleasure*, by such ways of *Benignity and Justice* as are most suitable to his *Wisdom and Holiness*. Man's *personal interest* is an unfit rule and measure of God's *goodness*.

8. To recite what I said, and speak it plainlier, I confess it greatly quieteth *my mind* against this great objection of the numbers that are damned and cast off for ever, to consider how small a part this earth is of God's creation, as well as how sinful and impenitent. Ask any Astronomer, that hath considered the innumerable number of the fixed Stars and Planets, with their distances, and magnitude, and glory, and the uncertainty that we have whether there be not as many more, or an hundred or thousand times as many, unseen to man, as all those which we see (considering the *defectiveness* of man's sight, and the Planets about *Jupiter*, with the innumerable Stars in the Milky way, which the Tube hath lately discovered, which man's eyes without it could not see,) I say, ask any man who knoweth these things, whether all this earth be any more in comparison of the

Of the probability of the habitation of the Planets, see Gassendus, and his reasons, that the inhabitants are not men of our species, but that the inhabitants are diversified as the habitations are, and other things in the universe.

the whole creation, than one Prison is to a Kingdom or Empire, or the paring of one nail, or a little mole, or wart, or a hair, in comparison of the whole body. And if God should cast off *all this earth*, and use *all the sinners* in it as they deserve, it is no more sign of a want of benignity or mercy in him, than it is for a King to cast *one subject* of a *million* into a jail, and to hang him for his murder, or treason, or rebellion; or for a man to kill *one louse*, which is but a molestation to the body which beareth it; or than it is to *pare a mans nails*, or cut off a wart, or a hair, or to pull out a rotten aking tooth. I know it is a thing uncertain and unrevealed to us, whether all these *Globes* be inhabited or not: but he that considereth, that there is scarce any uninhabitable place on earth, or in the *water*, or air, but men, or beasts, or birds, or fishes, or flies, or worms and moles do take up almost all, will think it a probability so near a certainty, as not to be much doubted of, that the *vaster and more glorious* parts of the Creation are not uninhabited; but that they have Inhabitants answerable to their magnitude and glory (as Palaces have other inhabitants than Cottages): and that there is a connaturality and agreeableness there as well as here, between the Region or *Globe*, and the inhabitants. But whether it be the *Globes* themselves, or only the inter-spaces, or other parts that are thus inhabited, no reason can doubt, but that those more vast and glorious spaces are proportionably possess'd: And whether they are all to be called *Angels* or *Spirits*, or by what other name, is unrevealed to us: but what ever they are called, I make no question but our number to theirs is not one to a million at the most.

Though Cicero frequently derideth the superstitious fear of Hell, yet he meaneth not of all future punishment of the wicked, but of the Poets fables of Styx, Cerberus, Tantalus, and Syphilus kind of penalties, and of Minos and Rhadamanthus the infernal Judges.

Sed Genetis Christus humani (inquit) conservator advenit cur non omnes æquali munificentia liberat? Resp. Æqualiter liberat, qui æquaver omnes vocat: Haud ab indigentia principali quovisquam repellit, aut respuit: qui sublimibus, infimis, servis, &c. uniformiter potestatem veniendi ad se facit? Patet omnibus fons vitæ, neque ab jure potandi quiscquam prohibetur. Si tibi fastidium tantum est, ut oblatis respuas beneficium muneris, quinimo si tantum sapientia prævalens, ut ea omez

feruntur à Christo ludum & ineprias nomines quid invicans peccas, cujus solum sunt hæ partes, ut sub cui juri arbitrio frustum suæ benignitatis exponat? — Anorandus es ut beneficium salutis à Deo digneris accipere, & tibi aspernanti, fugientique longissime, infundenda est ingremium divinæ benevolentia: gratis? Vis sumere quod offertur, & in tuos usus convertere? Consultaveris ut tibi. Aspernaris, contemnis & despicias, te muneris commoditate privaveris. Nulli Deus infert necessitatem. *Obiect.* Nolo (inquit) & voluntatem non habeo. *Resp.* Quid ergo criminaris Deum, tanquam tibi desit? Opem desideras tibi ferre, cujus dona & munera non tantum asperneris & fugias, verum in alia verba cognominas, & jocularibus facetiis prosequaris. *Arno. adv. Gen. l. 2.*

Now this being so, for ought we know those glorious parts may have inhabitants without *any sin or misery*; who are filled with their *Makers love and goodness*; and so are fitter to be the demonstration of that *love and goodness*, than this sinful mole-hill or dungeon of ignorance is. If I were sure that God would save *all mankind*, and only leave the *devils* in their damnation, and forsake no part of his Creation but *their Hell*, it would not be any great stumbling to my faith: Or if *Earth* were all God's creation, and I were sure that he would condemn but one man of a hundred thousand, or a million, and that only for *final impenitency* in the contempt of the mercy which would have saved him; this would be no great difficulty to my faith. Why then should it be an offence to us, if God, for their final refusal of his grace, do for ever forsake and punish the far greater part of this little dark and sinful world, while he glorifieth his Bignity and Love abundantly upon innumerable Angels, and blessed Spirits, and inhabitants of those more large and glorious seats? If you would judge of the Beneficence of a King, will you go to the Jail and the Gallows to discern it, or to his Palace and all the rest of his Kingdom? And will you make a few condemned malefactors the measure of it? or all the rest of his obedient prosperous subjects? If *Hell* be totally forsaken of God, as having totally forsaken him; and if *Earth* have made it self next to *Hell*, and be forsaken as to the far greater part, because that greater part hath forsaken him; as long as there may be millions of blessed ones above, to one of these forsaken ones on earth, it should be no offence to any but the selfish guilty sinner. I confess I rather look on it as a great demonstration of God's holiness and goodness in his Justice, that he will punish the rebellious according to his *Laws*; and a great demonstration of his Goodness in his Mercy, that he will save *any* of such a rebellious world, and hath not forsaken it utterly as *Hell*: And when of all the thousands of *Worlds* or *Globes* which he hath made, we know of none forsaken by him, but *Hell*, and part of the *Earth*, all the *Devils*, and most of *Men*; we should admire the glory of his bounry, and be thankful with joy, that we are not of the forsaken number; and that even among sinners, he will cast off none but those that finally reject his mercy.

But

Eunomiani minas fur-
uri supplicii & ge-
henae, non ad veri-
tatem, sed ad metum
prolatas aiebant. Her-
menopol. de Selsis.
Sels. 13.

But *selfishness* and *sense* do make men blinde, and judge of Good and Evil only by *self-interest* and *feeling*; and the malefactor will hardly magnifie Justice, nor take it to be a sign of Goodness: But God will be God whether selfish rebels will or not.

Obj. *That any thing existeth besides God cannot be known but by sense or history: Have you either of these for those Inhabitants? And if we may go by Conjectures, for ought you know there may as many of those Worlds be damned, as of earthly men.*

Ans. 1. Some men are so little conscious of their humanity, that they think that nothing is known at all: But he that knoweth by sense that *He is himself*, and that there is a *World about him*, and then by Reason that there is a *God*, may know also by Reason that there are other Creatures which he never saw: Neither *sense* nor *history* told us of the inhabitants of the (then) unknown parts of the World; and yet it had been easie to gather at least a strong probability that there are such. He that knoweth that an intelligent Nature is better than a non-intelligent, and then knoweth that God hath made man intelligent, and then thinketh what difference there is in matter, magnitude and glory, between the dirty body of Man with the Earth he liveth in, and those vast and glorious Ethereal spaces; will quickly judge that it is a thing incredible, that God should have no Creatures nobler than man, nor imprint more of his Image upon any in those more glorious Regions, than on us that dwell as Snails in such a shell; or that there should be such a strange disproportion in the works of God, as that a *punctum* of dirty earth only should be possessed of the Divine or Intellectual nature, and the vast and glorious Orbs or Spaces be made only to look on, or to serve these mortal Worms: But proofs go according to the preparation of the Receivers minde: Nothing is a proof to the unprepared and prejudiced.

2. We have *sense* by the Telescope to tell us, that the Moon hath parts unequal, and looketh much like the habitable Earth: And we have *sense* to tell us, that there are *Witches* and *Apparitions*, and consequently other kinde of intellectual Wights than we. And we have History to tell us
of

of the appearances and offices of Angels : And if there be certainly such wights, our eyes may help us to conjecture at their Numbers (compared to us) by the spaces which they inhabit.

3. There is a proportion and harmony in all the works of God : And therefore we that see how much the superiour Orbs do in glory excell this dirty Earth, have reason to think that the nature of the Inhabitants is suited to their Habitations ; and consequently that they are more excellent Creatures than we, and therefore less sinfull, and therefore more happy.

4. Yet after all this, I am neither asserting that all this is so, nor bound to prove it. I only argue, that you who are offended at the numbers that sin and perish, do wrangle in the dark, and speak against you know not what. Conjecture is enough for me, to prove that you do foolishly to argue against experience (of the sin and misery of the most) upon meer uncertainties. You will not censure the actions of a Prince or Generall, when your ignorance of their Counsels maketh you uncertain of the *cause*; yea and of the *matter of fact* it self. The proof lyeth on your part, and not on mine : You say, *our doctrine is incredible*, because so few are saved, and yet confess that for ought you know, taking all together it may be many millions for one that perisheth. I think by proving you *uncertain* of this, I prove you foolish in your Infidelity. And if you will *conjecture* then, that there may as many of those other Regions be damned, 1. You shew your selves much more harsh in your censures than the Christians are, whose harshness you are now reprovng : Yea you conjecture this without all ground or probability. And will you say then, *For ought I know it may be so, Ergo, Christianity is incredible* ? Can a groundless conjecture allow any rational man such a Conclusion ?

Obj. But you say your selves that many of the Angels fell, and are now Devils.

Ans. But we say not *how many* : we never said that it is the whole number of the Glorious Inhabitants of all the superiour World, who are called *Angels*, as Messengers or Officers about man : we know not how small a part of them comparatively it may be : And of them we know not

how few fell. *Augustine* conjectured that it was the tenth part; but we have no ground for any such conjecture.

Obj. But it is incredible that the World should perish for one mans sin, whom they never knew, nor could prevent?

Ans. 1. To them that know what Generation is, and what the Son is to the Father, it is not incredible at all that the unholy Parents do not beget holy Children, nor convey to them that which they have not themselves; nor yet that God should hate the unholy: Nor that the Parents choice should signifie much for their Childrens state, who have no wills of their own fit for actual choice; nor that restored imperfect holiness should not be conveyed to Children by natural propagation; which came to the Parents by Regeneration: nor that the Children of Traytors should be disinherited for their Fathers faults: nor that the Children of Drunkards and Gluttons should be naturally diseased.

2. No man in the World doth perish for *Adams* sin alone without his own: (Though we judge the case of Infants to allow you no exception, yet to carry the controversie to them into the dark, and to argue *à minus notis*, is not the property of such as seek impartially for truth.) Christ hath procured a new Covenant upon which all those that hear the Gospel, shall again be tryed for life or death: And those that hear it not, have divers means which have a tendency to their recovery, and are under undeniable Obligations to use those means in order to their recovery: which if they do not faithfully, they perish for their own sin. Should it not make Christianity *the more easily credible*, when certain experience assureth us, how prone even Infants are to sin, and how universally the World is drown'd in wickedness; and then to finde so admirable and suitable a Remedy revealed?

Obj. But Punishment is to warn others from sinning: But after this life there will be none to warn: therefore there will be no punishment, because the end of punishing ceaseth.

Ans. 1. It is a false position, that punishment is only or chiefly to be a warning to others. It is chiefly for the ultimate end of Government, which *secundum quid* among men, is the *bonum publicum*; but *simpliciter*, in Gods Government,

vernment, it is the Glorifying or demonstration of the Holiness and Justice of God the universal Governour, to the pleasure of his holy will.

See more of this before, Part I Ch. 15. The Reader may pardon this speaking of the same thing twice, both because the Object on which the repetition is, and because I think it needfull to most Readers; to procure their observation.

Aur ideo gregem pusillum appellat, quia totum hominum genus, ne dum soli sancti, cum immensa illa Angelorum multitudine, collatum, perexiguus grex est. Est enim illorum multitudo incredibilis, hominum numerum infinitis pene partibus excedens. Titus Rofensis in Luc. cap. 12.

2. It is the Penalty as Threatned in the Law, and not the penalty as executed, which is the first necessary means to deterre others from offending: And then the execution is secondarily necessary, because the Law must be fulfilled. It is not the actual hanging of a murderer; which is the first necessary instrument or means to restrain murderers: But it is the Penalty in the Law, which saith that Murderers shall be hanged: And the commination of the Law would be no restraint, if it were not that it relateth to a just execution. So that it was necessary to the restraint of sinners in *this world*, that God should threaten Hell in his Law: And therefore it is necessary that he execute that Law; or else it would be delusory, and contemptible.

3. How know we who shall survive this present World, to whom God may make mans Hell a warning? Are not the Devils now set out in Scripture for a warning to *Man*? And how know we what other Creatures God hath, to whom these punished sinners may be a warning? Or whether the *New Earth*, wherein Righteousness must dwell, according to Gods Promise (2 Pet. 3. 12, 13.) shall not have use of this warning to keep them in their righteousness? As long as all these things are probable, and the contrary utterly uncertain, how foolish a thing is it, to go from the light of a plain Revelation and Scripture, and argue from our dark uncertainties and improbabilities against that light? And all because self-love and guilt doth make sinners unwilling to believe the truth? So much for the Objection against Hell.

Obj. VIII. But it is incredible, that all those shall be damned that live honestly and soberly, and do no body harm, if they do not also live a holy and heavenly life, and forsake all for another World.

We deny not but that there are different degrees of punishment according to the difference of mens sins.

Answer. It is but selfishness and blindness, which maketh men call him an honest man, and speak lightly of his wickedness who preferreth the dung and trifles of this World, before his Maker, and Everlasting glory: What if a pack of Murderers, Thieves and Rebels, do live together in love, and

and do one another no harm? shall that excuse their murders or rebellions, and give them the name of *honest men*? What is the Creature to the Creator? what greater wickedness can man commit, than to deny, despise and disobey his Maker? and to preferre the most contemptible vanity before him? and to chooſe the transitory pleasure of sinning, before the endless fruition of his God? what is wronging a Neighbour, in comparison of this wrong? shall a sinner refuse his everlasting happiness when it is offered him, and then think to have it, when he can possess the pleasure of sin no longer? and all because *he did no man wrong*? Doth he think to refuse Heaven, and yet to have it? If he refuse the Love of God, and perfection of Holiness, he refuseth Heaven. It is so far from being incredible that the unholy should be damned, and the *Holy* only saved, that the contrary is *impossible*: I would not believe an Angel from Heaven, if he should tell me that one unholy Soul, *in sensu composito, while such*, shall be saved, and have the heavenly felicity: because it is a meer contradiction. For to be blessed in Heaven, is to be happy in the perfect Love of God: And to love God without Holiness, signifieth to love him without loving him. Are these the Objections of unbelief?

Obj. IX. *The Resurrection of these Numerical Bodies, when they are devoured and turned into the substance of other bodies, is a thing incredible.*

Ans. 1. If it be neither against the *Power*, the *Wisdom*, or the *Will* of God, it is not incredible at all. But it is not against any of these. Who can say, that God is *unable* to raise the dead, who seeth so much greater things performed by him, in the daily motion of the Sun (or Earth) and in the support and course of the whole frame of Nature? He that can every Spring give a kinde of Resurrection, to Plants and Flowers, and Fruits of the Earth, can easily raise our bodies from the dust. And no man can prove, that the *Wisdom* of God, or yet his *Will*, are against our Resurrection; but that both

Esti moralibus in decies millem annos hæc externis sensibus expolita vita producatur, nunquam tamen opinor tantæ Angelorum & Daemonum multitudinis, humanarum animarum numerus par erit. Aeneas Giræus de Anmâ Trophæi. lib. 3. p. 399.

† Cum non esset, reformavit ex hominibus & minima substantia, & ex minutissima guttula, quæ nec ipsi aliquando erat. Thoph. An. iach. ad Anotych. l. 1.

One that had never heard nor thought of the way of generation, would think it as unlikely a thing that an Acon should bring forth an Oak, or such a thing as sperma humanum the Body of a man, as you do that the body rise again. And the Platonists

think, that all Souls presently upon their departure hence do subsist to themselves either aerial or ethereal bodies: And why should you think them so alienated from the bodies which they lived in, as only to be incapable of those? If we knew what the *hoc idem* of the Body is, we might have more particular explicit satisfaction: In the mean time we must implicitly trust in God. Leg.

Finem Disput. Zacharie Scholast. Mytlen.

Legē etiam Athenagoram de Resurrectione.

Read Garbus of the Resurrection.

Read Aen. Gazpus his Theophrastus, where is a handsome discourse of the Resurrection.

are for it, may be proved by his Promises: Shall that which is beyond the power of Man, be therefore objected as a difficulty to God?

2. Yea, it is congruous to the Wisdom and Governing Justice of God, that the same Body which was partaker with the Soul in sin and duty, should be partaker with it in suffering or felicity?

3. The Lord Jesus Christ did purposely die and rise again in his humane body, to put the Resurrection out of doubt, by undeniable ocular demonstration, and by the certainty of belief.

4. There is some *Natural Reason* for the Resurrection in the Souls inclination to its Body. As it is unwilling to lay it down, it will be willing to reassume it, when God shall say, The time is come. As we may conclude at night when they are going to bed, that the people of City and Countrey will rise the next morning, and put on their Cloaths, and not go naked about the streets, because there is in them a *Natural inclination to rising* and to *cloaths*, and a natural averiness to *lie still* or to *go unclothed*; so may we conclude from the *souls natural inclination* to its body, that it will reassume it as soon as God consenteth:

5. And all our Objections which reason from supposed contradictions vanish; because none of us all have so much skill in Physicks as to know what it is which *individuates* this Numerical Body, and so what it is which is to be restored: But we all confess, that it is not the present mass of flesh and humours, which being in a continual flux, is not the same this year which it was the last, and may vanish long before we die.

Obj. X. If Christ be indeed the Saviour of the World, why came he not into the World till it was 4000 years old? And why was he before revealed to so few? and to them so darkly? Did God care for none on earth, but a few Jews? or did he not care for the Worlds recovery till the later age, when it drew towards its end?

Ans. It is hard for the Governour of the World, by ordinary means, to satisfie all self-concerned persons of the wisdom and equity of his dealings. But 1. it belongeth not to us, but to our free Benefactor, to determine of the measure,

time, and season of his benefits: May he not do with His own as he list? And shall we deny or question a *proved truth*, because the reason of the circumstances is unrevealed to us? If our Physician come to cure us of a mortal disease, would we reject him because he came not sooner? and because he cured not all others that were sick as well as us?

2. The Eternal Wisdom and Word of God, the second Person in the Trinity, was the Saviour of the World before he was incarnate. He did not only by his *Undertaking*, make his future performances valid, as to the merit and satisfaction necessary to our deliverance; but he *instructed* Mankind in order to their recovery, and *Ruled* them upon terms of *grace*, and so did the work of a Redeemer or Mediator, even as Prophet, Priest and King, before his Incarnation. He enacted the Covenant of Grace, that whoever repenteth and believeth shall be saved; and so gave man a conditional pardon of their sins.

If Philosophy be medicinal to the foolish world, why were Thales, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Zeno born no sooner? but the world suffered to lie so long in ignorance? Answer thus your selves, and you are answered.

3. And though Repentance and the Love of God, was necessary to all that would be saved, even as a constitutive cause of their salvation; yet that *Faith* in the *Mediator*, which is but the *means* to the Love of God, and to sanctification, was not alwayes, nor in all places, in the same particular Articles necessary as it is now, where the Gospel is preached. Before Christs coming, a *more general belief* might serve the turn, for mens salvation; without believing, that [This Jesus is the Christ; that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended to Hades, and rose again the third day, and ascended into Heaven, &c.] And as more is necessary to be believed, since Christs incarnation and resurrection than before; so more was *before* necessary to the *Jewes*, who had the Oracles of God, and had more revealed to them than to other Nations who had less revealed: And *now* more is necessary where the Gospel cometh, than where it doth not.

Arnobius answereth this Objection, partly by alledging mans ignorance of what God did to former ages, and partly by offering Gods mercy to them. adv. Gentiles li. 2.

4. So that the *Gentiles* had a Saviour before Christs Incarnation, and not only the *Jewes*. They were reprieved from Legal Justice, and not dealt with by God upon the proper terms of the Covenant of Works, or meer Nature: They had all of them much of that mercy which they had

Obj. Quid visum est ut ante horas pauculas sospirator Christus coeli ex arcibus mitteretur? *Resp.*

Quae causa est quod serius hyems, æstas, autumnus fiant? — Non minus incitias nescire nos: nec promptum est cuiquam Dei mentem videre, aut quibus modis ordinaverit res suas, homo animal cœcum & ipsum se nesciens ullis potest rationibus consequi. — Nec continuo sequitur ut insecta fiant quæ facta sunt; & auittat res fidem, quæ potestatibus est monstratum. *Id. ib.*

Nam quod nobis obiectare consuevit, novellam esse Religionem nostram, & ante dies propemodum paucos natam, neque vos potuisse antiquam & patriam linquere, &c. ratione istud intenditur nulla: Quid enim si hoc modo

culpam velimus insligere, prioribus illis & antiquissimis seculis, quod invenitis frugibus glandes spreverint, quod corticibus contegi, & amiciri deserierint pellibus, postquam vestis erexitur est textili, — Commune est omnibus & ab ipsis pene incommutabilis traditum, bona malis anteferre, inutilibus utilia præponere — Convenit ut inspicieris non factum, nec quid reliquerimus opponere, sed secuti quid sumus potissimum contueri. *Arnob. ib. l. 2.* And he next instances, what abundance of things they had then innovated at Rome. Et postea — sed novellum nomen est nostrum, & ante dies paucos Religio est nata quam sequimur: *Resp.* Ut interim concedamus. Quid est in negotiis hominum, quod vel opere corporis & manibus fiat, vel solius animæ disciplina & cognitione reneatur, quod non ex aliquo ceperit tempore? Philosophia, Musica, Astronomia, &c. *Id. ib. p. 24.*

forfeited; which came to them by the Grace of the Redeemer. They had time and helps to turn to God, and a course of means appointed them to use, in order to their recovery and salvation: According to the use of which they shall be judged: They were not with the Devils left remediless, and shut out of all hope, under final desperation: No one ever perished in any Age or Nation of the World, who by believing in a mercifull, pardoning, holy God, was recovered to love God above all. And if they did not this, they were all without a just excuse.

5. The course of Grace as that of Nature, doth wisely proceed from low degrees to higher, and bringeth not things to perfection at the first: The Sun was not made the first day of the Creation; nor was Man made, till all things were prepared for him. The Churches Infancy was to go before its Maturity. We have some light of the Sun, before it rises much more before it come to the height: As Christ now teacheth his Church more plainly, when he is himself gone into Glory, even by his Pastors whom he fitteth for that work, and by his Spirit; so did he (though more obscurely yet sufficiently) teach it before he came in the flesh, by Prophets and Priests: His work of Salvation consisteth in bringing men to live in Love and Obedience: And his way of Teaching them his saving doctrine is by his Ministers without, and by his Spirit within: And *thus* he did before his coming in flesh, and *thus* he doth since: we that are born since his coming, see not his Person, any more than they who were born before. But *we* have his *Word*, *Ministers*, and *Spirit*, and so had *they*: His reconciling sacrifice was effectual morally in esse cognito & volito before the performance of it: And the means of reconciling *our minds* to God, were sufficient in their kind before, though more full and excellent since his coming.

If you would not be deluded into Infidelity by this objection (which indeed is one of the greatest difficulties of Faith) you must not further one error by another. 1. Think not that God is *bired* or *perswaded* by Christ as against his will to forgive mens sins and save their souls, or to do them any good. Understand, that no good cometh to man, or any Creature, but totally from *Gods will and Love*, who is the Original and Eternal Goodness. All the question is but of the *modus conferendi*, the way of his Conveyance: And then it will not seem incredible, that he should give out his mercy by degrees, and with some diversity.

2. Think not that Christianity dorth teach men, that all those who were not of the *Jewish* Nation or Church then, or that are not now of the Christian Church, were so cast off and forsaken by God as the Devils are, to be left as *utterly hopeless* or *remediless*: nor that they were upon no other terms for salvation, than man in innocency was under; which was [*Obey perfectly and live; or if thou sin, thou shalt die*]: For this had been to leave them as *hopeless* as the Devils, when once they had sinned.

3. And think not that Christ can shew no mercy, nor do any thing towards the salvation of a sinner, before he is *known himself* to the sinner; especially before he is known as an *incarnate Mediator*, or one that *is to be incarnate*. He struck down *Paul*, and spake to him from Heaven, before *Paul* knew him: He sent *Philip* to the Eunuch, before he knew him, and *Peter* to *Cornelius*, and sendeth the Gospel to Heathen Nations, before they know him. If the Apostles themselves, even after that they had lived long with Christ, and heard his preaching, and seen his Miracles, yea and preached and wrought Miracles themselves, did not yet understand that he must suffer, and die, and rise again, and send down the Spirit, &c. you may conjecture by this what the common Faith of those before Christs coming was, who were saved.

4. Think not therefore that Christ hath no way or degree of effectual Teaching, but by the express doctrine of his Incarnation, Death and Resurrection, which is now
THE GOSPEL.

5. And think not that all the mercies which Pagan Nations

Religionis auctoritas
non est tempore esti-
manda sed numine.
Id. ib. Yet next he
saith, Our Religion is
the oldest, because God
is so, though Christ
came but lately to teach
it us better.

tions have from God, are no acts of Grace, nor have any tendency to their conversion and salvation. Doubtless, it is the same Redeemer, even the eternal *Wisdom* and *Word* of God, who *before* his Incarnation gave greater mercy to the *Jews*, and lesser to the *Gentiles*: He doth by these mercies oblige or lead men to *Repentance* and *Gratitude*, and reveal God as mercifull and ready to forgive all capable sinners: As even under the Law, *Exod. 34.* he revealed himself fully to *Moses*, [*The Lord, the Lord God, mercifull and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin, &c.*] though he *will by no means* (no not by Christ) clear the guilty, that is, either say to the wicked, thou art just, or pardon any incapable subject. Doubtless, mercy bindeth Heathens to know God as mercifull, and to love him, and to improve that mercy to their attainment of more, and to seek after further knowledge, and to be better than they are; and they are set under a certain course of Means, and appointed Duty, in order to their recovery and salvation: Else it might be said, that they have nothing to do for their own recovery, and consequently sin not by omitting it. By all this you may perceive, that Christ did much by *Mercies* and *Teaching* before his Incarnation, and since for all the World, which hath a tendency to their conversion, recovery and salvation.

Obj. XI. *The conception of a Virgin, without man, is improbable; and must all depend upon the credit of her own word: And the meanness of her Parentage, breeding and condition, doth more increase the difficulty.*

Ans. 1. It was meet that the birth of Christ should begin in a Miracle, when his life was to be spent and finished in Miracles. 2. It is no more than was promised before by the Prophet, *Isa. 7. 14. A Virgin shall conceive and bear a Son, &c.* And why should the fulfilling of a Prophecy by miracle be incredible? 3. It is neither above nor against the Power, Wisdom or Love of God, and therefore it should not seem incredible. There is no contradiction or impossibility in it, nor any thing contrary to Sense or Reason. Reason saith indeed, that it is above the power of man, and above the common course of Nature; but not that it is above the Power of

of the God of Nature : Is it any harder for God to cause a Virgin to conceive by the Holy Ghost, than to make the first of Humane kinde, (or any other kinde) of nothing ?

4. It was meet that he who was to be a Sacrifice for sin, and a Teacher and pattern of perfect righteousness, and a Mediator between God and Man, should not be an ordinary Childe of Adam, nor be himself defiled with Original or actual sin; and therefore that he should be in a peculiar sense the Son of God. 5. And this doth not depend only on the Credit of the Virgin-mothers word, but on the multitude of Miracles whereby God himself confirmed the truth of it.

And as for the *Meanness* of his Person and Condition, 1. It was a needfull part of the humiliation which he was for our sins to undergo; that he should *take upon him the form of a Servant, and make himself of no reputation*, Phil. 2. 7, 8, 9. 2. It was a suitable testimony against the *pride, carnality, and worldly-mindedness* of deluded men, who over-value the honour and pleasure and riches of the World: And a suitable means to teach men to judge of things aright, and value every thing truly as it is. The contrary whereof is the cause of all the sin and misery of the World. He that was to cure men of the *Love of the World*, and all its riches, dignities and pleasure, &c he that was to *save them* from this, by the Office of a Saviour, could not have taken a more effectual way, than to teach them by his own example, and to go before them in the settled contempt of all these vanities, and preferring the true and durable felicity. 3. Look *inwardly* to his God-head, and spiritual perfections: Look upward to his present state of Glory, who hath now all power given into his hands, and is made Head over all things to the Church, Eph. 1. 22. Look *forward* to the day of his glorious appearing, when he shall come with all his Celestial Retinue, to judge the World: And then you will see the Dignity and excellency of Christ. If you preferre not spiritual and heavenly dignities your selves, you are incapable of them, and cannot be saved: But if you do, you may see the excellencies of Christ. He that knoweth how vain a bubble the honour of man and the glory of this world is, will not be offended at the King of Saints because his Kingdom is not of this World: And he that knoweth any thing

of the difference between God and the Creature, Heaven and Earth, will not despise the Eternal *Jeboah*, because he weareth not a filken Coat, and dwelleth not in the gilded Palaces of a Prince: If Earthly Glory had been the highest, it had been the glory of Christ: And if he had come to make us happy by the rich mans way, *Luk. 16. To be clothed in Purple and Silk, and faring sumptuously every day*, then would he have led us this way by his example. But when it is the work of a Saviour to save us from the flesh, and from this present evil World, the Means must be suited to the end.

Oij. XII. But it is a very hard thing to believe that person to be God Incarnate, and the Saviour of the World, who suffered on a Cross, as a Blasphemer and a Traytor that usurped the Title of a King.

Ans. The Cross of Christ hath ever been the stumbling-block of the proud and worldly sort of men. But it is the confidence and consolation of true Believers. For 1. It was not for his own sins but for ours that he suffered: Even so was it prophesied of him, *Isa. 53. 4. Surely, he hath born our griefs, and carryed our sorrows; yet did we esteem him stricken of God, and afflicted: But he was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed: All we like Sheep have gone astray, we have every one turned to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.* And it is impudent ingratitude to make those his sufferings the occasion of our unbelief, which we were the causes of our selves; and to be ashamed of that Cross which we laid upon him by our sins. It is not worth the labour to answer the slanders of his accusers, about his usurpation of a Kingdom, when they believed it not themselves: He was above a worldly Kingdom. And it could be no blasphemy for him to say that he *was the Son of God*, when he had so fully proved it by his works.

I eg. Ivon Carnotens. de rebus Ecclesiast. cap. Quare Deus natus & passus est? Bibl. Pat. Io. 10. pag. 809, 810. Etiam Ruper. Tuitiens. li. 3. de Divinis Offic. cap. 14. de eo quod solet quæri, Cur Deus lapsus hominis evenire permiserit, pro quo Incarnatio ejus necessaria fuit? pag. 897. Pythagoras faminus suspicione dominationis injustâ vivus concremarus in fano est: Nunquid ea quæ docuit, vim

propriam perdidit, quis non Spiritum sponte, sed crudelitate appetitus effudit: Similiter Socrates civitatis suæ judicio damnatus, &c. Aquilæ, Trebonius, Regulus, acerbissimarum mortium experti sunt formæ: nunquid ideo post vitam judicari sunt turpes? Nemo unquam innocens male interemptus infamis est; nec turpitudinis alicujus commaculatur notæ, qui non suo merito, potius graves, sed cruciatis perpetuitur servitatem. Arab. adv. Gen. li. 1. p. 7.

2. His suffering as a reputed Malefactor on a Cross, was a principal part of the merit of his Patience: For many a man can bear the *corporal pain*, who cannot so far deny his honour, as to bear the imputation of a *Crime*: For the innocent Son of God, that was never convict of sin, to suffer under the name of a *Blasphemer* and a *Traitor*, was greater condescension, than to have suffered under the name of an innocent person.

3. And in all this it was needfull that the Saviour of Mankind, should not only be a Sacrifice and Ransom for our sinfull Souls, but also should heal us of the over-love of *Life*, and *Honour* by his Example. Had not his self-denial and patience extended to the loss of all things in this World, both life it self, and the reputation of his righteousness, it had not been a perfect example of self-denial and patience unto us. And then it had been unmeet for so great a work, as the cure of our Pride and love of Life. Had Christ come to deliver the *Jews* from Captivity, or to make his Followers great on Earth, as *Mahomet* did, he would have suited the Means to such an End: But when he came to save men from *pride*, and *self-love*, and the esteem of this World, and to bring them to Patience, and full obedience to the will of God, and to place all their happiness in another life, true Reason telleth us that there was no example so fit for this end, as Patient submission to the greatest sufferings. The Cross of Christ then shall be our glory, and not our stumbling-block or shame. Let the Children of the Devil boast, that they are able to do hurt, and to trample upon others: The Disciples of Christ will rather boast, that they can patiently endure to be abused, as knowing that their Pride and Love of the World, is the enemy which they are most concern'd in conquering.

Obj. XIII. *It was but a few mean unlearned persons who believed in him at the first: And it is not past a sixth part of the World, that yet believeth in him: And of these, few do it judiciously and from their hearts, but because their Kings or Patrons, or Countrey are of that Religion.*

Ans. 1. As to the Number I have answered it before. It is no great number comparatively that are Kings, or Lords, or Learned men, and truly judicious and wise: will you there-

*How gallantly have
your Learned Philoso-
phers excelled us ?
When the Pyrrhoni-
ans and Arcefilas his
new Academicks
have learned to know
that nothing can be
known ; and the one
sort of them say that
they know not that
much neither. But
whether they dare say
that they know that
they know not that
much they have not
told us. Of them even
Cicero learned as
much to doubt as to
know.*

*Quicquid nil verum
statuens Academia
duplex
Personat ; arroso
quicquid sapit ungue
Cicenthus —
Apol. Sidonius Carm.
2. p. 123:*

therefore, let light by any of these ? Things excellent are seldom common. The Earth hath more Stones than Gold or Pearls. All those believed in Christ who heard his word, and saw his works, and had wise, considerate, honest hearts, to receive the sufficient evidence of truth. The greater part are every where ignorant, rash, injudicious, dishonest, and carried away with prejudice, fancy, custom, error and carnal interest. If all men have means in its own kind sufficient to bring them to believe, to understand so much as God immediately requireth of them, it is their fault who after this are ignorant and unbelieving ; and if it prove their misery, let them thank themselves. But yet Christ will not leave the success of his undertaking so far to the will of man, as to be uncertain of his expected fruits : He hath his chosen ones throughout the World, and will bring them effectually to Faith and Holiness, to Grace and Glory, though all the Powers of Hell do rage against it : In them is his delight, and them he will conform to his Fathers will, and restore them to his Image, and fit them to love and serve him here, and enjoy him for ever : And though they are not the greater number, they shall be the everlasting demonstration of his Wisdom, Love, and Holiness : And when you see all the worlds of more blessed Inhabitants, you will see that the Damned were the smaller number, and the Blessed in all probability many millions to one : If the Devil have the greater number in this World, God will have the greater number in the rest.

2. It was the wise design of Jesus Christ, that few in comparison should be converted by his personal converse or teaching, and thousands might be suddenly converted upon his Ascension, and the coming down of the Holy Ghost : Both because his Resurrection and Ascension were part of the Articles to be believed, and were the chiefest of all his Miracles which did convert men ; And therefore he would Rise from the dead before the multitude should be called : And because the Spirit as it was his extraordinary Witness and Advocate on Earth, was to be given by him after he ascended into glory ; And he would have the World see, that the Conversion of men to Faith and Sanctity, was not the effect of any politick Confederacy between him and them,

them, but the effect of Gods Power, Light and Love: so that it should be a great confirmation to our Faith to consider, that those multitudes believed by the wonderfull testimony and work of the Holy Ghost, upon the Disciples, when Christ had been crucified in despite, who yet believed not before, but were his Crucifiers: It was not so hard nor honourable an act to believe in him; when he went about working Miracles, and seemed in a possibility to restore their temporal Kingdom, as to believe in him after he had been crucified among Malefactors. He therefore that could after this by the Spirit and Miracles, bring so many thousands to believe, did shew that he was alive himself and in full power.

3. And that the Apostles were mean unlearned men, is a great confirmation to our Faith. For now it is apparent that they had their abilities, wisdom and successes from the Spirit and Power of God: But if they had been Philosophers or cunning men, it might have been more suspected to be a laid contrivance between Christ and them. Indeed for all his Miracles, they began to be in doubt of him themselves, when he was dead and buried, till they saw him risen again, and had the Spirit came upon them, and this last undeniable evidence, and this heavenly insuperable Call and Conviction was it, which miraculously settled them in the Faith.

4. And that Saviour, who came not to make us Worldlings, but to save us from this present evil World, and to cure our esteem and love of worldly things, did think it meetest both to appear in the form of a poor man himself, and to choose Disciples of the like condition, and not to choose the worldly wise, and great, and honourable, to be the first attesters of his miracles, or preachers of his Gospel. Though he had some that were of place and quality in the World, (as *Nicodemus, Joseph, Cornelius, Sergius Paulus, &c.*) yet his Power needed not such Instruments: As he would not teach us to magnific worldly Pomp, nor value things by outward appearance, as the deluded dreaming world

* Quid nobis est investigare ea quæ neq; scire compendium, neq; ignorare detrimentum est ulum? Remittite hæc Deo, atq; ipsum scire concedite, quid, quare, & unde sit? debuerit esse aut non esse. Vestris non est rationibus liberum implicare vos talibus, & tam remotas inutiliter curare res: Vestra in ancipiti

sa est (salus animarum vestrarum; & nisi vos applicatis Dei Principis notioni, & corporali-
bus vinculis exolutos, expectat mors sæva; non repentinam afferens extinctionem, sed pertractum
temporis cruciabilis pœnæ acerbitate consumens. *Arnob. adv. Gen. l. 2.*

doth, so he would shew us, that he needeth not Kings nor Philosophers, by worldly power or wisdom to set up his Kingdom. He giveth power, but he receiveth none: He setteth up Kings, and by him they reign; but they set not up him, nor doth he reign by any of them: Nor will he be beholden to great men, or learned men for their help, to promote his cause and interest in the World. The largeness of his mercy indeed extendeth to Kings, and all in Authority, as well as to the poor, and if they will not reject it, nor break his bonds, but kiss the Son, before his wrath break forth against them, they may be saved as well as others: (*Psal.* 2. 1, 2, 9, 10. *1 Tim.* 2. 1, 2.) But he will not use them in the first setting up of his Church in the World, lest men should think, that it was set up by the Learning, Policy or Power of man: *1 Cor.* 1. 26, 27, 28, 29. and 2. 5, 6, 7, 10, 13. & 13. 19, &c. And therefore he would not be voted one of the Gods by *Tyberius*, or *Adrians* Senate, nor accept of the worship of *Alexander Severus*, who in his *Lavarium* worshipped him as one of his Demi-gods; nor receive any such beggarly Deity from man; but when *Constantine* acknowledged him as God indeed, he accepted his acknowledgement. Those unlearned men whom he used were made wiser in an hour by the Holy Ghost, than all the Philosophers in the World: And those mean contemned persons overcame the Learning and Power of the World, and not by Arms as *Mahomet*, but against Arms and Arguments, wit and rage, by the Spirit alone they subdued the greatest powers to their Lord.

Obj. XIV. But it doth sapere scenam, sound like a Poetical fiction, that God should satisfy his own Justice, and Christ should die instead of our being damned, and this to appease the wrath of God, as if God were angry, and delighted in the blood or sufferings of the innocent.

Ans. Ignorance is the great cause of unbelief. This objection cometh from many errors, and false conceits about the things of which it speaketh. 1. If the word: [Satisfaction] offend you, use only the Scripture-words, that Christ was a *Sacrifice*, an *Atonement*, a *Propitiation*, a *Price*, &c. And if this be incredible, how came it to pass that sacrificing was the custom of all the world? Doth not this objection

Lege pretiosissimum
Grotii lib. de satisf-
factione: Item Zar-
novescium & Iohan.
Juniun & Esseniun
de satisf.

as much militate against this? was God angry? or was he delighted in the blood and sufferings of harmless sheep and other cattle? and must these either satisfy him, or appease his wrath? What think you should be the cause, that sacrificing was thus commonly used in all ages through all the earth, if it favoured but of poetical fiction?

2. God hath no such thing as a passion of anger to be appeased, nor is he at all delighted in the blood or sufferings of the worst, much less of the innocent, nor doth he sell his mercy for blood; nor is his *satisfaction* any reparation of any loss of his, which he receiveth from another. But, 1. Do you understand what *Government* is? and what *Divine Government* is? and what is the end of it? even the pleasing of the will of God in the demonstrations of his own perfections: if you do, you will know, that it was necessary that God's penal Laws should not be broken by a rebel world, without being executed on them according to their true intent and meaning, or without such an equivalent demonstration of his Justice, as might vindicate the Law and Law-giver from contempt, and the imputation of ignorance or levity, and might attain the ends of Government as much, as if all sinners had suffered themselves: And this is it that we mean by a *Sacrifice*, *Ransom*, or *Satisfaction*. Shall God be a Governour and have no Laws? or shall he have Laws that have no penalties? or shall he set up a lying scar-crow to frighten sinners by deceit? and have Laws which are never meant for execution? Are any of these becoming God? Or shall he let the Devil go for true, who told Eve at first, *You shall not die*? and let the world sin on with boldness, and laugh at his Laws, and say, God did but frighten us with a few words, which he never intended to fulfill? or should God have damned all the world according to their desert? If none of all this be credible to you, then certainly nothing should be more credible, than that his wisdom hath found out some way, to exercise pardoning saving mercy, without any injury to his governing justice and truth, and without exposing his Laws and himself to the contempt of sinners, or emboldening them in their sins; even a way which shall vindicate his honour, and attain his ends of government, as well as if we had been all punished with death and hell; and yet:

Pontifex ille credo est
qui principaliter apud
divinitatem summe
Trinitatis humani
generis oblata san-
ctificat, peccata ex-
piat, vota commen-
dat. Ipse ergo verus
sacerdos est, quia Fi-
lius Dei secundum
id quod æqualis est
Patri, non tam pre-
ces fundit, quam pre-
ces exaudit; homo
potius hic intelligen-
dus est, quem Con-
stanticum Apostolu-
m dicens, nostrisque infir-
mitatibus compati,
&c. *Claudian Mém-*
moir. de l'état d'Anima
const. F. inf. l. 1 c. 30.

yet may save us with the great advantage of honour to his mercy; and in the fullest demonstration of that love and goodness, which may win our love. And where will you find this done but in Jesus Christ alone? 2. You must distinguish between *Anger* and *Justice*: when God is said to be *angry*, it meaneth no more but that he is *displeased* with sin and sinners, and executeth his governing-justice on them. 3. You must distinguish between *sufferings* in themselves considered, and as in their *signification* and *effects*: God loved not any mans pain and suffering and death, as in it self considered, and as evil to us: (no not of a sacrificed beast) but he loveth the demonstration of his truth, and justice, and holiness, and the vindication of his Laws from the contempt of sinners, and the other good ends attained by this *means*: and so as a *means* adapted to such ends he loveth the punishment of sin.

Object. XV. *It is a suspicious sign that he seeketh but to set up his name, and get disciples, that he maketh it so necessary to salvation to believe in him; and not only to repent and turn to God.*

Ans. He maketh not *believing in him* necessary, *sub ratione finis*, as our holiness and love to God is; but only *sub ratione medii*, as a means to make us holy, and work us up to the love of God. He proclaimeth himself to be the *Way*, the *Truth*, and the *Life*, by whom it is that we must come to the Father; and that *he will save to the uttermost all that come to God by him*, Heb. 7. 25. Job. 14. 6. So that he commandeth Faith but as the bellows of Love, to kindle in us the heavenly flames. And I pray you, how should he do this otherwise? Can we learn of him, if we take him for a deceiver? Will we follow his example, if we believe him not to be our pattern? Will we obey him, if we believe not that he is our Lord? Will we be comforted by his gracious promises and covenant, and come to God with ever the more boldness and hope of mercy, if we believe not in his Sacrifice and Merits? Shall we be comforted at death in hope that he will justify us, and receive our souls, if we believe not that he liveth, and will judge the world, and is the Lord of life and glory? Will you learn of *Plato* or *Aristotle*, if you believe not that they are fit to be your Teachers? Or will you take
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Physick of any Physician whom you trust not, but take him for a deceiver? Or will you go in the Vessel with a Pilot, or serve in the Army under a Captain, whom you cannot trust? To believe in *Christ*, which is made so necessary to our justification and salvation, is not a dead opinion, nor the joyning with a party that cryeth up his name: But it is to become Christians indeed; that is, to take him unfeignedly for our Saviour, and give up our selves to him by resolved consent or covenant, to be saved by him from sin and punishment, and reconciled to God, and brought to perfect holiness and glory. This is true iustifying and saving faith: And it is our own necessities that have made this faith so necessary as a means to our own salvation. And shall we make it necessary for our selves, and then quarrel with him for making it necessary in his Covenant?

Object. XVI. If *Christ* were the Son of God, and his Apostles inspired by the holy Ghost, and the Scriptures were God's Word, they would excel all other men and writings in all true rational worth and excellency: whereas Aristotle excelleth them in Logick and Philosophy, and Cicero and Demosthenes in Oratory, and Seneca in ingenious expressions of morality. &c.

* *Ans.* You may as well argue, that Aristotle was no wiser than a Minstrel, because he could not fiddle so well, nor than a Painter, because he could not limn so well; or than a harlot, because he could not dresse himself so neatly. Means are to be estimated according to their fitness for their ends. Christ himself excelled all mankind, in all true perfections; and yet it became him not to exercise all mens arts, to shew that he excelleth them. He came not into the world to teach men Architecture, Navigation, Medicine, Astronomy, Grammar, Musick, Logick, Rhetorick, &c. and therefore shewed not his skill in these. The world had sufficient helps and means for these in Nature. It was to save men from

* The parts and style of men may vary, who speak the same truth. Sencie ut Pythagoras, dividit ut Socrates, explicat ut Plato, implicat ut Aristoteles, ut Aschines blanditur, ut Demosthenes irascitur, vernat ut Hortensius, ut Cethegus, incitat ut Curio, moratur ut Fabius, simulat ut Crassus, dissimulat ut Caesar, suadet ut Cato, dissuadet

ut Appianus, persuadet ut Tullius: instruit ut Hieronimus, destruit ut Lactantius, astruit ut Augustinus, attollitur ut Hilarius, summittitur ut Joannes, ut Basilus corripit, ut Gregorius consolatur, ut Orosius affluit, ut Rufinus stringitur, ut Eusebius narrat, ut Eusebius sollicitat, ut Paulinus provocat, ut Ambrosius perseverat. Sidonius Ep. Mammet. pop. 1. do

Even as your Heathen Authors had their several Styles, so had the Sacred writers. Qua Crispus brevitate placet, quo pondere Varro.

Quo genio Plautus, quo lumine Quintilianus. Quo pompa Tacitus nunquam sine laude loquendus. Apol. Sidonius Carm. 2. Aulnar. Bib. Petr. p. 123.

Nihil fide nostra in-
 quius fingi posset, si in-
 eruditos tantum, &
 dicendi facultate &
 Logicis demonstra-
 tionibus excellentes
 caderet: popularis
 autem multitudo, in
 auro & argento ali-
 isque omnibus rebus
 quæ hic in pretio ha-
 bentur, atque à ple-
 risque avide expe-
 runtur, sic hoc quo-
 que frustraretur, ac
 Deus id quod altum
 & excelsum est, & ad
 paucos pertingit,
 gratum acceptumque
 haberet, contra, quod
 propinquius est, nec
 vulgi captum superat,
 aspernaretur & reji-
 ceret. *Nazianz. Orat.*
 26. p. 458.

Sed ab indoctis ho-
 minibus & rudibus
 scripta sunt. Et ideo
 cur illa sint nullis
 Trivialis & sordidus
 & certum est, circum-
 meta, definitiones, con-
 juvant, non veritatis li-
 res vestrae—Puerilis
 Quid enim officit, O
 hirsuta cum asperitate
Arnob. l. 1. p. 10.

Dissoluti est pedæria
 natura est integer, viti
 constitutionibus lex feri-

Ver Tigh Bou

2. His mercy had a general design, for the salvation of all sorts and ranks of men, and therefore was not to confine it self to a few trifling pedantick Logicians and Orators, or those that had learned to speak in their new-made words and phrases: but he must speak in the common Dialect of all those whom he would instruct and save. As the Statutes of the land, or the Books of Physick, which are most ex-
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discovered all; but rejoyce in what they have discovered, which shewed them the hopes and possibility of more. So I am far from a perfect comprehension of this wonderful method of Divinity; but I have seen that which truly assureth me, that it excelleth all the art of Philosophers and Orators, and that it is really a most beautiful frame,

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and

Nihil fide nostra iniquius fingi posset, si in eruditos tantum, & dicendi facultate & Logicis demonstrationibus excellentes caderet: popularis autem multitudo, ut auro & argento aliisque omnibus rebus, quæ hic in pretio habentur, atque à plebis avide expectantur, sic hoc quoque frustraretur, ac Deus id quod altum & excelsum est, & ad paucos pertingit, gratum acceptumque haberet; contra, quod propinquius est, nec vulgi caput superat, aspernaretur & rejiceret. *Nazianz. Orat.* 26. p. 458.

Sed ab indoctis hominibus & rudibus

scripta sunt. Et ideo non sunt facili auditione credenda. Vide ne magis fortior hæc causa sit: cur illa sint nullis conquinata mendaciis; mente simplici prodita, & ignara lenociniis ampliari Trivialis & sordidus sermo est: Nunquam enim veritas sectata est fucum, nec quod exploratum & certum est, circumduci se patitur orationis per ambitum longiorem: Collectiones Enchymemata, definitiones, omniaque illa ornamenta quibus fides quaeritur assertionis, suspicantes adjuvant, non veritatis lineamenta demonstrant—Solæcismis, Barbarismis, inquis obstita sunt res vestra—Puerilis sane & angustæ pectoris reprehensio: Quam si admitteremus ut vera sit—Quid enim officit, O quæso? aut quam præstat intellectui tarditatem? utrumne quid leve, an hirsuta cum asperitate promatur? inflectatur quod acui, an acutur quod oportebat inflecti—*Arnob. l. 1. p. 10.*

Dissoluti est pectoris, in rebus seriis quaerere voluptatem—At si verum spectes, nullus sermo natura est integer, vitiosus similiter nullus: Quænam enim est ratio naturalis, aut in mundi constitutionibus lex scripta, ut hic paries dicatur, & hæc sella? *Id. ibid.*

sin and bell, and bring them to pardon, holiness and heaven, that Christ was incarnate, and that the Apostles were inspired, and the Scriptures written: and to be fitted to these ends, is the excellency to be expected in them: and in this they excell all persons and writings in the world. As God doth not syllogize or know by our imperfect way of ratiocination, but yet knoweth all things better than syllogizers do, so Christ hath a more high and excellent kind of Logick and Oratory, and a more apt and spiritual and powerful style, than *Aristotle*, *Demosthenes*, *Cicero* or *Seneca*. He shewed not that skill in *methodical healing* which *Hippocrates* and *Galen* shewed: But he shewed *more* and *better* skill, when he could heal with a word, and raise the dead, and had the power of life and death, so did he bring more convincing evidence than *Aristotle*, and perswaded more powerfully than *Demosthenes* or *Cicero*. And though this kind of formal learning was below him, and below the inspired messengers of his Gospel, yet his inferiour servants (an *Aquinas*, a *Scotus*, an *Ockam*, a *Scaliger*, a *Ramus*, a *Gassendus*) do match or excel the old Philosophers, and abundance of Christians equalize or excel a *Demosthenes* or *Cicero*, in the truest Oratory.

2. His mercy had a general design, for the salvation of all sorts and ranks of men, and therefore was not to confine it self to a few trifling pedantick Logicians and Orators, or those that had learned to speak in their new-made words and phrases: but he must speak in the common Dialect of all those whom he would instruct and save. As the Statutes of the land, or the Books of Physick, which are most excellent;

cellent, are written in a style which is fitted to the subject matter, and to the Readers, and not in Syllogisms, or terms of Logick; so was it more necessary that it should be with the doctrine of salvation. The poor and unlearned were the greatest number of those that were to be converted and saved by the Gospel, and still to use the holy Scriptures.

3. There is greater exactness of true Logical method in some parts of the Scripture, (as e. g. in the Covenant of Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and the Decalogue) than any is to be found in *Aristotle* or *Cicero*; though men that understand them not do not observe it. The particular Books of Scripture were written at several times, and on several occasions, and not as one methodical system, (though the Spirit that indited it, hath made it indeed a methodical system, agreeably to its design:) but if you saw the doctrines of all this Bible *uno intuitu*, in a perfect scheme, as it is truly intended by the Spirit of God; if you saw all begin the Divine Unity, and branch out it self into the Trinity, and thence into the Trinity of Relations and Correlations, and thence into the multiplied branches of Mercy and Precepts, and all these accepted and improved in Duty and Gratitude by man, and returned up in Love to the blessed Trinity and Unity again, and all this in perfect order, proportion and harmony; you would see the most admirable perfect method that ever was set before you in the world: The resemblance of it is in the circular motion of the humours and spirits in mans body, which are delivered on from vessel to vessel, and perfected in all their motions. I know there are many systems and schemes attempted, which shew not this: but that is because the wisdom of this method is so exceeding great, that it is yet but imperfectly understood: for my own part, I may say as those that have made some progress in Anatomy beyond their Ancestors, that they have no thought that they have yet discovered all; but rejoyce in what they have discovered, which shewed them the hopes and possibility of more. So I am far from a perfect comprehension of this wonderful method of Divinity; but I have seen that which truly assureth me, that it excelleth all the art of Philosophers and Orators, and that it is really a most beautiful frame,

and harmonious consort; and that more is within my prospect than I am yet come to.

4. Moreover it is Christ who gave all men all the gifts they have: to Logicians, Orators, Astronomers, Grammarians, Physicians, and Musicians, &c. what ever gifts are suited to mens just ends and callings, he bestoweth on them; and to his Apostles he gave those gifts which were most suitable to their work: I do not undervalue the gifts of Nature or Art in any; I make it not, with *Aristotle*, an argument for the contempt of Musick, *Jovem neque canere, neque cytharam pulsare*; but I may say, that as God hath greater excellencies in himself, so hath he greater gifts to give; and such gifts as were fittest for the confirmation of the truth of the Gospel, and first planting of the Churches he gave to the Apostles: and such as were fit for the edifying of the Church he giveth to his Ministers ever since. And such as were fit for the improvement of Nature, in lower things, he gave the Philosophers and Artists of the world.

Object. XVII. *The Scripture hath many contradictions in it, in points of History, Chronology, and other things: Therefore it is not the word of God.*

Ans^r. Nothing but ignorance maketh men think so: understand once the true meaning, and allow for the errors of Printers, Transcribers and Translators, and there will no such thing be found. Young Students, in all Sciences, think their books are full of contradictions; which they can easily reconcile, when they come to understand them. Books that have been so oft translated into so many Languages, and the Originals and Translations so oft transcribed, may easily fall into some disagreement between the Original and Translations; and the various Copies may have divers inconsiderable verbal differences. But all the world must needs confess, that in all these Books, there is no contradiction in any point of Doctrine, much less in such as our salvation resteth on.

There are two opinions among Christians about the Books of the holy Scripture: the one is, That the Scriptures are so entirely and perfectly the product of the Spirit's Inspiration; that there is no word in them which is not infallibly true. The other is, That the Spirit was promised and given to the Apostles, to enable them to preach to the world
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the true Doctrine of the Gospel, and to teach men to observe what ever Christ commanded; and truly to deliver the History of his Life and Sufferings, and Resurrection, (which they have done accordingly.) But not to make them perfect and indefectible in every word, which they should speak or write, no not about Sacred things; but only in that which they delivered to the Church, as necessary to salvation, and as the Rule of Faith and Life: but every Chronological and Historical narrative, is not the Rule of Faith or Life. I think that the first opinion is right, and that no one error or contradiction in any matter, can be proved in the Scriptures: yet all are agreed in this, that it is so of Divine Inspiration, as yet in the manner, and method, and style, to partake of the various abilities of the Writers, and consequently of their humane imperfections. And that it is a meer mistake, which Infidels deceive themselves by, to think that the Writings cannot be of Divine Inspiration, unless the Book, in order, and style, and all other excellencies, be as perfect as God himself could make it: Though we should grant that it is less Logical than *Aristotle*, and less Oratorical and Grammatical and exact in words, than *Demosthenes* or *Cicero*, it would be no disparagement to the certain truth of all that is in it. It doth not follow that *David* must be the ablest man for strength, nor that he must use the weapons which in themselves are most excellent, if he be called of God to overcome *Goliath*; but rather that it may be known that he is called of God, he shall do it with less excellence of strength and weapons, than other men: and so there may be some real weakness (not culpable) in the Writings of the several Prophets and Apostles in point of style and method, which shall shew the more that they are sent of God to do great things by little humane excellency of speech, (and yet that humane excellency be never the more to be disliked, no more than a sword, because *David* used but a sling and stone.) If *Amos* have one degree of parts, and *Jeremiah* another, and *Isaiah* another, &c. God doth not equal them all by Inspiration, but only cause every man to speak his saving truth in their own language, and dialect, and style. As the body of *Adam* was made of the common earth, though God breathed into him a rational soul, (and so is the body of

every Saint, even such as may partake of the infirmities of parents) so Scripture hath its style, and language, and methods so from God, as we have our bodies; even so that there may be in them the effects of humane imperfection; and it is not so extraordinarily of God as the truth of the Doctrine is: All is so from God, as to be suitable to its proper ends: but the *body* of Scripture is not so extraordinarily from him, as the *soul* of it is; as if it were the most excellent and exact in every kind of ornament and perfection. The *Truth* and *Goodness* is the *soul* of the Scripture, together with the *power* manifested in it: and in these it doth indeed excel. So that variety of gifts in the Prophets and Apostles, may cause variety of style and other accidental excellencies in the parts of the holy Scriptures, and yet all these parts be animated with one soul of *Power*, *Truth* and *Goodness*.

But those men who think that these humane imperfections of the Writers do extend further, and may appear in some by-passages of Chronologies or History, which are no proper part of the Rule of Faith and Life, do not hereby destroy the Christian cause. For God might enable his Apostles to an infallible recording and preaching of the Gospel, even all things necessary to salvation, though he had not made them infallible in every by-passage and circumstance, no more than they were indefectible in life.

As for them that say, *I can believe no man in any thing, who is mistaken in one thing, (at least as infallible)* they speak against common sense and reason: for a man may be infallibly acquainted with some things, who is not so in all: An Historian may infallibly acquaint me, that there was a Fight at Lepanto, at Edge-hill, at York, at Naseby; or an Insurrection and Massacre in Ireland and Paris, &c. who cannot tell me all the circumstances of it: or he may infallibly tell men of the late Fire which consumed London, though he cannot tell just whose houses were burnt, and may mistake about the Causes of it, and the circumstances. A Lawyer may infallibly tell you whether your cause be good or bad, in the main, who yet may misreport some circumstances in the opening of it. A Physician, in his Historical observations, may partly erre as an Historian in some circumstances, & yet be infallible as a Physician in some plain cases which belong directly to his

Art. I do not believe that any man can prove the least error in the holy Scripture in any point, according to its true intent and meaning : but if he could, the Gospel, as a Rule of Faith and Life, in things necessary to salvation, might be nevertheless proved infallible by all the evidence before given.

Object. XVIII. *The Physicks in Gen: 1. are contrary to all true Philosophy, and suited to the vulgar erroneous conceits.*

Answer. No such matter : there is sounder doctrine of Physicks in Gen. 1. than any Philosopher hath who contradicteth it. And as long as they are altogether by the ears among themselves, and so little agreed in most of their Philosophy, but leave it to this day, either to the *Scepticks* to deride as utterly uncertain, or to any Novelist to form anew, into what principles and hypothesis he please ; the judgment of Philosophers is of no great value, to prejudice any against the Scriptures. The sum of Gen. 1. is but this, [That God having first made the * Intellectual Superiour part of the world, and the matter of the Elementary world in an unformed Mass or Chaos, did the first day distinguish or form the active Element of Fire, and caused it to give Light : The second day he separated the attenuated or rarified part of the passive Element, which we call the Air ; expanding it from the earth upwards, to separate the clouds from the lower waters, and to be the medium of Light. (And whether in different degrees of purity, it fill not all the space between all the Globes both fixed and planetary, is a question which we may more probably affirm than deny ; unless there be any waters also upwards by condensation, which we cannot disprove :) The third day he separated the rest of the passive Element, Earth and Sea, into their proper place and bounds : and also made individual Plants, in their specifick forms and virtue of generation, or multiplication of individuals : The fourth day he made the Sun, Moon and Stars, (either then

Lege Basilii Hexamer. & Greg. Nysseni addit.

* Basil saith, that In principio is in the beginning of time ; but that the intellectual world is here presupposed : Erat antiquissima creatorum ordinatio, illis quæ extra mundum sunt, apta virtutibus, orta sine tempore, sempiterna sibi quæ propria : in qua conditor omnium Deus opera certa constituit, id est, lumen intellectibile, conveniens beatitudini amantium Dominum : Rationabile, invisibileque dico naturas, & omnium intellectibilem de-

corationem, quæ capacitatem nostræ mentis excedunt, quorum nec vocabula reperire possibile est. Hæc substantiam invisibilis mundi repleville sciendum est, &c. Basil. Hex. interp. Eusth. l. 1. Casarius Dial. 1. Qu. 50 & Qu. 51. saith, That Moles past by the Nations of Ange's, and began with the creation of the visible world, and that the first day he created Matter, and afterward other things of that, &c. And that of the Light first made, God made the Sun. But he ignorantly denieth its circular motion.

forming,

forming them, or then making them Luminaries to the earth, and appointing them their relative office; but hath not told us of their *other uses*, which are nothing to us.) The fifth day he made inferiour Sensitives, Fishes and Birds, the inhabitants of Water and Air, with the power of generation or multiplication of individuals. The sixth day he made first the terrestrial Animals, and then Man, with the power also of generation or multiplication. And the seventh day, having taken complacency in all the works of this glorious perfected frame of Nature, he appointed to be observ'd by mankind as a day of rest from worldly labours, for the worshipping of Him their Omnipotent Creator, in commemoration of this work.]

This is the sum and sense of the Physicks of *Gen. 1.* And here is no error in all this, what ever prejudice Philosophers may imagine.

Object. XIX. It is a suspicious sign, that Believing is commanded us instead of knowing, and that we must take all upon trust without any proof.

Ans. This is a meer slander. Know as much as you are able to know : Christ came not to hinder, but to help your knowledge : Faith is but a *mode*, or act of *knowing* : How will you know matters of History which are past, and matters of the unseen world, but by believing ? If you could have an Angel come from heaven to tell you what is there, would you quarrel because you are put upon believing him ? if you can know it *without* believing and testimony, do : God biddeth you believe nothing but what he giveth you sufficient reason to believe : Evidence of credibility in Divine faith, is evidence of certainty : Believers in Scripture usually say, [*We know that thou art the Christ, &c.*] You are not forbidden, but encouraged to try the spirits, and not to believe every spirit nor pretended prophet : Let this Treatise testify, whether you have not Reason and evidence for Belief : it is Mahomet's doctrine and not Christ's, which forbiddeth examination.

Object. XX. It imposeth upon us an incredible thing, when it persuadeth us, that our undoing, and calamity, and death, are the way to our felicity and our gain; and that sufferings work together for our good : At least these are hard terms, which we cannot

cannot undergoe, nor think it wisdom to lose a certainty for uncertain hopes.

Ans. Suppose but the truth of the Gospel proved, yea or but the Immortality and Retribution for Souls hereafter, (which the light of Nature proveth) and then we may well say, that this Objection favourerth more of the Beast than of the Man: A Heathen can answer it though not so well as a Christian: *Seneca* and *Plutarch*, *Antonine*, and *Epictetus* have done it in part. And what a dorage is it to call things present, *Certainties*, when they are certainly ready to pass away, and you are uncertain to possess them another hour? who can be ignorant what haste Time maketh, and how like the Life of man is to a dream? What sweetness is now left of all the pleasant cups and morsels, and all the merry hours you have had, and all the proud or lustfull fancies, which have tickled your deluded fleshy mindes? Are they not more terrible than comfortable to your most retired sober thoughts? and what an inconsiderable moment is it, till it will be so with all the rest? All that the World can possibly afford you, will not make Death the more welcom, nor less terrible to you; nor abate a jot of the pains of Hell. It is as comfortable to die poor as rich, and a life of pain and weakness and persecution, will end as pleasantly as a life of Pomp and wealth, and pleasures. If it be no unreasonable motion of a Physician to tell you of blood-letting, vomiting, purging and strict dyet, to save your lives; nor any hard dealing in your Parents, to set you many years to School, to endure both the labour of learning and the Rod; and after that to set you to a seven years Apprenticeship, and all this for things of a transitory nature; since God deserveth not to be accused as too severe; if he train you up for Heaven, more strictly and in a more suffering way, than the flesh desireth. Either you believe that there is a future Life of Retribution, or you do not: If not, the foregoing Evidences must first convince you, before you will be fit to debate the case, whether sufferings are for your hurt or benefit: But if you do believe a life to come, you must needs believe that its concerns weigh down all the matters of fleshy interest in this World, as much as a mountain would weigh down a feather: And then do but further bethink your selves impartially, whether a life

H h h

of

Sed & nobis in h. iust-
modi casibus non
auxiliatur Deus.
Prompta & manifesta
causa est. Nihil enim est nobis
promissum ad hanc
vitam. nec in caruncula
hujus sollicitudo
constituta, opus aliquod
spem est. auxiliuq; decretum:
Quinimo edocti sumus
minas omnes quæcumq; sunt parvi
ducere. — Atq; ista
quam dicitis persecutio
onera asperitas, liberatio nostra est,
non persecutio: nec
pœnam vexatio inferret,
sed ad lucem libertatis educet: *Arnobius* adv. Gent. l. 2.
in fine.

of Prosperity or of Adversity be the liker to tempt you into the Love of this World, and to wean away your thoughts and desires from the heavenly felicity? Judge but rightly first of your own interest, and you will be fitter to judge of the Doctrine of Christ.

Obj. XXI. Christ seemeth to calculate all his Precepts to the poorer sort of peoples state, as if he had never hoped that Kings and Nobles would be Christians: If men think as hardly of the Rich as he doth, and take them to be so bad, and their salvation so difficult, how will they ever honour their Kings and Governments? And if all men must suffer such as abuse and injure them, and must turn the other cheek to him that striketh them, and give him their Coat who taketh away their Cloak, what use will there be for Magistrates and Judicatures?

Ans. 1. Christ fitteth his Precepts to the benefit of all men: But in so doing he must needs tell them of the danger of overloving this World, as being the most mortal sin which he came to cure: And he must needs tell them what a dangerous temptation a flesh-pleasing prosperous state is to the most, to entice them to this pernicious sin. Had he silenced such necessary truths as these, he could not have been their Saviour: For how should he save them from sin, if he conceal the evil and the danger of it? If the corruption of mans Nature be so great, that Riches and Honours, and Pleasures are ordinarily made the occasions of mens perdition, must Christ be Christ and never tell them of it? And is he to be blamed for telling them the truth? or they rather who create these difficulties and dangers to themselves? Christ teacheth men to honour a Sacred Office, such as Magistracy is, without honouring Vice, or betraying sinners by concealing their temptations. And to holy faithfull Rulers he teacheth us, to give a double honour. They that will prove, that most of the great and wealthy shall be saved, must prove first that most of them are godly, and mortified, heavenly persons: And the fit proof of that must be by shewing us the men that are so.

2. The Laws of Christ require every Soul to be subject to the higher Powers, and not resist; and this not only for fear of their wrath, but for Conscience sake; and to pay honour.

nour and custom to all-whom it is due to. And what more can be desired for the support of Government.

3. Yea, nothing more tendeth to the comfort and quietness of Governours, than the obedience of those Precepts of patience and peace, which the Objection quarrelleth with. If Subjects would love each other as themselves, and forgive injuries, and love their enemies, what could be more joyfull to a faithfull Governour? And to the Question, *What use would there be then of Judicatures?* I answer, They would be usefull to good men for their protection against the injuries of the bad; where we are but Defendants; And also in Cases where it is not want of Love, but of Knowledge, which causeth the Controversie, and when no fit arbitration can decide it: And they will be usefull among contentious persons: For all men are not true Believers: The most will be (ordinarily) the worst: As we will not be Fornicators, Thievs, Perjured, &c. lest you should say, To what purpose is the Law against such offenders? so we will not be revengefull and contentious, lest you should say, To what end are Judicatures? The Law is to prevent offences by threatned penalties: And that is the happiest Commonwealth, where the Law doth most without the Judge, and where Judicatures have least employment: For there is none to be expected on Earth so happy, where meer LOVE (of Virtue and of one another) will prevent the use both of Penal Laws and Judicatures.

4. And it is but selfishness, and contentiouness, and private revenge which Christ forbiddeth, and not the necessary defence or vindication of any Talent which God hath committed to our trust, so it be with the preservation of brotherly Love and Peace.

5. And that Christ foreknew what Princes and States would be converted to the Faith, is manifest, 1. In all his Prophets, who have foretold it (that Kings shall be our Nurling Fathers, &c.) 2. In that Christ prophesied himself, that when he was lifted up, he would draw all men to him. 3. By the Prophecies of *John*, who saith, that the Kingdoms of the World should become the Kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ.

Obj. Sed & ipse pol-
licetur omnia non pro-
bat. R. p. Ita est:
Nulla enim futuro-
rum existere potest
comprobatio. Arab.
lib. 2.

Obj. XXII. But it is the obscurity of all those Prophecies which is one of the difficulties of our Faith, and that they are never like to be fulfilled: Almost all your Expositors differ about the sense of Johns Revelations: And the Calling of the Jews, and bringing in all the Gentiles to their subjection, seem to be plainly prophesied of, which are never like to come to passe.

Ans. 1. Prophecies are seldom a Rule of Life, but an Encouragement to hope, and a Confirmation to Faith when they are fulfilled: And therefore if the particularities be dark, and understood by few, so the general scope be understood, it should be no matter of offence or wonder. It is doctrine and precept, and promises of salvation, which are the daily food of Faith.

2. If no man can hitherto truly say, that any one Promise or Prophecy hath failed, why should we think that hereafter they will fail? what though the things seem improbable to us? They are never the unliker to be accomplished by God: The Conversion of the Gentiles, of the Roman Empire, and so many other Nations of the World, was once as improbable as the Calling of the Jews is: and yet it was done.

3. And many of those Prophecies are hereby fulfilled, it being not a worldly Kingdom, as the carnal Jews imagined, which the Prophets foretold of the Messiah, but the spiritual Kingdom of a Saviour: When the power and glory of the Roman Empire in its greatest height, did submit and resign it self to Christ, with many other Kingdoms of the world, there was more of those Prophecies then fulfilled, than selfishness will suffer the Jews to understand. And the rest shall all be fulfilled in their season. But as in all Sciences, it is but a few of the extraordinarily wise, who reach the most subtle and difficult points, so it will be but a very few Christians who will understand the most difficult prophecies, till the accomplishment interpret them.

Obj. XXIII. But the difficulties are as great in the Doctrines as in the Prophecies: Who is able to reconcile Gods Decrees, foreknowledge and efficacious special Grace, with mans Free-will, and the righteousness of Gods Judgement, and the reasonableness of his Precepts, Promises and Threats? How Gods De-

crees

crees are all fulfilled, and in him we live, and move, and be, and are not sufficient for a good thought of our selves, but to believe, to will, and to do, is given us, and he will have mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will he hardeneth, and it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy: And yet that he would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he repent and live, and that he would have all men saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, and layeth all the blame of their misery on themselves.

Ans. First, consider these things apart and in themselves, and then comparatively as they respect each other. 1. Is it an incredible thing, that all Being should be from the First Being? and all Goodness from the Infinite, Eternal Good? and that nothing should be unknown to the infinite omniscient Wisdom? and that nothing can overcome the Power of the Omnipotent? or that he is certainly able to procure the accomplishment of all his own Will? and that none shall disappoint his Purposes, nor make him fall short of any of his Councils or Decrees? Go no further now, and do not by false or uncertain Doctrine make difficulties to your selves, which God never made, and then tell me whether any of this be doubtful?

2. On the other side, is it incredible, that Man is a rational free Agent, and that he is a Creature governable by Laws, and that God is his Ruler, Law-giver, and Judge? and that his Laws must command and prohibit, and the sanction contain rewards and punishments? and that men should be judged righteously according to their works? or that the Messengers of Christ should intreat and perswade men to obey? and that they should be moved as men by motives of good or evil to themselves? Is there any thing in this that is incredible or uncertain? I think there is not.

And these difficulties will concern you nevertheless, whether you are Christians or not? They are harder points to Philosophers than to us: and they have been their controversies before Christ came into the World: They are points that belong to the natural part of Theology, and not that which resteth only on supernatural Revelation; and therefore this is nothing against Christ.

Read Cicero de Fato, de Divinatione, &c. and all those Philosophers de Fato, whose Opinions Grotius hath coll. liced, and you will see that they had the same doubts as we, but were less able to resolve them.

Intellectum est optimum cognoscere voluntatem Dei: Optimum superior efficiat homo, qui obdedit veritati. Pachomius in mens. per Hoff. Ed t.

Leg. librum excell. D. Strangii scoti de hisce controversiis. Plurima etiam consideratu dignissima sunt in Roy. Ba ois Metaphysic.

Dorotheus Doct. 6.
to prove the unsearch-
ableness of Gods Coun-
sels and differencing
grace, doth instance
in two young Maids
in natural temper much
like, both brought as
Captives in a Ship to
be sold. A holy wo-
man bought one of
them, and instructed
her in holyness. A Har-
lot bought the other,
and taught her the
trade of wickedness:
And who, saith he,
can give the reason of
this event?

2. But yet I will answer your question, *Who can reconcile these things?* 1. They can do much to the reconciling of them, who can distinguish a *meer Volition* or Purpose or Decree, from an *efficacious pre-determining influx*: 2. And can distinguish between those effects which need a *positive cause* and purpose or decree, and those nullities which having *no cause* but defective, do need *no positive purpose* or decree. 3. And can distinguish between the need we have of *Medicinal Grace* for holy actions, and the need we have of *common help* for every action natural and free. 4. And can distinguish between an *absolute Volition*, and a *limited Volition* in *tantum & ad hoc*, and no further. 5. They that can distinguish between mans *Natural liberty* of *self-determination*, and his *Civil liberty* from restraint of *Law*, and his *moral liberty* from vicious habits: 6. They that can well difference mans *Natural power* or *faculties*, from his *moral power* of *good and holy disposition*: 7. They that know what a *free Power* is, and how far the causer of that Power is or is not the cause of the act or its omission. 8. They that can distinguish between those acts which God doth as our *Owner* or as our *free Benefactor*, and those which he doth as *Reitor*: 9. And between those which he doth as *Reitor* by his *Legislative will*, antecedent to mens keeping or breaking of his Laws, and by his *Judicial* and *executive will*, as consequent to these acts of man. 10. He that can distinguish between Gods method in giving both the *first Call* of the Gospel, and the *first internal Grace* to receive it, and of his giving the Grace of further *sanctification*, *justification*, and *glory*: 11. And between the manner of his procuring our *first faith*, and the procuring our *following sanctification*. 12. And he that knoweth how easie it is with God to attain what he willeth, without destroying the Liberty of our wills: (As a Miller can make the stream of water turn his Mill and grinde his Corn, without altering any thing in the inclination of the water.) 13. And withall how incomprehensible the nature and manner of Gods operation is to Man; and how transcendently it is above all Physical agency by corporeal contact or motion: I say, he that understandeth and can apply these distinctions, can reconcile the Decrees and course of God, with his Government and mans Free will,

as farre as is necessary to the quieting of our understandings.

Obj. XXIV. But the Christian Faith doth seem to be but Humane and not Divine, in that it is to be resolved into the Credit of Men: Even of those men who tell us, that they saw Christs miracles, and saw him risen and ascend; and of those who saw the miracles of the Apostles; and of those who tell us, that the first Churches witness that they saw such things. The certainty cannot exceed the weakest of the Premises: And this is the argument: [The Doctrine which was attested by Miracles is of God; But the Christian Doctrine was attested by Miracles: Proved: The Spectators averred it to others, who have transmitted the Testimony down to us.] So that you are no surer of the Doctrine than of the Miracles, and no surer of the Miracles than of the Humane Testimony which hath delivered it to you.

Ans. If you will be at the labour to read over what I have written before, you shall finde a threefold testimony to Christ, besides this of Miracles: And you shall finde the Apostles testimony of Christs Miracles and Resurrection attested by more than a humane testimony: And you shall finde the *Miracles of the Apostles* also to have a fuller attestation: Even 1. besides the most credible humane testimony, 2. a natural impossibility of deceit and falshood, 3. and a further attestation of God supernaturally: And you shall finde that the Gospel hath its certain evidence, in the sanctifying effect by the co-operation of the holy Spirit of Christ unto this day. Peruse it impartially, and you will finde all this in what is said.

What would men rather desire to attest the veracity of a Messenger from Heaven, than Miracles: Evident, uncontrolled, multiplied miracles? And must this messenger live in every age, and go into every Land, to do these Miracles in the presence of every living Soul? If not, how would those that live in another Land or Age, be brought to the knowledge of them, but by the testimony of those that saw them? And how would you have such testimonies better confirmed, than by multiplied miracles, delivered in a way which cannot possibly deceive? and fully and perpetually attested by the Spirit of effectual sanctification.

The Objections from things Extrinsicall, resolved.

tion on Believers? It is an unreasonable arrogancy to tell our Maker, that we will not believe any miracles which he doth, by whomsoever or howsoever witnessed, unless we see them our selves with our own eyes; and so they be made as common as the shining of the Sun; (and then we should contain them as of no validity.)

So much shall here suffice against the Objections from the Intrinsicall difficulties in the Christian Faith. Many more are answered in my Treatise against Infidelity published heretofore.

CHAP. XI.

The Objections from things Extrinsicall resolved.

Obj. I. **A**LL men are Liars: and History may convey down abundance of Untruths: Who liveth with his eyes open among men, that may not perceive him partially men write? and how falsely through partiality? and with what brazen-faced impudency the most palpable falsehoods in publick matters of fact, are most confidently averred? and that in the Land, the City, the Age, the Year, of the transaction? who then can lay his salvation upon the truth of the history of acts and miracles done, one thousand six hundred years ago.

Ans. The Father of Lies no doubt can divulge them, as well by Pen or Press as by the Tongue: And it is not an unnecessary Caution to Readers and Hearers too, to take heed what they believe; especially, 1. when one Sect or party speaks against another; 2. or when carnal Interest requireth men to say what they do; 3. or when falling out provoketh them to asperse any others; 4. or when the stream of the popular vogue, or countenance of men in power hath a finger in it; 5. or when it is as probably contradicted by as credible men; 6. or when the higher Powers deterre all from contradicting it, and dissenters have not liberty of speech.

But none of these, nor any such, are in our present case: There are Lyars in the world; but shall none therefore be believed?

believed? There is history which is false; but is none therefore true? Is there not a certainty in that history which telleth us of the *Norman Conquest* of this Land? and of the series of Kings which have been since then; and of the Statutes which they and their Parliaments have made? yea, of a battail and other transaction, before the Incarnation of *Jesus Christ*? Doth the falshood of Historians make it uncertain whether ever there was a Pope at *Rome*, or a King in *France*, or an Inquisition in *Spain*, &c?

But I have proved, that it is more than the bare credit of any Tradition or Historians in the world, which assure us of the truth both of fact and doctrine, in the Christian Faith.

Obj. II. *Are not the Legends written with as great confidence as the Scriptures? and greater multitudes of Miracles there mentioned, and believed by the Subjects of the Pope? And yet they are denyed and derided by the Protestants?*

Ans. Credible History reporteth many miracles done in the first ages of the Christian Church, and some since in several ages and places: And the truth of these was the Cloak for the Legends multiplyed falsities: which were not written by men that wrought Miracles themselves to attest them; nor that proved the verity of their writings as the Apostles did: Nor were they ever generally received by the Christian Churches, but were written awhile ago, by a few ignorant superstitious Friers, in an age of darkness, and in the manner, exposing the stories to laughter and contempt, and are lamented by many of the most learned Papists themselves, and not believed by the multitude of the people. And shall no Chronicles, no Records, no certain History be believed, as long as there are any foolish superstitious Lyars left upon the Earth? Then Lyars will effectually serve the Devil indeed, if they can procure men to believe neither humane testimony, nor Divine.

Obj. III. *Many Fryers and Fanaticks, Quakers and other Enthusiasts have by the power of Conceit, been transported into such streins of speech, as in the Apostles were accounted fruits of the Spirit: Yea, to a pretence of Prophecy and Miracles: And how know we that it was not so with the Apostles?*

How like are the stories of Eunapius, of Jamblichus, Edeius, Sosipatra the wife of Eufathius, and others, their raptures, prophecies, visions, miracles, to those of the Roman Legends, and the Quakers?

Answer. 1. It is the Devils way of opposing Christ, to do it by apish imitation: So would the *Egyptian* Magicians have discredited the miracles of *Moses*. And Christianity consisteth not of any words which another may not speak, or any actions of devotion, or gesture, or formality, which no man else can do. There are no words which seem to signifie a rapture (which are not miraculous) but they may be counterfeited: But yet as a Statuary or Painter may be known from a Creator, and a Statue from a Man, so may the Devils imitations and fictions from the evidences of Christianity which he would imitate. Look through the four parts of the testimony of the Spirit, and you may see this to be so.

1. What antecedent Prophecies have foretold us of these mens actions? 2. What frame of Holy doctrine do they deliver bearing the Image of God, besides so much of Christs own doctrine as they acknowledge? 3. And what Miracles are with any probability pretended to be done by any of them (unless you mean any Preacher of Christianity in confirmation of that common Christian Faith.) There are no Quakers or other Fanaticks among us, that I can hear of, who pretend to miracles: In their first arising, two or three of them were raised to a confidence that they had the Apostolical gift of the Spirit, and should speak with unlearned Languages, and heal the sick, and raise the dead; but they failed in the performance, and made themselves the common scorn, by the vanity of their attempts: Nor one of them that ever spake a word of any Language but what he had learnt; nor one that cured any disease by Miracle: One of them at *Worcester* half starved, and then (as is most probable) drown'd himself; and a woman that was their Leader undertook to raise him from the dead; But she spake to him as the Priests of *Baal* to their God, that could not hear; and made but matter of laughter and pity to those that heard of it. There hath not been in *England* in our dayes, that ever I could hear of, either by Jesuit, Fryer, Quaker, or other Fanatick, so much as a handsome Cheat, resembling a Miracle, which the People might not easily see, to be a transparent foolery. But many wonders I have known done at the earnest Prayers of humble Christians. So that he who shall compare the Fryers and Fanaticks with the Apostles

and

and other Disciples of Christ, (whose Miracles were such as afore-described) will see that the Devils apish design, though it may cheat forsaken Souls into infidelity, is such as may confirm the faith of sober men. 4. And what *Spirit of sanctification* doth accompany any of their peculiar doctrines? If any of them do any good in the World, it is only by the doctrine of Christ: But for their *own doctrines*, what do they but cheat men and draw the simple into sin? A Friar by his *own doctrine* may draw men to some soppery or ridiculous ceremony, or subjection to that Clergy, whose holy diligence consisteth in *striving who shall be greatest, and Lord it over the inheritance of Christ, and rule them by constraint, and not willingly*. A Quaker by his *own doctrine* may teach men to cast away their bands, and cuffs, and points, and hat-bands, and to say [*Thou*] instead of [*You*] and to put off their hats to no men, and to be the publick and private revilers of the holiest and ablest Preachers of the Gospel, and the best of the people, and with truculent countenances to rail at God's servants in a horrid abuse of Scripture-terms. If this *image and work* of the Devil were indeed the *image and work* of God, it were some testimony of the verity of their doctrine. And yet even these Sects do but like a flash of lightning, appear for a moment, and are suddenly extinct, and some other sect or fraternity succeedeth them. The Quakers already recant most of those rigidities, on which at first they laid out their chiefest zeal. If a flash of such lightning, or a squib, or glow-worm, be argument sufficient to prove that there is no other Sun, then Friars and Fanaticks, as oft as they are mad, may warrant you to believe that all men are so too, even Christ and his Apostles.

Object. IV. But the power of cheaters, and credulity of the vulgar is almost incredible. The great number of Papists who believe their holy cheats, and the greater number of Mahometans, who believe in a most satish ignorant deceiver, do tell us what a folly it is to believe for company.

Answer. This is sufficiently answered already: no doubt but cheaters may do much with the ignorant and credulous multitude: but doth it follow thence, that there is nothing certain in the world? None of these were ever so successful

indeceiving; as to make men of sound understanding and senses believe, that they saw the lame, and blind, and deaf, and sick, and lunatick, healed, and the dead raised, and that they themselves performed the like, and that they saw and were instructed by one risen from the dead, when there was no such thing; or that abundance of men did speak in many unlearn'd tongues, and heal the lame, and blind, and sick, and raise the dead; and this for many years together, in many Countries, before many Congregations; and that they procured the same spirit to those that believed them, to do the like; and that by this means they planted Churches of such believers through the world: Who is it that hath been such a successful deceiver?

As for the *Mahometans*, they do but believe by education and humane authority, that *Mahomet* was a great Prophet, whose sword, and not his miracles, hath made his sect so strong, that they dare not speak against it. Those few miracles which he pretendeth to, are ridiculous unproved dreams. And if there be found a people in the world, that by a Tyrants power may be so barbarously educated as to believe any foppery, how foolish and vain soever be the report, it doth not follow, that full and unquestionable evidence is not to be believed.

Object. But what can be imagined by the wit of man more certain than sense? when it is sound senses, and all the senses, and all mens senses, upon an object suitable and near, with convenient media, &c. And yet in the point of Transubstantiation, it is not a few fools, but Princes, Popes, Prelates, Pastors, Doctors, and the most profound and subtil School-men, with whole Kingdoms of People of all sorts, who believe that all these senses are deceived, both other mens and their own. What therefore may not be believed in the world?

Ans. And yet a *nihil scitur vel certum est*, is an inhumane foolish consequence of all this; nor hath it any force against the certainty of the Scripture Miracles. For, 1. All this is not a believing that positively they see, and feel, and taste, and hear, that which indeed they do not: but it is a believing that they do not see, and hear, and feel, and taste, that which indeed they do: they are made believe that there is no Bread and Wine, when indeed there is. But this is no delusion.

Sensus nostros, non parens, non nutrix, non magister, non poeta, non scena depravat; non multitudinis consensus abducit à vero: Animis omnes tenduntur insidæ, vel ab iis quos modo enumeravi vel ab ea quæ penitus in omni sensu implicata insidet imitatrix boni voluptas, malorum autem mater omnium. Cic, de leg. 1. p. 226.

delusion of the senses, but of the understanding, denying credit to the sense: If you had proved that all these Princes, Lords, Prelates and People, had verily thought that they had *seen, and tasted, and felt Bread and Wine*, when it was not so, then you might have carried the cause of unbelief; but upon no other terms (which is to be remarked) than by proving that *nothing in all the world is certain or credible*. For all the certainty of the Intellect is so far founded in the certainty of sense, and resolved into it, in this life, that it cannot possibly go beyond it. If you suppose not *all mens sound consenting senses* to have as much infallibility, as man is capable of in this life, for the ordinary conduct of his judgment, you must grant that there is no further infallibility to be had by any natural way. For he that is not certain of the infallibility of such *consenting senses*, is not certain that ever there was a Bible, a Pope, a Priest, a Man, a Council, a Church, a World, or any thing.

2. And for my part I do not believe, that all these that you mention do really believe, that their senses are deceived: (though if they did, its nothing to our case.) Most of them are frightened for carnal preservation into a silencing of their belief: others know not what Transubstantiation meaneth. Many are cheated by the Priests changing the question, and when they are about to consider, *Whether all our senses be certain that this is Bread and Wine?* they are made believe that the question is, *Whether our senses are certain of the Negative, that here is not the real Body and Bloud of Christ*. And they are taught to believe, that sense is not deceived about the *Accidents*, which they call the *Species*, but about the *Substance* only; when most of the simple people by the *species* do understand the *Bread and Wine* it self, which they think is to the invisible body of Christ, like as *our bodies*, or the body of a Plant, is to the *soul*. So that although this instance be one of the greatest in the world, of insatuation by humane authority and words, it is nothing against the Christian verity.

Of the Canon of the Scripture, read Dr. Reynolds, de lib. Apocr. and Bishop Colins his full Collections on that subject. Vide etiam Carm. Jambic, Amphilochii in Auc. Bibl. Par. To. I: pag. 624.

Many Papists confess, that the H. Scriptures contain all things necessary to the

Object. V. You are not yet agreed among your selves what Christianity is, as to the matter of Rule: the Papists say, it is all the Decrees decide (at least) in all General Councils, together with the Scriptures Canonical and Apocripbal: The

Protestants,

Quemadmodum enim si quis vellet sapientiam hujus seculi exercere, non aliter hoc consequi poterit, nisi dogmata Philosophorum legat; sic quicunque volumus pietatem in Deum exercere, non aliunde discemus quam ex Scripturis Divinis. S. Hippolyt. Romul. Auctor. Bibl. Pat. To. 1. p. 621.

Protestants take up with the Canonical Scriptures alone, and have not near so much in their Faith or Religion, as the Papists have.

Ans. What it is to be a Christian, all the world may easily perceive, in that solemn Sacrament, Covenant or Vow, in which they are solemnly entred into the Church and profession of Christianity, and made Christians. And the ancient Creed doth tell the world, what hath always been the faith which was professed. And those sacred Scriptures which the Churches did receive, doth tell the world what they took for the entire comprehension of their Religion. But if any Sects have been since tempted to any additions, enlargements, or corruptions, its nothing to the disparagement of Christ, who never promised, that no man should ever abuse his Word, and that he would keep all the world from adding or corrupting it. Receive but so much as the doctrine of Christ, which hath certain proof that it was indeed his, delivered by himself, or his inspired Apostles, and we desire no more.

Obj. Et. VI. But you are not agreed of the reasons and resolution of your faith: one resolveth it into the authority of the Church, and others into a private spirit, and each one seemeth sufficient to prove the groundlessness of the others faith.

Ans. Dark minded men do suffer themselves to be fooled with a noise of words not-understood. Do you know what is meant by the resolution and grounds of faith? Faith is the believing of a conclusion, which hath two premises to infer and prove it: and there must be more argumentation for the proof of such premises, and faith in its several respects and dependances, may be said to be resolved into more things than one, even into every one of these. This general and ambiguous word [Resolution] is used oft'ner to puzzle than resolve. And the grounds and reasons of faith are more than one, and what they are I have fully opened to you in this Treatise. A great many of dreaming wranglers contend about the Logical names of the *Objectum quod, & quo, & ad quod*; the *objectum formale, & materiale, per se, & per accidens, primum & secundarium*; *ratio formalis qua, quae & sub qua*; *objectum univocationis, communitatis, perfectionis, originis, virtutis, adaequationis, &c.* the *motiva fidei, resolutionis*, and many

many such words; which are not wholly useless, but are commonly used but to make a noise to carry men from the sense, and to make men believe that the controversy is *de re*, which is meerly *de nomine*. Every true Christian hath some solid reason for his faith, but every one is not learned and accurate enough to see the true order of its causes and evidences, and to analyze it thoroughly as he ought. And you will take it for no disproof of *Euclid* or *Aristotle*, that all that read them, do not sufficiently understand all their Demonstrations, but disagree in many things among themselves.

Object. VII. *You make it a ridiculous Idolatry to worship the Sun, and Jupiter, and Venus, and other Planets and Stars, which in all probability are animate, and have souls as much wiser than ours as their bodies are, (for it's like God's works are done in proportion and harmony:) and so they seem to be to us subordinate Deities: And yet at the same time you will worship your Virgin Mary, and the very image of Christ, yea, the Image of the Cross which he was hang'd on; and the salita capita, and rotten bones of your Martyrs, to the dishonour of Princes, who put them to death as malefactors: Is not the Sun more worthy of honour than these?*

Thus Julian in his Orations, and Eunapius in Eusebio, pag. (mihi) 598, &c.

Ans. I. We ever granted to an *Eunapius*, *Julian*, *Porphyry* or *Celsus*, that the Sun, and all the Stars and Planets, are to be honoured according to their proper excellency and use: that is, to be esteemed as the most glorious of all the visible works of God; which shew to us his Omnipotency, Wisdom and Goodness, and are used as his instruments to convey to us his chief corporal mercies, and on whom, under God, our bodies are dependant, being incomparably less excellent than theirs. But whether they are animated or no, is to us utterly uncertain: and if we were sure they were, yet we are sure that they are the products of the Will of the Eternal Being: And he that made both them and us, is the Governour of them and us: and therefore as long as he hath no way taught us to call them Gods, nor to pray to them, nor offer them any sacrifice, as being uncertain whether they understand what we do or say; nor hath any way revealed that this is his will, nay, and hath expressly forbidden us to do so. Reason forbiddeth us to do any more, than

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than honourably to esteem and praise them as they are, and use them to the ends which our Creator hath appointed.

2. And for the Martyrs, and the Virgin Mary, we do no otherwise by them: we honour them by *estimation, love and praise*, agreeable to all the worth which God hath bestowed on them: (and the holiness of humane souls, which is his image, is more intelligible to us, and so more distinctly amiable, than the form of the Sun and Planets is.) But we pray not to them, because we know not whether they hear us, or know when we are sincere or hypocritical; nor have we any such precepts from our common Lord. It is but some ignorant mistaken Christians who pray to the dead, or give more than due veneration to their memories. And it is *Christ*, and not every ignorant Christian, or mistaken Sect, that I am justifying against the cavils of unbelief.

Object. VIII. You make the *holiness* of Christian doctrine a great part of the evidence of your faith; * and yet Papists and of the faculties of Protestants maintain each others doctrine to be wicked: and *war* by an infant, so such, especially against Kings and Government, as Seneca, or neither of the nature of Cicero, or Plutarch would have abhorred. The Protestants tell Christianity by infant the Papists of the General Council at the Lateran, sub Innoc. 3. Christians. A primo where, Can. 3. it is made a very part of their Religion, That mirabiliter occulta temporal Lords who exterminate not Hereticks, may be ad est natura, nec per- monstrated and excommunicated, and their Dominions given by spici nec cognosci po- the Pope to others, and subjects disoblged from their allegiance: test; progredientibus they tell them of the doctrine of their leading Doctors, that Kings autem aetatibus sen- excommunicate are no Kings, but may be killed: And of the sim, tardèe porius nosmetipsos cognos- many Rebellions which the Pope hath raised against Kings and scimus: Itaque illa prima commendatio Emperours. And the Papists say, that the Protestants are quæ à natura nostri facta est, nobis ob- worse than they, and that their Religion hath every where been scura & iocerta est; introduced by rebellion, or stablished by it: and that the Bible primasque appetitus ille animi, tantum (which is your Religion) hath caused most rebellions, and there- agit ut salvi atque in- fore they dare not let the people read it: And is this your holy tegri esse possimus: doctrine? cum autem despiciere ceperimus & sentire quid simus, & quid ab animalibus cæteris differamus, tunc ea sequi inci- pinus ad quæ nati sumus. *Cic. de fin. l. 5. p. 192.* So is it here.

Ans. 1. That Christianity is incomparably more for Government and due subjection, than Heathenism, is past all

all doubt to those that are impartial Judges. How few of all the Roman Heathen Emperours was there, that died not by subjects hands? Among the *Athenians*, a King and a Tyrant were words too often of the same significant. How hateful the name of a King was among the *Romans*, is well known. How few even of their most renowned Orators and Philosophers were not put to death, upon accusation of resistance of some Prince: (*Brutus, Cicero, Cato, Seneca, &c.*) Cicero, pro Milone, can say, [*Non se obstrinxit scelere, si quis Tyrannum occidat; quamvis familiarem* (which Brutus practised on Caesar) Et Tusc. 5. *Nulla nobis cum Tyrannis societas est, neque est contra naturam spoliare eum quem honestum est necare.* Much more such dangerous doctrine hath Cicero. Seneca Traged. *Hercul. fur.* saith, [*Victima haud ulla amplior potest, magisque opima mactari Jovi, Quam Rex iniquus* — But Christianity teacheth us subjection to bad Rulers, and not only to the good. The ordinary Writings of the *Athenian* and *Roman* learned men are so bitter against Kings, and so much for the peoples power, that it is meer impudency for men of their Religion to asperse Christianity as injurious to Kings. How things were used to be carried at Rome, you may perceive by these words of *Lampridius*, who wondring that *Heliogabalus* was killed no sooner, but permitted three years, saith, [*Mirum fortasse cuipiam videatur, Constantine venerabilis, quod haec clades quam vetuli loco Principum fuerit, & quidem propè triennio, ita ut nemo inventus fuerit qui istum à gubernaculis Romanæ Majestatis abduceret; cum Neroni, Vitellio, Caligulæ, cæterisque hujusmodi nunquam tyrannicida defuerit.*

Hesicbius in *Arcefil.* saith, *Arcefilaus Regum neminem magnopere coluit: Quamobrem legatione ad Antigonom fungens pro patria, nihil obtinuit.* And *Laert.* maketh *Solon* resolve not to live in his own Country, meerly because there was a Tyrant, that is, a King, that had by a faction set up himself, and yet ruled, as he professed, as righteously as a Senate. And he saith of *Tales*, that it was one of the rarities which he spake of, *Rempubl. vidisse Tyrannum senem.* And of *Chrysippus*, *Quod videtur aspernator Regum, immodice fuisse, &c.*

We do not deny but there are three sorts of Christians that are too much for the resisting and destroying of bad Go-

Cum Antifibus agamus ut ex libris illis (Sibyllinis) quidvis potius quam Regem proferant: Quem Romæ posthac nec Dii nec homines esse patientur. (Cic. Divinat. l. 2. p. 186.

Imperatorem necesse est ut suspiciamus, ut enim quem Dominus noster elegit: ut merito dixerim, Noster est magis *Cæsar*, ut à Deo nostro constitutus. *Tertul. Apol. c. 33.*

vernours. and speak much as these Heathens did: The one sort are some over-philosophical learned men, who have more conversed with the antient *Greeks* and *Romans* than with Christian Writers. Such was honest *Petrarch*, who perilously saith, *Et sane si vel unum Patria civem bonum habeat, malum Dominum diutius non habebit.* The second sort are the faction of the Pope, who are led to it by meer interest, their Religion and Clergy-interest both consist in an universal Kingdom or Government over Kings and all the Christian world: it is no wonder therefore to find them industrious to subject all powers to themselves. The third sort are here and there a few Enthusiasts, or fanatical deluded persons, who are like the turbulent Zealots among the *Jews*, who occasioned the combustions and blood-shed at *Jerusalem*, about the time of its destruction: who are but the ignorant sort of Christians, misled by pretences of zeal or inspiration, for want of judgment, stayedness and experience. And this is *vitium persone*, and is no disparagement to Christ. As for any doctrines of rebellion or sedition, or deposing and killing excommunicate Kings, there is none more condemneth them than Christ. It is not every proud or covetous person that maketh the name of Christianity or Church-government a cloak for his usurpation, ambition or worldliness, that we are pleading for: A Roman Prefect was wont to say, *Make me the Bishop of Rome, and I will be a Christian*: What if the match had been made, and the Pagan had turned Christian in profession for that Bishoprick? and had lived like a Pagan still, and domineered according to his ambition? would Christianity have been ever the worse for that? Judge of Christ by his own Book and doctrine, and not by the Council of *Laterane*, nor by the books, or doctrine, or practice of any proud and worldly hypocrite, who abuseth his Name to sin against him. Christ never promised to make

Beda in Apocal. 13. fol. 211. p. 2. expoundeth the number of Antichrist 666 by reference to 1 King 10. 14, 2 Chron. 9. 13. where Solomon's yearly revenue of Gold was 666 talents: and so he saith, Antichrist shall exact that tribute of money to himself, which is due to a true King. As if covetousness and great revenues were the number of the Beast.

Et in cap. 17. In purpura fucus simulati regiminis: In coccino, cruentus habitus impietatis demonstratur. Fol. 214. p. 2.

Vobis humana estimatio innocentiam tradidit: humana item dominatio imperavit: Inde nec plene nec adeo timendæ estis disciplinæ: Tanta est prudentia hominis ad demonstrandum bonum, quantum autoritas ad exigendum: tam illa falli facili quam ista contemni. *Tertul. Apol. c. 45.*

such Laws, as no man could abuse or break. Yet withall let me tell you, that the spleen and envy of factious persons, doth usually cause them to belie each other, and make each others doctrine as odious as they can: and if wrangling boys fall out and call one another bastards, it is no good proof that they are so indeed.

Object. But those of you that do escape the doctrines of dissoluity, are traitors against your Countries liberties, and base-spirited men, and flatterers of Princes, and defenders of tyranny and oppression, and all to beg their countenance for your Religion. The Christian spirit is poor and private in comparison of the old Greek and Roman genius, which would stand up against the proudest Tyrant.

Answer. It seems Christianity is hot and cold, as malice fancieth it. Indeed the doctrine of it is so much for submission, patience and peace, as giveth more countenance to this accusation than the former, but is guilty of neither of the crimes. It is not flattering hypocrites that I am to defend, let them bear their shame; but it is the doctrine of Christ which is the thing in question. Did Christ flatter Herod, when he said, *Go tell that Fox, Behold, I cast out devils, &c.* Luk. 13. 31. Did John Baptist flatter him, when he lost his liberty and life for reprehending his filthy lust? Did Christ flatter the Pharisees? Matth. 23. Doth James flatter the rich and great, Jam. 5. 1, &c. *Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl, for the miseries that shall come upon you: your riches are corrupted, and your garments moth-eaten; your gold and silver is cankered, and the rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire: ye have heaped treasure together for the last days — Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton, ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter: ye have condemned and killed the just, and he doth not resist you.* And, Jam. 2. 6. *Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before the judgment-seats?* Christianity teacheth us to lament the sin of Tyranny, the grand crime which keepeth out the Gospel from the Nations of Infidels and Pagans through the earth, and eclipseth its glory in the Popish Principalities: It teacheth us to resist tyrannical Usurpers in the defence of our true and lawful Kings. But if it teach men patiently to suffer, rather than rebelliously resist,

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resist, that is not from *baseness* but true *nobleness* of spirit, exceeding both the *Greek* and *Roman* genius: in that it proceedeth from a contempt of those inferiour trifles, which they rebell for, and from that satisfaction in the hopes of endless glory, which maketh it easie to them to bear the loss of liberty, life, or any thing on earth; and from obedience to their highest Lord. But in a lawful way they can defend their Countries and liberties as gallantly, as ever Heathens did.

Object. IX. If your Religion had reason for it, what need it be kept up by cruelty and bloud? how many thousands and hundred thousands bath sword, and fire, and inquisition devoured, for the supporting of Religion? and when they are thus compelled, how know you who believeth Christianity indeed?

In ecclesia non co-actum, sed acquiescentem oportet ad meliora converti: Non est enim qui curare possit invicem. *Chrysost.*

Nemo invitus bene agit, etiamsi bonum est quod facit. *Aug. Confes.*

Præfati vel Antistites vitium est non quàm optimum esse, nec novas subinde virtutum accessiones facere: siquidem virtutis suæ præstantia, multitudinem ad mediocritatem tracturus sit. *Maxim. Orat. 1. p. 8.*

Answe. This is none of the way or work of Christianity; but of that sect which is raised by worldly interest and design, and must accordingly be kept up. In Christ's own family, two of his Disciples would have called for fire from heaven to consume those that rejected him; but he rebuked them, and told them that they knew not what manner of spirit they were of, and that he came not to destroy mens lives, but to save them: Will you now lay the blame of that consuming zeal on Christ, which he so rebuketh? The same two men would have been preferred before the rest, to sit at his right hand and his left hand in his Kingdom; and his Disciples strove who should be the greatest: Did Christ countenance this? or did he not sharply reprehend them; and tell them that they must not have titles and domination as secular Princes have, but be as little children in humility, and their greatness must consist in being greatest serviceable, even in being servants to all. If men after this will take no warning, but fight, and kill, and burn, and torment men, in carnal zeal, and pride, and tyranny; shall this be imputed to Christ, who in his doctrine and life hath form'd such a testimony against this crime, as never was done by any else in the world, and as is become an offence to unbelievers?

Object. X. We see not that the Leaders in the Christian Religion do really themselves believe it: Pope Leo the tenth called it, Fabula de Christo: What do men make of it but a Trade to live by? a means to get Abbies, and Bishopricks, and Benefices,

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and to live at ease and fleshly pleasure: and what do Secular Rulers make of it, but a means to keep their subjects in awe?

Ans. He that knoweth no other Christians in the world but such as these, knoweth none at all, and is unfit to judge of those whom he knoweth not. True Christians are men, that place all their happiness and hopes in the life to come, and use this life in order to the next, and contemn all the wealth and glory of the world, in comparison of the love of God and their salvation. True Pastors and Bishops of the Church do thirst after the conversion and happiness of sinners, and spend their lives in diligent labours to these ends; not thinking it too much to stoop to the poorest for their good, nor regarding worldly wealth and glory in comparison of the winning of one soul, nor counting their lives dear, if they may but finish their course and ministry with joy. *Luk. 15. Act. 20. Heb. 13. 7. 17. &c.* They are hypocrites, and not true Christians, whom the objection doth describe, by what names or titles soever they be dignified, and are more disowned by Christ than by any other in the world.

Object. XI. Christians are divided into so many sects among themselves, and every one condemning others, that we have reason to suspect them all: for how know we which of them to believe or follow?

Ans. 1. Christianity is but *One*, and easily known; and all Christians do indeed hold this as certain, by common agreement and consent, they differ not at all about that which I am pleading for: there may be a difference, whether the Pope of Rome or the Patriarch of Constantinople be the greater, or whether one Bishop must rule over all, and such like matters of carnal quarrel; but there is no difference whether Christ be the Saviour of the world, or whether all his doctrine be infallibly true: and the more they quarrel about their personal interests and by-opinions, the most valid is their testimony in the things wherein they all agree: it is not those things which they differ about, that I am now pleading for, or perswading any to embrace; but those wherein they all consent.

2. But if they agree not in all the *Integrals* of their Religion, it is no wonder, nor inferreth any more than that they are not all perfect in the knowledge of such high and myste-

Profecto ars quædam artium, & scientia scientiarum mihi esse videtur, hominem regere, animal omnium maxime varium & multiplex. Id ibid.

Sicut noxium est si unitas desit bonis, ita perniciosum est si sit in malis. Perversos quippe Unitas corroborat, dum concordant; & tanto magis incorrigibiles, quanto unanimes fecit. Greg. Moral. l. 33.

Sed perturbat nos opinionum varietas hominumque dissensio: & quia non idem contingit in sensibus, hos natura certos putamus: Illa quæ aliis sic, aliis secus, nec iidem semper uno modo videntur, sciri esse dicimus. Quod est longe aliter. Aug. de Reg. 2. p. 226.

rious things: and when no man understandeth all that is in *Aristotle*, nor no two interpreters of him agree in every exposition, no, nor any two men in all the world agree in every opinion, who hold any thing of their own, what wonder if Christians differ in many points of difficulty.

3. But their differences are nothing in comparison of the Heathen Philosophers, who were of so many minds and ways, that there was scarce any coherence among them, nor many things which they could ever agree in.

4. The very differences of abundance of honest Christians, is occasioned by their earnest desire to please God, and do nothing but what is just and right, and their high esteem of piety and honesty, while the imperfection of their judgments keepeth them from knowing in all things, what it is which indeed is that good and righteous way which they should take. If children do differ and fall out, if it be but in striving who shall do best, and please their father, it is the more excusable: enemies do not so: ideots fall not out in School-disputes or Philosophical controversies: swine will not fall out for gold or jewels, if they be cast before them in the streets: but it's like that *men* may.

5. But the great sidings and factions kept up in the world, and the cruelties exercised thereupon, are from *worldly hypocrites*, who under the mask of Christianity, are playing their own game: And why must Christ be answerable for those whom he most abhorreth, and will most terribly condemn?

Spiritus sanctus est Patris & Filii Amor & connexio: ad ipsum pertinet societas, qua efficiuntur unum corpus unici Filii Dei. Sicut enim unum corpus hominis multis constat membris, & vegetat omnia membra una anima, faciens in oculo ut videat, in auro ut audiat, &c. Ita Spiritus sanctus membra corporis Christi quod est ecclesia, continet & vegetat: Et sicut humani corporis membrum præcisum, formam quidem qua membrum cognoscitur retinet, &c. Sic quicumque à prædictæ pacis unitate divisus est, sacramentum quidem tanquam formam retinet, sed spiritu præter unitatem non vivit. Frustra ergo facis de forma gloriantur, nisi iocus spiritui vegetentur. *Aug. de Grat.*

Nullus Christianus melius est nisi hanc professionem simulaverit. *Athenag. leg. pro Christ. p. 3.*
Nemo (in carceribus vestris) Christianus nisi plane tantum Christianus: aut si aliud, non Christianus. *Tert. Apol. c. 43.*

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inſomuch as among the Turkiſh Mabometans, and the Indian Benians, the wickedneſs of Chriſtians is the grand cauſe that they abhor Chriſtianity, and it keepeth out your Religion from moſt Nations of the earth: ſo that it is a proverb among them, when any is ſuſpected of treachery, What, do you think I am a Chriſtian? And Acolta witneſſeth the like of the Weſt-Indies.

Anſw. 1. Every man knoweth, that the vulgar rabble, who indeed are of no Religion, will ſeem to be of the Religion which is moſt for their worldly advantage, or elſe which their Anceſtors and Cuſtom have delivered to them: And who can expect that ſuch ſhould live as Chriſtians, who are no Chriſtians? You may as well blame men, becauſe Images do not labour, and are not learned, wiſe and virtuous. We never took all for Chriſtians indeed, who for carnal intereſt, or cuſtom, or tradition, take up the bare name, and deſire to be called Chriſtians: rebels may affect the name of loyal ſubjects: and thieves and robbers, the name of true and honeſt men: Shall loyalty, truth and honeſty therefore be judged of by ſuch as them? Nothing can be more unrighteous, than to judge of Chriſtianity by thoſe hypocrites, whom Chriſt hath told us ſhall be condemned to the ſevereſt puniſhment, and whom he hateth above all ſorts of ſinners. What if *Julian*, *Celfus*, *Porphyry*, or any of theſe objectors, ſhould call themſelves Chriſtians, and live in drunkenneſs, cruelty, perjury or deceit, is it any reaſon that Chriſt ſhould be reproached for their crimes? Chriſtianity is not a dead opinion or name, but an active heavenly principle, renewing and governing heart and life. I have before ſhewed what Chriſtianity is.

2. In the Dominions of the *Turks* and other Infidel Princes, the Chriſtians by oppreſſion are kept without the means of knowledge; and ſo their ignorance hath cauſed them to degenerate, for the greater part, into a ſenſual ſottiſh ſort of people, unlike to Chriſtians. And in the Dominions of the *Moscovite*, tyranny hath ſet up a jealouſie of the Goſpel, and ſuppreſſed Preaching, for fear leſt Preachers ſhould injure the Emperour. And in the Weſt, the uſurpation and tyranny of the Papacy hath lock'd up the Scriptures from that people in an unknown tongue, that they know no more what

The Objections from things Extrinsecal, resolved.

what Christ saith, than the Priest thinks meet to tell them, lest they should be loosened from their dependance on the Roman Oracle. And thus Ignorance with the most destroyeth Christianity, and leaveth men but the shadow, image and name: For *belief* is an intellectual act, and a sort of *knowing*, and no man can *believe* really he knoweth not what. If any Disciples in the School of Christ have met with such Teachers, as think it their vertue and proficiency to be ignorant, call not such Christians as know not what Christianity is, and judge not of Christ's doctrine by them that never read or heard it, or are not able to give you any good account of it. But blessed be the Lord, there are many thousand better Christians.

Object. XIII. *But it is not the ignorant rabble only, but many of your most zealous Professors of Christianity, who have been as false, as proud, and turbulent and seditious, as any others.*

* Ut ubicunque triticum, ibi & zizania: sic ubicunque fuerit bonum Dei, ille erit & scandalum inimici. Chrysost. in Matth. 6. Hom. 37.

Sed dicit aliquis etiam de nostris excedere quosdam à regula disciplina: De istis tamen Christiani haberi apud nos. Ibi loquor, hi vero illi cum in domo factis in nomine & in honore sapientie perseverant. Tertul. Apol. 1. 46.

See a notable calumniation in Divesius, lib. 1. c. 1. neque istos esse omnes, non obest quod in istis paucis omnibus, et sunt boni guides in religione. Tertul. Apol. 1. c. 1. p. 798.

Answer. 1. That the true genuine Christian * is not so, you may see past doubt by the doctrine and life of Christ and his Apostles. And that there are thousands and millions of humble, holy, faithful Christians in the world, is a truth which nothing but ignorance or malice can deny. 2. Hypocrites are no true Christians, what zeal soever they pretend: There is a zeal for *self* and *interest*, which is oft mistaken with the name of zeal for Christ. It is not the *forming*, but the *real* Christian, which we have to justify. 3. It is commonly a few young unexperienc'd novices, which are tempted into disorders. But Christ will bring them to repentance for all, before he will forgive and save them. Look into the scripture, and see whether it do not disown and contradict every fault, both great and small, which ever you know any Christian commit? If it do, (as visibly it doth) why must Christ be blamed for our faults, when he is condemning them, and reproving us, and curing us of them?

Object. XIV. *The greater part of the world is against Christianity: Heathens and Infidels are the far greater part of the earth: and the greatest Princes and learned Philosophers have been and are on the other side.*

Answer. 1.

Ans. 1. The greater number of the world are not Kings nor Philosophers, nor wise nor good men: and yet that is no disparagement to Kings, or learned, or good men. 2. The most of the world do not know what Christianity is; nor ever heard the reasons of it; and therefore no wonder if they are not Christians. And if the most of the world be ignorant and carnal, and such as have subjected their reason to their lusts, no wonder if they are not wise. 3. There is no where in the world so much learning as among the Christians, experience puts that past dispute with those, that have any true knowledge of the world. Mahomitanism cannot endure the light of learning, and therefore doth suppress or slight it. The old Greeks and Romans had much learning, which did but prepare for the reception of Christianity, at whose service it hath continued ever since. But barbarous ignorance hath over spread almost all the rest of the world: even the learning of the *Chinenses* and the *Pythagoreans* of the East, is but childishness and dotage, in comparison of the learning of the present Christians.

Objct. XV. *For all that you say, when we hear subtil arguing against Christianity, it flatters us, and we are not able to answer them.*

Ans. That is indeed the common case of tempted men: their own weakness and ignorance is their enemies strength: but your ignorance should be lamented, and not the Christians accused: it is a dishonour to your selves, but it comes to Christ: Do your duty, and you may be more capable of discerning the evidence of truth.

Objct. XVI. *But the sufferings which attend Christianity are so great, that we cannot bear them: in most places it is persecuted by Princes and Magistrates: and is restrained in some by laws, and persecuted in others by ungrateful tradesmen.*

*An hoc obsequium
aliter in via: it non
est minus pars de
vra salute. An
dilecti qui vici-
os in malis per-*

secutione in viciis humanis, in viciis dicitur: sed illi qui persecutionem sustinent, non sunt in viciis humanis, sed in viciis divinis. Persecutione in viciis humanis, non est minus pars de vra salute. Persecutione in viciis divinis, non est minus pars de vra salute. Persecutione in viciis humanis, non est minus pars de vra salute. Persecutione in viciis divinis, non est minus pars de vra salute.

Ans. *Et si qui viciis humanis in viciis dicitur, non sunt in viciis humanis, sed in viciis divinis. Persecutione in viciis humanis, non est minus pars de vra salute. Persecutione in viciis divinis, non est minus pars de vra salute.*

The Objections from things: Extrinsecal, political.

sious things: and when no man understandeth all that is in *Scripture*, nor no two interpreters of him agree in every *explication*, nor any two men in all the world agree in every *opinion*, who hold any thing of their own, what wonder if *Christians* differ in many points of *doctrine*.

3. But these *dis*crepancies are nothing in comparison of the *Heathen Philosophers*, who were of so many minds and ways, that there was scarce any coherence among them, nor many things which they could ever agree in.

4. The very difference of abundance of honest *Christians*, is occasioned by their earnest desire to please God, and do nothing but what is just and right, and their high esteem of purity and honesty, while the impudency of their judgments keepeth them from knowing in all things, what it is which indeed is that good and righteous way which they should take. If children do *drift* and fall out, it is but in striving who shall do best, and please their father, it is the more excusable: enemies do not so: *idiot*s fall out in School-disputes or Philosophical controversies: *fores* will not fall out for gold or jewels, if they be call before them in the streets: but it's like that man may.

5. But the great *ridings* and *factions* kept up in the world, and the cruelties exercised thereupon, are from *worldly hypocrites*, who under the mask of Christianity, are playing their own game: And why must Christ be answerable for those whom he most abhorreth, and will most terribly condemn?

Spiritus sanctus est
Patri & Filii Amor
& connexio: ad ip-
sum pertinet societas,
qua efficiuntur unum
corpus unici Filii
Dei. Sicut enim
unum corpus hominis

conclis constat membris, & vegetat omnia membra una anima, faciem in oculo ut videat, in aure ut audiat, &c. Ita Spiritus sanctus membra corporis Christi quod est ecclesia, continet & vegetat: Et sicut humani corporis membrum præcolum, formam quidem qua membrum cognoscitur retinet, &c. Sic quicumque à prædicta pacis unitate divisus est, sacramentum quidem tanquam formam retinet, sed spiritu præter unitatem non vivit. Frustra ergo seris de *serm* gloriantur, nisi intus spiritu vegetentur. *Aug. de Grat.*

Nullus Christianus nullus est nisi hanc professionem simulaverit, *Ad Rom. lex pro Christ. p. 3.*
Nemo (in carceribus vestris) Christianus nisi plane tantum Christianus: aut si aliud jam non Christianus. *Tom. Apost. c. 43.*

infirmis

is found as among the Turkish Mahometans, and the Indian
Sectaries, the wickedness of Christians is the grand cause that
they abhor Christianity, and it keeps out your Religion from
all Nations of the earth: Is that it is a proverb among them,
always justified of treachery. What, do you think, I am a
Christian? And Acacia amongst the King of the West-
Indies.

Ans. Every man knoweth, that the vulgar rabble,
who indeed are of no Religion, will seem to be of the Reli-
gion which is most for their worldly advantage, or else
what their Ancestors and Customs have delivered to them:
And who can expect that such should live as Christians, who
are no Christians? You may as well blame men, because
knave do not labour, and are not learned, wife and virtu-
ous. We never took all the Christians indeed, who for car-
nal interest, or custom, or tradition, take up the bare name,
and desire to be called Christians: which may offend the name
of loyal subjects: and thieves and robbers, the name of true
and honest men: Shall loyalty, truth and honesty therefore
be judged off by such as them? Nothing can be more un-
reasonable, than to judge of Christianity by these hypocrites,
whom Christ hath told us shall be condemned to the severest
punishment, and whom he hateth above all sorts of sinners.
What if Judas, Cassius, Porphyry, or any of these objectors,
should call themselves Christians, and live in drunkenness,
cruelty, perjury or deceit, is it any reason that Christ should
be reproached for their crimes? Christianity is not a dead
opinion or name, but an active heavenly principle, renew-
ing and governing heart and life. I have before shewed what
Christianity is.

2. In the Dominions of the Turks and other Infidel Princes,
the Christians by oppression are kept without the means
of knowledge; and so their ignorance hath caused them to
degenerate, for the greater part, into a sensual sottish sort
of people, unlike to Christians. And in the Dominions of
the Moscovite, tyranny hath set up a jealousy of the Gospel,
and suppressed Preaching, for fear lest Preachers should in-
jure the Emperour. And in the West, the usurpation and
tyranny of the Papacy hath lock'd up the Scriptures from
that people in an unknown tongue, that they know no more
what

The Objections from things Extrinſecal, reſolved.

what Chriſt ſaith, than the Prieſt thinks meet to tell them, leſt they ſhould be looſened from their dependance on the Roman Oracle. And thus Ignorance with the moſt deſtroyeth Chriſtianity, and leaveth men but the ſhadow, image and name: For *believ* is an intellectual act, and a ſort of *knowing*, and no man can *believe* really he knoweth not what. If any Diſciples in the School of Chriſt have met with ſuch Teachers, as think it their vertue and proſiciency to be ignorant, call not ſuch Chriſtians as know not what Chriſtianity is, and judge not of Chriſt's doctrine by them that never read or heard it, or are not able to give you any good account of it. But bleſſed be the Lord, there are many thouſand better Chriſtians.

Object. XIII. *But it is not the ignorant rabble only, but many of your moſt zealous Profeſſors of Chriſtianity, who have been as falſe, as proud, and turbulent and ſeditious, as any others.*

* Ut ubicunque triticum, ibi & zizania: ſic ubicunque fuerit bonum Dei, iſc erit & ſcandalum inimici. Chryſoſt. in Matth. 6. Hom. 33.
Sed dicit aliquis etiam de noſtris excedere quosdam à regula diſciplinæ: Deſunt tum Chriſtiani haberi apud nos. I hiſoſ, hi vero illi cum talibus factis in nomine & in honore ſapientiz perſeſtant.
Tertul. Apol. c. 46.
See a notable exhortation in Dorotheus, Doct. 5. ne nos ipſos informemus, How unhappy they are that go on their own heads, and want good guides in Religio. Bibl. Pat. Gr. lat. To. I. p. 778.

Anſw. 1. That the true genuine Chriſtian * is not ſo, you may ſee paſt doubt by the doctrine and life of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. And that there are thouſands and millions of humble, holy, faithful Chriſtians in the world, is a truth which nothing but ignorance or malice can deny. 2. Hypocrites are no true Chriſtians, what zeal ſoever they pretend: There is a zeal for *ſelf* and *intereſt*, which is oft masked with the name of zeal for Chriſt. It is not the *ſeeming*, but the *real* Chriſtian, which we have to juſtifie. 3. It is commonly a few young unexperienc'd novices, which are tempted into diſorders. But Chriſt will bring them to repentance for all, before he will forgive and ſave them. Look into the Scripture, and ſee whether it do not diſown and contradict every fault, both great and ſmall, which ever you knew any Chriſtian commit? If it do, (as viſibly it doth) why muſt Chriſt be blamed for our faults, when he is condemning them, and reprovng us, and curing us of them?

Object. XIV. *The greater part of the world is againſt Chriſtianity: Heathens and Infidels are the far greater part of the earth: and the greateſt Princes and learnedſt Philoſophers have been and are on the other ſide.*

Anſw. 1.

Ans. 1. The greater number of the world are not Kings nor Philosophers, nor wise nor good men: and yet that is no disparagement to Kings, or learned, or good men. 2. The most of the world do not know what Christianity is; nor ever heard the reasons of it; and therefore no wonder if they are not Christians. And if the most of the world be ignorant and carnal, and such as have subjected their reason to their lusts, no wonder if they are not wise. 3. There is no where in the world so much learning as among the Christians, experience puts that past dispute with those, that have any true knowledge of the world. Mahomitanism cannot endure the light of learning, and therefore doth suppress or sleight it. The old Greeks and Romans had much learning, which did but prepare for the reception of Christianity, at whose service it hath continued ever since. But barbarous ignorance hath over spread almost all the rest of the world: even the learning of the *Chinenses* and the *Pythagoreans* of the East, is but childishness and dotage, in comparison of the learning of the present Christians.

Object. XV. For all that you say, when we hear subtil arguments against Christianity, it staggereth us, and we are not able to confute them.

Ans. That is indeed the common case of tempted men: their own weakness and ignorance is their enemies strength: But your ignorance should be lamented, and not the Christian cause accused: it is a dishonour to your selves, but it is none to Christ: Do your duty, and you may be more capable of discerning the evidence of truth.

Object. XVI. But the sufferings which attend Christianity are so great, that we cannot bear them: in most places it is persecuted by Princes and Magistrates: and it restraineth us from our pleasures, and putteth us upon an ungrateful troublesome

An hoc usquequaque aliter in vita? & non ex maxima parte de tota judicabis. An debium est quin virtus ita maximam par-

tem oblineat in rebus humanis, ut reliquas obruat? Audebo quæ secundum naturam sunt Deo appellare, nec fraudare suo veteri nomine, virtutis autem simplicitudinem quasi in altera libræ lance ponere. Terram, mihi crede, ea lanx, & maria deprimet: semper enim ex eo quod maximas partes continet, latissimeque funditur, res tota appellatur. Dicimus aliquem hilarem vivere? igitur si semel tristior effectus est, an hilares vita amissa est? Cic. de fin. l. 3. pag. 209.

Isti ipsi qui voluptate & dolore omnia metiuntur, nonne clamant, sapienti plus semper adesse quod velit, quam quod nolit. Id, ibid.

Those that revolt from
Christ because of suf-
ferings, are like him
that Cicero, *ibid.*
speaks of. Nobis Hec-
taeotes ille Diony-
sius flagitiose descri-
visse videtur à Stoicis,
propter oculorum do-
lorem. Quasi hoc di-
dicisset à Zenone, non
dolere cum doleret!
Illud audierat, nec
ramen didicerat, Ma-
lum illud non esse,
quia turpe non esset,
& esset ferendum vi-
ro. p. 209.

Qui per virtutem
peritat, non interit.
Plaut. in du capt.

life: and we are not souls that have no bodies, and therefore cannot sleight these things.

Ans. But you have souls that were made to rule your bodies, and are more worthy and durable than they; and were your souls such as reason telleth you they should be, no life on earth would be so delectable to you, as that which you account so troublesome. And if you will chuse things perishing for your portion, & be content with the momentary pleasures of a dream, you must patiently undergo the fruits of such a foolish choice. And if eternal glory will not compensate what ever you can lose by the wrath of man, or by the crossing of your fleshly minds, you may let it go, and boast of your better choice as you find cause.

How much did the light of nature teach the Stoicks, the Cynicks, and many other Sects, which differeth not much in austerity from Christ's precepts of mortification and self-denial? Socrates could say, [*Opes ac nobilitates, non solum nihil in se habere honestatis, verum omne malum ex eis atoriri.* Laert. l. 2. in Socr. p. 99. Dicebat & unicum esse bonum scientiam, malumque unicum, inscientiam. Id. ib. Et referenti quod illum Athenienses mori decrevisset, & natura illos, inquit. lb. Et multa prius de immortalitate animorum ac praeclara differens, cicut ambibat. p. 105. Magna animi sublimitate carpentes se & objurgantes contemnebat. p. 96. When he was publicly derided, *Omnia ferebat a quo animo.* And when one kickt him, and the people marvelled at his patience, he said, *What if an Ass had kickt me, should I have sued him at Law?* p. 93. When he saw in Fairs and Shops what abundance of things are set to sale, he rejoicingly said, *Quam multis ipse non ego? & cum libere quo vellet abire carcere liceret, noluit, & plerumque severe increpavit, pulcherrimosque sermones illos vincit profectus est.* If so many Philosophers thought it a shameful note of cowardise, for a man to live and not to kill himself, when he was falling into shame or misery, much greater reason hath a true believer, to be willing to die in a lawful way, for the sake of Christ, and the hope of glory, and to be less fearful of death than a Brutus, a Cato, a Seneca, or a Socrates, though not to inflict it on themselves. Soundly believe the promises of Christ, and then you will never much sick at suffering. To lose a feather, and win a Crown, is a bargain

bargain that very few would grudge at. And profanely with *Eſau* to ſell the birth-right for a moiſel, to part with heaven for the paltry pleaſures of fleſh and fancy, were below the reaſon of a man, if ſin had not unmann'd him. *Matth. 16. 25, 26. Whoſoever will ſave his life, ſhall loſe it; and whoſoever will loſe his life for my ſake ſhall find it. For what is a man profited if he ſhall gain the whole world, and loſe his own ſoul?*

Virulent *Eunapius* giveth us the witneſs of natural reaſon, for a holy mortified life, whiſt he maketh it the glory of the Philoſophers, whom he celebrateth. Of *Antoninus* the ſon of *Ædeſius*, he ſaith, [*Totum ſe dedit atque applicuit Diis loci gentilibus, & ſacris myſticis & arcanis; citoque in Deorum immortalium contubernium receptus eſt; neglectâ prorsus corporis curâ, ejusque voluptatibus remiſſo nuntio, & ſapientie ſtudio profano vulgo incognitum amplexus.* — *Cuncti mortales hujuſce viri temperantiam, conſtantiam & inſeſſi neſciam mentem admirati fuere.* *Eunap. in Ædeſ.* What a Saint doth he make *Jamblicus* to be? of whom it was ſeigned, that in his Prayers he would be lifted up above ten cubits from the earth, and his garments changed into a golden colour, till he had done? *Eun. in Jamb. p. 572.* Even while he railleth at the *Alexandrian Monks*, *ut homines quidem ſpecie, ſed vitam ſurpem porcorum more exigentes, &c. p. 598.* (contrary to the evidence of abundant Hiſtory) he beareth witneſs againſt a vicious life. And if holineſs, and mortification or temperance be ſo laudable, even in the judgment of the bittereſt Heathens, why ſhould it be thought intollerable ſtrictneſs, as it is more clearly and ſweetly propoſed in the Chriſtian verity. And if he ſay of *Jamblicus*, [*Ob juſtitie cultum, facilem ad deorum aures acceſſum habuit;*] we may boldly ſay that the righteous God loveth righteouſneſs; and that the prayers of the upright are his delight; and that their ſuff'rings ſhall not always be forgotten; nor their faithful labours prove in vain.

CHAP. XII.

The reasonable Conditions required of them, who will overcome the difficulties of Believing, and will not undo themselves by wilful Infidelity.

I Have answered the objections against Christianity, but have not removed the chiefest impediments: for recipitur ad modum recipientis; the grand impediments are within, even the incapacity, or indisposition, or frowardness of the persons that should believe. It is not every head and heart that is fit for heavenly truth and work. I will next therefore tell you what conditions Reason it self will require of them that would not be deceived: that so you may not lay that blame on Christ, if you be infidels, which belongeth only to your selves.

Non mereatur audire
veritatem, qui frau-
dalenter ininterrogat.
Ambros.

Cond. 1. *Come not, in your studies of these sacred Mysteries, with an enmity against the doctrine which you must study; or at least suspend your enmity, so far as is necessary, to an impartial search and examination.*

For ill will cannot easily believe well. Malice and partiality will blind the strongest wits, and hide the force of the plainest evidence.

Con. 2. *Drown not the love of truth in a vitious fleshly heart and life; and forfeit not the light of supernatural revelation, by wilful sinning against natural light, and debauching your consciences, by abusing the knowledge which already you have.*

Read the beginning of
Theophil. Antioch:
ad Autolyc. shewing
that wickedness caus-
eth further Atheism,
and that it blindeth
sinners that they cannot
know God.

Sensuality and wilful debauchery is the common temptation to Infidelity: when men have once so heinously abused God, as that they must needs believe, that if there be a God, he must be a terrour to them; and if there be a judgment and a life of retribution, it is like to go ill with them, a little thing will perswade such men, that there is no God, nor life to come indeed. When they once hope it is so, and take it for their interest, and a desirable thing, they will easily believe that it is so indeed. And God is just, and beginneth the executions of his justice in this world: and the forsaking of
a soul

a soul that hateth the light, and wilfully resisteth and abuseth knowledge, is one of his most dreadful judgments. That man who will be a drunkard, a glutton, a whore-monger, a proud ambitious worldling, in despite of the common light of nature, can hardly expect that God should give him the light of grace. Despighting truth, and enslaving reason, and turning a man into a beast, is not the way to heavenly illumination.

Cond. 3. *Be not ignorant of the common natural Truths, (which are recited in the first part of this book) for supernatural revelation presupposeth natural; and grace, which maketh us Saints, supposeth that reason hath constituted us men: and all true Knowledge is methodically attained.*

It is a great wrong to the Christian cause, that too many preachers of it have missed the true method, and still begun at supernatural revelations, and built even *natural* certainties thereupon; and have either not known, or concealed much of the fore-written natural verities. And it is an exceeding great cause of the multiplying of Infidels, that most men are dull or idle drones, and unacquainted with the common natural truths, which must give light to Christianity, and prepare men to receive it. And they think to know what is in Heaven before they will learn what they are themselves, and what it is to be a man.

Cond. 4. *Get a true Anatomy, Analysis, or Description of Christianity in your minds: for if you know not the true nature of it first, you will be lamentably disadvantaged in enquiring into the truth of it.*

For Christianity well understood in the *quiddity*, will illustrate the mind with such a winning beauty, as will make us meet its evidence half-way, and will do much to convince us by its proper light.

Cond. 5. *When you have got the true method of the Christian doctrine, or Analysis of faith, begin at the Essentials or primitive truths, and proceed in order, according to the dependencies of truths; and do not begin at the latter end, nor study the conclusion before the premises.*

Cond. 6. *Let look on the whole scheme or frame of causes and evidences, and take them entirely and conjunctly and not as peevish satious men, who in spleenish zeal against another sect,*

Vita lectio est vita
sanctorum. *Greg. Mor.*

24.

* An vero nisi Deum
genus humanum re-
spicere, eique prælle
putaremus, adeo pu-
ritati & innocentie
studeremus? Nequa-
quam, sed quia per-
suasissimi sumus, Deo
qui & nos & mun-
dum hunc condidit,
transactæ hic vite to-
tius rationes nos red-
dituros, moderatum,
benignum, & ple-
risque contemptum
vivendi genus deli-
gimus. Quippe nul-
lum in hac vita tan-
tum malum, etiam si
capitis periculum a-
gatur, supervenire
nobis posse arbitra-
mur, quod omnino
sit minimi, immo ni-
hili faciendum præ
illa quam à summo
judice expectamus o-
lim felicitate, &c.
Athemg. Apol. p. 58.
in B. P.

Si enim solam hanc
præsentem vitam nos
victuros crederemus,
suspensionis locus,
nos carni & sanguini
indulgentes, aut ava-
ritia aut concupis-
centia captos, pec-
care? Nos vero om-
nibus non modo fa-
ctis sed cogitationibus & sermonibus nostris, cum noctu cum interdiu, Deum adesse scimus; cumq;
& totum esse lumen, & quæ in cordibus nostris latent videre, & hac mortali vita defunctos,
alteram hac terrestri longe meliorem, nempe cœlestem, nos victuros. *Id. ibid. p. 77.*

reject and vilifie the evidence which they plead.

This is the Devils gain, by the railing of sects and con-
tentions in the Church: he will engage a Papist for the meer
interest of his sect, to speak lightly of the Scripture and the
Spirit; and many Protestants in meer opposition to the
Papists, to sleight Tradition, and the testimony of the Church,
denying it its proper authority and use. As if in the setting
of a Watch or Clock, one would be for one wheel, and an-
other for another, and each in peevishness cast away that
which another would make use of, when it will never go
true without them all. Faction and contentions are deadly
enemies to truth.

Cond. 7. *Mark well the suitability of the remedy to the dis-
ease; that is, of Christianity to the depraved state of man: and
mark well the lamentable effects of that universal depravation,
that your experience may tell you how unquestionable it is.*

Cond. 8. *Mark well how connaturally Christianity doth re-
lish with holy souls; and how well it suiteth with honest prin-
ciples and hearts; so that the better any man is, the better it
pleaseth him. And how potently all debauchery, villany and vice
befriendeth the cause of Atheists and unbelievers.*

Cond. 9. *Take a considerate just survey of the common enmity
against Christianity and Holiness, in all the wicked of the world;
and the notorious war which is every where managed between
Christ and the Devil, and their several followers, that you may
know Christ partly by his enemies.*

Cond. 10. *Impartially mark the effects of Christian doctrine,
where ever it is sincerely entertain'd, and see what Religion
maketh the best men: and judge not of serious Christians at a
distance, by false reports of ignorant or malicious adversaries:
And then you will see that Christ is actually the Saviour of
souls.*

Cond. 11. *Be not liars your selves, lest it dispose you to think
all others to be liars, and to judge of the words of others by
your own.*

Cond. 12. * *Be-think you truly what persons you should be*

your selves, and what lives you should live, if you did not believe the Christian doctrine: or if you doe not believe it, mark what effect your unbelief hath on your lives.

For my own part, I am assured, if it were not for the Christian doctrine, my heart and life would be much worse than it is; though I had read *Epictetus, Arrian, Plato, Plotinus, Jamblicus, Proclus, Seneca, Cicero, Plutarch*, every word: and those few of my neighbourhood, who have fallen off to infidelity, have at once fallen to debauchery, and abuse of their nearest relations, and differed as much in their lives from what they were before in their profession of Christianity, (though unsound) as a leprous body differeth from one in comeliness and health.

Cond. 13. *Be well acquainted (if possible) with Church-History, that you may understand by what Tradition Christianity hath descended to us.*

For he that knoweth nothing but what he hath seen, or receiveth a Bible, or the Creed, without knowing any further whence and which way it cometh to us, is greatly disadvantaged as to the reception of the faith.

Cond. 14. *In all your reading of the holy Scriptures, allow still for your ignorance in the languages, proverbs, customs, and circumstances, which are needful to the understanding of particular Texts: and when difficulties stop you, be sure that no such ignorance remain the cause.*

He that will but read *Brugensis, Grotius, Hammond*, and many other that open such phrases and circumstances, with *Topographers*, and *Bocharius*, and such others as write of the Animals, Utensils, and other circumstances of those times, will see what gross errors the opening of some one word or phrase may deliver the Reader from.

Cond. 15. *Understand what excellencies and perfections they be which the Spirit of God intended to adorn the holy Scriptures with, and also what sort of humane imperfections are consistent with these its proper perfections: that so false expectations may not tempt you into unbelief.*

It seduceth many to infidelity to imagine, that if Scripture be the word of God, it must needs be most perfect in every accident and mode; which were never intended to be part of its perfection. Whereas God did purposely make use of those:

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those men, and of that style and manner of expression, which was defective in some points of *natural excellency*, that so the *supernatural excellency* might be the more apparent. As Christ cured the blind with clay and spittle, and David slew Goliath with a sling. The excellency of the means must be estimated by its aptitude to its end.

Cond. 16. If you see the evidences of the truth of Christianity in the whole, let that suffice you for the belief of the several parts, when you see not the true answer to particular exceptions.

If you see it soundly proved, that Christ is the Messenger of the Father, and that his word is true, and that the holy Scripture is his word; this is enough to quiet any sober mind, when it cannot confute every particular objection: or else no man should ever hold fast any thing in the world; if he must let all go after the fullest proof, upon every exception which he cannot answer. The inference is sure. If the whole be true, the parts are true.

Cond. 17. Observe well the many effects of Angels ministration, and the evidences of a communion between us and the spirits of the unseen world: for this will much facilitate your belief.

Cond. 18. Over-look not the plain evidences of the Apparitions, Witches, and wonderful events which fall out in the times and places where you live: and what reflections they have upon the Christian cause.

Cond. 19. Observe well the notable answers of Prayers, in matters internal and external, in others and in your selves.

Cond. 20. Be well studied at home, about the capacity, use and tendency of all your faculties; and you will find that your very nature pointeth you up to another life, and is made only to be happy in that knowledge, love and fruition of God, which the Gospel most effectually leads you to.

Cond. 21. Mark well the prophecies of Christ himself, both of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the successes of his Apostles in the world, &c. and mark how exactly they are all fulfilled.

Cond. 22. Let no pretence of humility tempt you to debase humane nature below its proper excellency; lest thence you be tempted to think it incapable of the everlasting sight and fruition of God.

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The devils way of seducing is otherwise by
doubt. The proud devil will help you to be very humble,
and help you to deny the excellency of reason and natural free-
will, and all supernatural inclinations, when he can make
use of it to perswade you, that man is but a subtil sort of
beast, and hath a soul but gradually different from sensitives,
and so is not made for another life.

Cond. 23. Let come to Christ as humble learners, and not
as arrogant self-conceited censurers: and think not that you are
capable of understanding every thing as soon as you hear it.

Cond. 24. Judge not of the main cause of Christianity, or of
particular texts or points, by sudden hasty thoughts and glances:
as if it were a business to be cursorily done: but allow it your
most deliberate sober studies, your most diligent labour, and such
time and patience, as reason may tell you are necessary to a
learner in so great a cause.

Cond. 25. Call not so great a matter to the trial in a case
of melancholy and natural incapacity; but stay till you are fitter
to perform the search.

It is one of the common cheats of Satan, to perswade
poor weak, and melancholy persons, that have but half the
use of their understandings, to go then to try the Christian
Religion, when they can scarce cast up an intricate account,
nor are fit to judge of any great and difficult thing. And
then he hath an advantage to confound them, and fill them
with blasphemous and unbelieving thoughts; and if not to
shake their habitual faith, yet greatly to perplex them, and
disturb their peace. The foundest wit and most composed, is
fittest for so great a task.

Cond. 26. When upon sober trial you have discerned the evi-
dences of the Christian verity, record what you have found true:
and judge not the next time against those evidences, till you
have equal opportunity for a full consideration of them.

In this case the Tempter much abuseth many injudicious
souls: when by good advice and soberest meditation, they
have seen the evidence of truth in satisfying clearness, he will
after surprise them, when their minds are darker, or their
thoughts more scattered, or the former evidence is out of
mind, and push them on suddenly then to judge of the mat-
ters of immortality, and of the Christian cause, that what he

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cannot get by truth of argument, he may get by the incapacity of the disputant : As if a man that once saw a mountain some miles distant from him, in a clear day, should be tempted to believe that he was deceived, because he seeth it not in a misty day, or when he is in a valley, or within the house : Or as if a man that in many days hard study, hath cast up an intricate large account, and set it right under his hand, should be called suddenly to give up the same account anew, without looking on that which he before cast up ; when as if his first account be lost, he must have equal time, and helps, and fitness, before he can set it as right again. Take it not therefore as any disparagement to the Christian truth, if you cannot on a sudden give your selves so satisfactory an account of it, as formerly in more clearness, and by greater studies you have done.

Cond. 27. *Gratifie not Satan so much, as to question well resolved points, as oft as he will move you to it.*

Though you must prove all things, till, as learning, you come to understand them in their proper evidence, time and order ; yet you must record and hold fast that which you have proved, and not suffer the devil to put you to the answer of one and the same question over and over, as often as he please : this is to give him our time, and to admit him to debate his cause with us by temptation, as frequently as he will : which you would not allow to a ruffian to the debauching of your wife or servants : and you provoke God to give you up to error, when no resolution will serve your turn. After just resolution, the tempter is to be rejected and not disputed with ; as a troublesome fellow that would interrupt us in our work.

Cond. 28. *Where you find your own understandings insufficient, have recourse for help to some truly wise judicious Divine.*

Not to every weak Christian, nor unskilful Minister, who is not well grounded in his own Religion : but to those that have thoroughly studied it themselves : you may meet with many difficulties in Theology, and in the Text, which you think can never be well solved, which are nothing to them that understand the thing. No Novice in the study of Logick, Astronomy, Geometry, or any Art or Science, will think

think that every difficulty that he meeteth with, doth prove that his Author was deceived, unless he be able to resolve it of himself: but he will ask his Tutor, or some one versed in those matters to resolve it; and then he will see that his ignorance was the cause of all his doubts.

Cond. 29. Labour faithfully to receive all holy truths with a practical intent, and to work them on your hearts according to their nature, weight and use. For the doctrine of Christianity is *scientia affectiva practica*; a doctrine for Head, Heart and Life. And if that which is made for the Heart, be not admitted to the Heart, and rooted there, it is half rejected while it seemeth received, and is not in its proper place and soil.

If you are yet in doubt of any of the supernatural Verities, admit those truths to your hearts which you are convinced of: else you are false to them and to your selves, and forfeit all further helps of grace.

Object. This is but a trick of deceit to engage the affections, when you want arguments to convince the judgment: Perit omne iudicium cum res transit in affectum.

Ans. When the affection is inordinate, and over-runs the judgment, this saying hath some truth; but it is most false as of *ordinate affections* which follow sound judgment. For by suscitation of the faculties, such affections greatly help the judgment: and judgment is but the eye of the soul to guide the man, and it is but the passage to the will, where humane acts are more compleat. If your wife be taught that conjugal love is due to her husband; and your child, that filial love and reverence is due to his father; such affections will not blind their judgments; but contrarily they do not sincerely receive these precepts, if they let them not into the heart, and answer them not with these affections.

And here is the great difference between the faith of an honest sanctified Plowman, and of a carnal unsanctified Lord or Doctor: the one openeth his heart to the doctrine which he receiveth, and faithfully admitteth it to its proper work, and so embraceth it *practically*, and in love; and therefore holdeth it fast as a *radicated experienced truth*, when he cannot answer all cavils that are brought against it. The other superficially receiveth it into the brain, by meer speculation; and treacherously shuts up his heart against it, and never

Dubitamus, ambigimus, necesse quod dicitur plenum fidei suspicamus: communicamus nos Deo, nec plus apud nos valeat incredulitas nostra, quam illius nominis & potentie magnitudo: ne dum ipsi nobis argumenta conquirimus quibus esse videatur falsum id quod esse novimus atque admittimus verum, obrepit dies exitiosus, & inimica mors reperiamur in faucibus. *Amos. adu. Gent. l. 2. verba ult.*

gave it real rooting; and therefore in the time of trial loseth that unsound superficial belief which he hath. God blesteth his word to the heart that honestly and practically receiveth it, rather than to him that imprisoneth it in unrighteousness.

Cond. 30. *Lastly, if yet any doubts remain, betink you which is the surest side, which you may follow with least danger, and where you are certain to undergo the smallest loss.*

It is pity that any should hesitate in a matter of such evidence and weight, and should think with any doubtfulness, of Christianity as an uncertain thing: But yet true Believers may have cause to say, *Lord, be pious unto us, and increase our faith.* And all doubting will not prove the unsoundness of belief. The true mark to know when Faith is true and saving, notwithstanding all such doubtings, is the *measure of its prevalency with our hearts and lives*: That belief in "Christ and the life to come is true and saving, notwithstanding all doubtings, which habitually possesseth us with the love of God above all, and resolveth the will to prefer the pleasing of him, and the hopes of heaven, before all the treasures and pleasures of this world, and causeth us in our endeavours to live accordingly. And that faith is unsound which will not do this, how well soever it may be defended by dispute. Therefore at least, for the resolving of your wills for *choice* and *practice*, if you must doubt, yet consider which is the safest side. If Christ be the Saviour of the world, he will bring *B. lievers* to Grace and Glory: and you are sure there is nothing but * transitory trifles which you can possibly lose by such a choice. For certainly his precepts are holy and safe, and no man can imagine sa-

* Que mala Stoici non audent appellare; aspera autem, & incommoda & rejicienda, & aliena naturæ esse concedunt; ea non mala dicimus, sed exigua, & porro minima. *Tiso de Peripat. & Academ. in Cic. de fin. l. 5. p. 204.*

Cum ergo hæc sit conditio futurorum ut teneri & comprehendi nullius possint anticipationis affectu, nonne pariter ratio est, ex duobus incertis & in ambigua expectatione pendens, id potius credere, quod aliquis spes ferat, quam omnino quod nullus? In illo enim periculi nihil est, si quod dicitur imminere, cassum fiat & vacuum; In hoc damnum est maximum, (id est salutis amissio) si cum tempus advenit, aperitur hoc fuisse mendacium. Quæ sit & necessitas fieri & miseratione dignissimi? Ita non tam extrinsecus, ne forte hæc verba ista, qui sunt despectui vobis, & præbent materiam risus? Nec saltem vobiscum sub abscuris cogitationibus volutis, ne quod hodie credere obstinata remittis perveritate, repareat seram tempus & irreversibilis poenitentia castiget? Nonne vel hæc saltem vobis fidem faciunt, argumenta credendi, quod jam per omnes terras in tam brevi tempore innotuit? His sacramento diffusi sunt? &c. *Arnob. l. 2. p. 12.*

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tionally that they can endanger the soul. But if you reject him by infidelity, you are lost for ever: for there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, but a fearful looking for of judgment, and fire, which shall devour his adversaries for ever. There is no other Saviour for him, who finally refuseth the only Saviour. And if you doubted whether faith might not prove an error, you could never see any cause to fear, that it should prove a hinderance to your salvation: for salvation it self is an unknown thing to most that do not believe in Christ: and no man can well think, that a man who is led by an age of such miracles, so credibly reported to us, to believe in one that leadeth up souls to the love of God, and a holy and heavenly mind and life, can ever perish for being so led to such a guide, and then led by him in so good a way, and to so good an end.

AND thus, Reader, I have faithfully told thee, what reasonings my own soul hath had about its way to everlasting life, and what enquiries it hath made into the truth of the Christian faith: I have gone to my own Heart for those reasons, which have satisfied my self, and not to my Books, (from which I have been many years separated) for such as satisfy other men, and not my self: I have told thee what I believe, and why. Yet other mens reasonings perhaps may give more light to others, though these are they that have prevailed most with me. Therefore I desire the Reader, that would have more said, to peruse especially these excellent Books: *Camero's Praelectiones de Verbo Dei*, with the *Theses Salturnienses* and *Sedanenses* on that subject: *Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christianae*: *Marsilius Ficinus de Relig. Christ. cum notis Lud. Croci*: *Lodovicus Vives de Verit. Fid. Christ.* *Phil. Moriney du Pleffis de Verit. Fid. Christ.* *John Goodwin of the Authority of the Scriptures*: *Campanella's Atriphant Triumphatus*: *Hieronymus Savonarola's Triumphus Crucis*, (both excellent Books, excepting the errors of their times) *Raymundus de Sabunde his Theologia Naturalis*: *Mirvels Eschmiphronius* (an excellent Book) *Raymundus Lullius Arriol. Fid.* *Alexander Ost* (out of him) on the Creed: *Mr. Stillingfleet's Origines Sacrae* (a late and very worthy labour.)

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labour) Dr. Jackson on the Creed: Mr. Vincent Hattcliff's *Aut Deus aut Nihil* (for the first part of Religion;) pulling by Lessius, Parsons, and abundance more; and Common Place-books, which many of them treat very well on this subject. And of the Ancients, *Augustine de Civitate Dei*, & *Eusebii Preparatio & Demonstratio Evangelica*, are the fullest; and almost all of them have somewhat to this use, as *Justin*, *M. Athenagoras*, *Tatianus*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexand.* *Origen* against *Celsus*, &c. *Cyprian*, *Lactantius*, *Athanasius*, *Basile Gr. Nazianzene*, *Nissen*, &c.

For my own part, I humbly thank the Heavenly Majesty, for the advantages which my education gave me, for the timely reception of the Christian faith: But temptations and difficulties have so often called me to clear my grounds, and try the evidences of that Religion, which I had first received upon the commendation of my Parents, that I have long thought no Subject more worthy of my most serious faithful search; and have wondred at the great number of Christians, who could spend their lives in studying the superstructures, and wrangling about many small uncertainties, to the great disturbance of the Church's peace, and found no more need to be confirmed in the faith. In this enquiry, I have most clearly to my full satisfaction discerned, all those natural evidences for GODLINESS or HOLINESS which I have laid down in the first part of this Book. And I have discerned the congruous superstruction and connection of the CHRISTIAN Religion thereunto: I have found by unquestionable experience the sinful and depraved state of man: and I have discerned the admirable suitableness of the remedy to the malady: I have also discerned the attestation of God, in the grand evidence, the HOLY SPIRIT, the ADVOCATE or Agent of Jesus Christ: viz. 1. The antecedent evidence in the Spirit of Prophecy, leading unto Christ. 2. The inherent constituent evidence of the Gospel, and of Christ, the Image of God, in the Power, Wisdom and Goodness, both of Christ and of his doctrine. 3. The concomitant evidence of Miracles, in the Life, Resurrection, and Prophecies of Christ, and in the abundant Miracles of the Apostles and other his Disciples through the world. 4. The subsequent evidence, in the successes of the Gospel, to the true sanctification

sanctification of millions of souls, by the powerful efficacy of Divine co-operation. I have spent most of my life in converse with such truly sanctified persons, and in preaching this Gospel (through the great mercy of God) with such success upon no small numbers: so that I am certain by full experience of the reality of that holy change, which cannot be done but with the co-operation of God. I have seen that this change is another matter than fancy, opinion, or factious conjunction with a Sect; "[Even the setting up
" God in the soul as God, as our *Owner, Ruler, and Chief*
" *God*; and the devoting of the soul to him in *Resignation*,
" *Obedience and thankful Love*; the seeking of an everlasting
" felicity in his glorious sight and love in heaven; the con-
" tempt of this world, as it pleaseth the flesh, and the holy
" use of it, as the way to our felicity and pleasing God; the
" subduing and denying all carnal desires, which would re-
" bel against God and reason, and restoring Reason to the
" government of the lower faculties: the denying of that
" inordinate *selfishness*, which setteth up our interest against
" our neighbours; and the respecting and loving our neigh-
" bours as our selves; and doing to others as we would be
" done by; and doing good to all men as far as we have
" power: the holy governing of our inferiours, and obeying
" our superiours in order to these ends: living soberly,
" righteously and godly in this world; and in the patient
" bearing of all afflictions, and diligent serving God in
" our several places, to redeem our time, and prepare for
" death, and wait with longing for the everlasting glory, the
" hope of which is caused in us by faith in Christ, our Ran-
" some, Reconciler, Example, Teacher, Governour and
" Judge.] This is the true nature of the Religion expressed
in the Gospel, and impressed on the souls of sanctified men.
By this effect, I know that Christ is the Saviour of the world,
and no deceiver, as I know a man to be a true Physician and
no deceiver, when I see him ordinarily and thoroughly per-
form the cures which he undertaketh. He saveth us actually
from the power of our sins, and bringeth up our hearts to
God, and therefore we may boldly say, He is our Saviour:
This witness through his mercy I have in my self, and is al-
way with me, and in those whom I converse with round
about.

about me. I have also upon just enquiry found, that the witnesses of Christ's Resurrection and Miracles have delivered us their testimony with a three-fold evidence: 1. The evidence of just *credibility* to a *humane belief*. 2. The evidence of *natural certainty* in the natural impossibilities of deceit. 3. The evidence of *supernatural divine attestation*, in, 1. The Image of God on their hearts and doctrine; 2. Their miracles; and, 3. Their sanctifying success. And I have found that the witnesses of the *Miracles* of the *Apostles* themselves, have also given us the same *three degrees* of *proof* of the *Verity* of their testimony; though Miracles continue not now as then. And I have look'd round about me in the world, as diligently and impartially as I could, to see whether Christ, and the way which he hath prescribed us, have any competitor which may make it difficult, to resolve which to prefer and follow. And as I have found that none but GOD alone hath absolute Dominion and Sovereignty over us, and is our chief Benefactor, nor fit to be our felicity and ultimate end; so I have found, that there is no one so fit to be taken for our Mediator and the Way to God, as Jesus Christ; none else that hath a natural aptitude, none else among men that is perfect without sin, that hath conquered Satan, the world and death; that is a Messenger from Heaven so infallible and sure; whose Doctrine and Life is suited to our case; none else that is become a Sacrifice for our sins, and hath risen from the dead, and ascended into Glory, and doth govern and preserve us, and will judge the world, and hath power to give the holy Ghost, both for Gifts and Graces, nor that actually giveth it to the sanctifying of all his sincere followers; none else that hath such a Church and Kingdom, contemning the world, and condemned by the world, and so truly fitted to the pleasing of God, and the future fruition of him in Glory. I see that *Judaism* is but the porch of Christianity; and if Christ had not confirmed the verity of the Old Testament to me, I should have found the difficulty of believing it much greater. And as for Mahometanism, besides the common truths which it retaineth, (of the Unity of the Godhead, the Verity of Christ, and the Life to come, &c.) there is nothing else which at all inviteth my understanding. And as for Hea-

thenism,

thenin, the case that it hath brought the miserable world into, is much to be pitied and deplored: Much precious truth is revealed to us by Nature; but experience telleth us of the need of more: and Christianity hath all which Nature teacheth, with a great deal more. So that Christianity hath no considerable competitor.

And as for worldly wealth and honour, superiority and command of others, the favour, applause and praise of great ones, or of the multitude, voluptuousness, and fleshly delights, &c. ease, long life, or any accommodations of the flesh, yea, learning it self, as it is but the pleasing of the fancy in the knowledge of unnecessary things; all these I have perused, and found them to be *deceit and trouble*: a glimpse of heaven, a taste of the love of God in Christ, yea, a fervent desire after God, yea, a penitent tear, is better than them all, and yieldeth a delight which leaveth a better taste behind it, and which my Reason more approveth in the review: and the vanity of all inferiour pleasures appeareth to me in the common effects: they distract and corrupt the minds of those that have the greatest measure of them, and make them the calamity of their times, the furious afflictors of the upright, and the pity of all sober standers-by, who see them turn the world into a *Bedlam*: and how all their honour, wealth and sport will leave them at a dying hour, and with what dejected minds unwelcome death will be entertain'd by them, and with what sad reviews they will look back upon all their lives, and in what sordid dust and darkness they must leave the rotting flesh, when their souls are gone to receive their doom, before the Judge of all the world. All these are things which were past all doubt with me, since I had any solid use of reason, and things which are still before my eyes.

"Wherefore, my God, I look to Thee, I come to Thee,
"to Thee alone! No man, no worldly creature Made me;
"none of them did Redeem me; none of them did Renew
"my soul, none of them will justifie me at thy Bar, nor
"forgive my sin, nor save me from thy penal Justice: none
"of them will be a full or a perpetual felicity or portion for
"my soul, I am not a stranger to their promises and per-
"formances: I have trusted them too far, and followed them

Illa enim gloria quid
 est nisi æternum An-
 gelorum beatorumq;
 spirituum convivium,
 quod est semper lau-
 dare Deum? Ad hoc
 vitæ præsentis inopia
 nullatenus valet con-
 tingere. Scire autem
 ubi sit, & prægustare,
 illud gaudio spei, fi-
 tire & esurire quod
 gustaveris, hæc est
 illa quæ dicitur san-
 ctorum in hac vita
 perfectio. *Hugo à S.
 Victore Erud. Theol.
 de offic. eccl. l. 2. cap.
 19.*

"too long! O that it had been less, (though I must thankfully
 "acknowledge, that Mercy did early shew me their deceit,
 "and turn my enquiring thoughts to thee:) to thee I resign
 "my self, for I am *thine own*! to thee I *subject* all the powers
 "of my soul and body, for thou art my Rightful Sovereign
 "Governour: from thee I *thankfully* accept of all the bene-
 "fits and comforts of my life: in thee I expect my true se-
 "licity and content: to know thee, and love thee, and de-
 "light in thee, must be my blessedness, or I must have none.
 "The little tastes of this sweetness which my thirsty soul hath
 "had, do tell me that there is no other real joy. I feel that
 "thou hast *made* my mind to *know thee*, and I feel thou hast
 "made my heart to love thee, my tongue to praise thee, and
 "all that I am and have to serve thee! And even in the pant-
 "ing languishing desires and motions of my soul, I find that
 "thou, and only thou, art its resting place: and though
 "Love do now but *search*, and *pray*, and *cry*, and *weep*, and
 "is reaching upward, but cannot reach, the glorious light,
 "the blessed knowledge, the perfect love, for which it long-
 "eth; yet by its eye; its aim, its motions, its moans, its
 "groans, I know its meaning, where it would be, and I
 "know its end. My displaced soul will never be *well*, till it
 "come near to thee, till it know thee better, till it love thee
 "more. It loves it self, and justifieth that self love, when it
 "can love thee: it loaths it self, and is weary of it self as a
 "lifeless burden, when it feels no pantings after thee. Wert
 "thou to be found in the most solitary desert, it would seek
 "thee; or in the uttermost parts of the earth, it would make
 "after thee: thy presence makes a croud, a Church: thy
 "converse maketh a cloister, or solitary wood or field, to be
 "kin to the Angelical Chöre. The creature were dead, if
 "thou wert not its life; and ugly, if thou wert not its beau-
 "ty; and insignificant, if thou wert not its sense. The soul
 "is deformed, which is without *thine Image*; and lifeless,
 "which liveth not in love to thee, if love be not its pulse,
 "and prayer, and praise, its constant breath: the Mind is
 "unlearned which readeth not thy Name on all the world,
 "and seeth not *HOLINESS TO THE LORD* engraven
 "upon the face of every creature. He dotheth that doubteth
 "of thy Being or Perfections, and he dreameth who doth
 "not

"not live to thee. O let me have no other portion! no re-
"son, no love, no life, but what is devoted to thee, employed
"on thee, and for thee here, and shall be perfected in thee,
"the only perfect final object, for evermore. Upon the holy
"Altar erected by thy Son, and by his hands, and his Media-
"tion, I humbly devote and offer thee *THIS HEART*:
"O that I could say with greater feeling, *This flaming, lov-*
"*ing, longing Heart!* But the sacred fire which must kindle
"on my sacrifice, must come from thee; it will not else
"ascend unto thee: let it consume this dross, so the nobler
"part may know its home. All that I can say to commend
"it to thine acceptance, is, that I hope it's wash'd in precious
"blood, and that there is something in it that is thine own;
"it still looketh towards thee, and groaneth to thee, and
"followeth after thee, and will be content with gold, and
"mirth, and honour, and such inferiour fooleries no more:
"it lieth at thy doors, and will be entertain'd or perish.
"Though alas, it loves thee not as it would, I boldly say,
"it longs to love thee, it loves to love thee; it seeks, it craves
"no greater blessedness than perfect endless mutual love:
"it is vowed to thee, even to thee alone; and will never
"take up with shadows more, but is resolved to lie down
"in sorrow and despair, if thou wilt not be its *REST* and
"*JOY*. It hateth it self for loving thee no more; accounting
"no want, deformity, shame or pain so great and grievous
"a calamity.

"For thee the Glorious Blessed GOD, it is that I come to
"Jesus Christ. If he did not reconcile my guilty soul to thee;
"and did not teach it the heavenly art and work of Love,
"by the sweet communications of thy love, he could be no
"Saviour for me. Thou art my only ultimate end; it is
"only a guide and way to thee that my anxious soul hath
"so much studied: and none can teach me rightly to know
"thee, and to love thee, and to live to thee, but thy self: it
"must be a Teacher sent from thee, that must conduct me
"to thee. I have long looked round about me in the world,
"to see if there were a more lucid Region, from whence
"thy will and glory might be better seen, than that in which
"my lot is fallen: But no Traveller that I can speak with,
"no Book which I have turn'd over, no Creature which I

The reasonable Conditions required of them;!

"can see, doth tell me more than Jesus Christ. I can find
 "no way so suitable to my soul, no medicine so fitted to my
 "misery, no bellows so fit to kindle love, as faith in Christ,
 "the Glass and Messenger of thy love. I see no doctrine so
 "divine and heavenly, as bearing the image and superscrip-
 "tion of God; nor any so fully confirmed and delivered by
 "the attestation of thy own Omnipotency; nor any which
 "so purely pleads thy cause, and calls the soul from *self* and
 "*vanity*, and condemns its sin, and purifieth it, and leadeth
 "it directly unto thee; and though my former ignorance
 "disabled me to look back to the Ages past, and to see the
 "methods of thy providence, and when I look into thy
 "Word, disabled me from seeing the beauteous methods
 "of thy Truth; thou hast given me a glimpse of clearer
 "light, which hath discovered the reasons and methods of
 "grace, which I then discerned not: and in the midst of my
 "most hideous temptations and perplexed thoughts, thou
 "kepest alive the root of faith, and kepest alive the love to
 "thee and unto Holiness which it had kindled. Thou hast
 "mercifully given me the *witness* in my self; not an *unrea-*
 "*sonable persuasion* in my *mind*, but that *renewed nature*,
 "those holy and heavenly desires and delights, which sure
 "can come from none but thee. And O how much more
 "have I perceived in many of thy servants, than in my self!
 "thou hast cast my lot among the souls whom Christ hath
 "healed, I have daily conversed with those whom he hath
 "raised from the dead. I have seen the power of thy Gospel
 "upon sinners: All the love that ever I perceived kindled
 "towards thee, and all the true obedience that ever I saw
 "performed to thee, hath been effected by the word of Je-
 "sus Christ: how oft hath his Spirit helped me to pray!
 "and how often hast thou heard those prayers! what
 "pledges hast thou given to my staggering faith, in the
 "words which prayer hath procured, both for my self and
 "many others? And if Confidence in Christ be yet deceit,
 "must I not say that thou hast deceived me? who I know
 "canst neither be deceived, or by any falshood or seduction
 "deceive.

"On thee therefore, O my dear Redeemer; do I cast and
 "trust this sinful soul! with *Thee* and with thy *holy Spirit*
 "I renew

"I renew my Covenant; I *know* no other; I *have* no other;
"I *can* have no other Saviour but thy self: To thee I de-
"liver up this soul which thou hast redeemed, not to be
"advanced to the wealth, and honours, and pleasures of this
"world; but to be delivered from them, and to be healed
"of sin, and brought to God; and to be saved from this
"present evil world, which is the portion of the ungodly
"and unbelievers: to be washed in thy Blood, and illumi-
"nated, quickened and confirmed by thy *SPIRIT*; and
"conducted in the ways of holiness and love: and at last to
"be presented justified and spotless to the Father of spirits,
"and possessed of the glory which thou hast promised. O
"thou that hast prepared so dear a medicine for the clen-
"sing of polluted guilty souls, leave not this unwor-
"thy soul in its guilt, or in its pollution! O thou that
"knowest the Father, and his Will, and art nearest to him,
"and most beloved of him, cause me in my degree to know
"the Father; acquaint me with so much of his will, as
"concerneth my duty, or my just encouragement: leave
"not my soul to groan in darkness, seeing thou art the
"Sun and Lord of Light. O heal my estranged thoughts
"of God! is he my light, and life, and all my hope? and
"must I dwell with him for ever? and yet shall I know
"him no better than thus? shall I learn no more that have
"such a Teacher? and shall I get no nearer him, while I
"have a Saviour and a Head so near? O give my faith a
"clearer prospect into that better world! and let me not
"be so much unacquainted with the place in which I must
"abide for ever! And as thou hast prepared a Heaven for
"holy souls, prepare this too-unprepared soul for Heaven,
"which hath not long to stay on earth. And when at death
"I resign it into thy hands, receive it as thine own, and
"finish the work which thou hast begun, in placing it
"among the blessed Spirits, who are filled with the light
"and love of God. I trust thee living; let me trust thee dy-
"ing, and never be ashamed of my trust.

"And unto Thee, the Eternal Holy Spirit, proceeding
"from the Father and the Son, the Communicative
"*LOVE*, who condescendest to make *Perfect* the Elect
"of God, do I deliver up this dark imperfect soul, to be

" further renewed, confirmed and perfected, according to
 " the holy Covenant. Refuse not to bless it with thine
 " indwelling and operations; quicken it with thy life; it-
 " radiate it by thy light; sanctifie it by thy love; actuate
 " it purely, powerfully and constantly by thy holy motions.
 " And though the way of this thy sacred influx be beyond
 " the reach of humane apprehension; yet let me know the
 " reality and saving power of it, by the happy effects.
 " Thou art more to souls, than souls to bodies, than light
 " to eyes. O leave not my soul as a carrion destitute of thy
 " life; nor its eyes as useless, destitute of thy light; nor
 " leave it as a senseless block without thy motion. The
 " remembrance of what I was without thee, doth make
 " me fear lest thou shouldst with-hold thy grace. Alas;
 " I feel, I daily feel that I am dead to all good, and all
 " that's good is dead to me, if thou be not the life of all.
 " Teachings and reproofs, mercies and corrections, yea, the
 " Gospel it self, and all the liveliest Books and Sermons, are
 " dead to me, because I am dead to them: yea, God is as
 " no God to me, and Heaven as no Heaven, and Christ as
 " no Christ, and the clearest evidences of Scripture verity
 " are as no proofs at all, if thou represent them not with
 " light and power to my soul: Even as all the glory of
 " the world is as nothing to me, without the light by
 " which it's seen. O thou that hast begun, and given me
 " those heavenly *intimations* and *desires*, which flesh and
 " blood could never give me, suffer not my folly to
 " quench these sparks, nor this brutish flesh to prevail
 " against thee, nor the powers of hell to stifle and kill
 " such a heavenly seed. O pardon that folly and wilful-
 " ness, which hath too often, too obdurately and too
 " unthankfully striven against thy grace; and depart not
 " from an unkind and sinful soul! I remember with grief
 " and shame, how I wilfully bore down thy motions; pu-
 " nish it not with desertion, and give me not over to my
 " self. Art thou not in Covenant with me, as my *Sancti-
 " fier*, and *Confirmer*, and *Comforter*? I never undertook
 " to do these things for my self; but I consent that thou
 " shouldest work them on me. As thou art the Agent
 " and Advocate of Jesus my Lord, O plead his cause
 " effectually

effectually in my soul, against the suggestions of Satan
and my unbelief; and finish his healing saving work;
and let not the flesh or world prevail. Be in me the
resident witness of my Lord, the Author of my Prayers,
the Spirit of Adoption, the Seal of God, and the ear-
nest of mine inheritance. Let not my nights be so long,
and my days so short, nor sin eclipse those beams,
which have often illuminated my soul. Without thee,
Books are senseless scrawls, studies are dreams, learn-
ing is a glow-worm, and wit is but wantonness, im-
pertinency and folly. Transcribe those sacred precepts
on my heart, which by thy dictates and inspirations are
recorded in thy holy word. I refuse not thy help for
tears and groans: but O shed abroad that love upon
my heart, which may keep it in a continual life of
love. And teach me the work which I must do in Hea-
ven: refresh my soul with the delights of holiness,
and the joys which arise from the believing hopes of the
everlasting Joys: Exercise my heart and tongue in
the holy praises of my Lord. Strengthen me in sufferings;
and conquer the terrors of death and hell. Make
me the more heavenly, by how much the faster I am
hastening to heaven: and let my last thoughts, words
and works on earth, be likest to those which shall be
my first in the state of glorious immortality; where
the Kingdom is delivered up to the Father, and GOD
will for ever be *All*, and *In all*: of whom, and through
whom, and to whom are all things, To whom be glory
for ever. *Amen.*

CHAP. XIII.

Vid. Pet. Damian.
Dom. robusc. c. 6. de
unit. Eccles.

Confectories: 1. *What Party of Christians should we joyn with, or be of, seeing they are divided into so many Sects?*

Esai. 1. Mat. 18. 19.
Act. 11. 26.

I shall briefly dispatch the Answer of this Question in these following Propositions.

§. 1. **GODLYNESS and CHRISTIANITY** is our only Religion; and if any party have any other, we must renounce it.

1 Cor. 12. Eph. 4.
3. 4. 14.

§. 2. *The Church of Christ being his Body is but One, and hath many Parts, but should have no Parties; but Unity and Concord without Division.*

1 Cor. 1. 10. Act. 20.
30. Rom. 16. 17.

§. 3. *Therefore no Christian must be of a Party or Sect as such, that is, as dividing it self from the rest, causing schisme, or contention in the Body; or making a rent unnecessarily in any particular Church, which is a part.*

1 Cor. 3. 3. 4. 5.
Act. 14. 14. Act. 18.
21.

§. 4. *But when Parties and Sects do trouble the Church, we must still hold to our meer Christianity, and desire to be called by no other name, than Christians (with the Epithets of sincerity): And if men will put the name of a Party or Sect upon us, for holding to Christianity only, against all corrupting Sects, we must hold on our way, and bear their obloquy.*

Matth. 18. 19, 20.
Mar. 16. 16. Heb. 6.
1, 2, 3.

§. 5. *What CHRISTIANITY is may be known,*
1. *Most summarily in the Baptismal Covenant, in which we are by solemnization made Christians, in which renouncing the Flesh, the World and the Devil, we give up our selves devotedly to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as our Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier.* 2. *By the ancient summary Rules of Faith, Hope and Charity, the Creed, the Lords Prayer and the Decalogue.* 3. *Integrally in the sacred Scriptures, which are the Records of the Doctrine of Christ and the Holy Spirit.*

1 Cor. 14. 26. 40.

§. 6. *But there are many circumstances of Religious Worship, which Scripture doth not particularly determine of, but only give general Rules for the determination of them, (as what Chap-
ter*

ter shall be read, what Text preached on, what Translation used, what Meeter or Tune of Psalms, what time, what place, what Seat or Pulpit, or Cup or other Ustensils, what Vesture, gesture, &c. whether we shall use Notes for memory in preaching? what method we shall preach in? whether we shall pray in the same words often, or in various; with a book, or without; with many other). In all which the People must have an obediential respect to the conduct of the lawfull Pastors of the Churches.

§. 7. Differing opinions or practices about things indifferent, *not* about the meer integrals of Religion, which are not Essentials, do not make men of different Religions or Churches (universally considered.) Rom. 14. & 15. Gal. 2. 13, 14, 15. Phil. 3. 16, 17.

§. 8. Nothing will warrant us to separate from a Church a no Church, but the want of something Essential to a Church.

§. 9. The Essential or Constitutive parts of the Church Catholick (or Universal) are Christ the Head, and all Christians as the Members. Eph. 1. 22. & 4. 15. Col. 1. 18. & 2. 19. 1 Cor. 12. 27. Eph. 4. 12. & 5. 23. Math. 28. 19. 1 Cor. 5.

§. 10. All sincere and sanctified Christians are the members of the Church mystical, invisible, or regenerate: And all Professors of sincere Christianity, that is, all Baptized persons, not apostatized nor excommunicate, are the members of the Church visible; which is integrated of the particular Churches.

§. 11. It is essential to particular political Churches, that they be constituted of true Bishops or Pastors, and of flocks of baptized or professed Christians: United in these Relations, for holy communion in the worshipping of God, and the promoting of the salvation of the several members. Act. 14. 23. Phil. 1. 1. Eph. 4. 11, 12. 1 Thess. 5. 12, 13.

§. 12. It is essential to a true Bishop or Pastor of the Church, to be in Office, (that is, in Authority and Obligation) appointed by Christ in subordination to him in the three parts of his Offices, Prophetical, Priestly and Kingly: That is, to teach the people; to stand between them and God in Worship; and to guide or govern them by the Paternal exercise of the Keyes of his Church. Math. 28. 19, 20. & 18. 15, 18. 1 Thess. 5. 12. Heb. 13. 17. Act. 20. 36. Jam. 5. 14. Act. 2. 42. Act. 8. 1.

§. 13. He that doth not nullifie or unchurch a Church, may lawfully remove from one Church to another, and make choice of the best and purest, or that which is most suited to his own Edification, if he be a Free-man.

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Rom. 9. 3. 1 Cor.
12. 25, 26.

§. 14. But in case of such choice or personal removal, the Interest of the whole Church, or of Religion in common, must be first taken into consideration, by him that would rightly judge of the lawfulness of the fact.

Rom. 3. 8.

§. 15. If a Church which in all other respects is purest and best, will impose any sin upon all that will have local communion with it, though we must not separate from that Church as no Church, yet must we not commit that sin, but patiently suffer them to exclude us from their communion.

Tit. 3. 10. 2 Joh.
10. Heb. 5. 11, 12.
1 Cor. 15. 1, 2, &c.
Luk. 18. 34. Joh.
12. 16. Gal. 5. 2. &
1. 7, 8, 9. & 3. 1, 2.

§. 16. True Heresie, (that is, an Error contradictory to an essential Article of the Christian Faith) if it be seriously and really held, so that the contrary truth is not held seriously and really, doth nullifie the Christianity of him that boldeth it, and the Church-state of that Congregation which so professeth it. But so doth not that fundamental Error which is held but in words through ignorance, thinking it may consist with the contrary truth, while that truth is not denyed, but held majore fide; so that we have reason to believe that if they did discern the contradiction, they would rather forsake the error than the truth.

In isto factionissimo
seculo, vix quisquam
eximie doctus hære-
ticos suspicione care-
bat. *Erasm. in Vita
Hieronym.*

But of this more elsewhere.

Et profecto ita est, ut id habendum sit antiquissimum & Deo proximum, quod sit optimum.
Cic. de leg. l. 2. p. 244.

CHAP. XIV.

I intreat the Reader
to peruse the Lord Ba-
cons Considerations,
and Mr. Hales of
Schisme, and Mr. Stil-
lingfleets Irenicon,
especially pag. 117.
and Mr. Jer. Bur-
roughs Irenicon :
which will all much
promote his under-
standing in this point :
And Grotius de Im-
per. sum. pa.

Confectary II. *Of the true Interest of Christ, and his Church, and the Souls of Men : Of the means to promote it ; and its Enemies and Impediments in the World.*

SO great and common is the Enmity against Christianity in the World, yea, against the life and reality of it in all the Hypocrites of the Visible Church, that the guilty will not bear the detection of their guilt ; And therefore the Reader must excuse me for passing over the one half of that which

which should be said upon this Subject, because they that need it cannot suffer it.

§. 1. *Every true Christian preferreth the Interest of Christ and of Religion, before all worldly Interest of his own, or any others.* Luk. 14. 26, 29, 33.

For he that setteth himself or any thing above his God; hath indeed no God: For if he be not *Maximus, Sapientissimus, Optimus*, Greatest, Wisest and Best, he is not God: And if he be not really taken as such, he is not taken for their God. And he that hath no God, hath no Religion. And he that hath no Religion is no Christian: And if he call himself a Christian, he is an Hypocrite.

§. 2. *Though we must preferre the Interest of Christ and the Church above the Interest of our Souls: yet must we never set them in competition or opposition, but in a due conjunction, though not in an equality.* Rom. 9. 3. & 15. 7.
1 Cor. 10. 31.
Eph. 1. 12. 14.

I adde this to warn men of some common dangerous errors in this point: Some think that if they do but feel themselves more moved with another Ministers preaching, or more edified with another way of Discipline, they may presently withdraw themselves to that Minister or Discipline, without regard to the Unity and good of the Church where they are, or whatever publick evil follow it. Whereas he that seemeth to deny even to his Soul some present edification for the publick good, shall finde that even this will turn to his greater edification.

And some, on the contrary extream, have got a conceit that till they can finde that they can be content to be damned for Christ, if God would so have it, they are not sincere. Which is a case that no Christian should put to his own heart, being such as God never put to any man: All the tryall that God putteth us to, is but whether we can deny this transitory life, and the vanities of the World, and the pleasures of the flesh, for the Love of God, and the Hopes of Glory: And he that doth thus much shall undoubtedly be saved. But to think that you must ask your hearts such a question, as whether you can be content to be damned for Christ, is but to abuse God and your selves. Indeed both Reason and Religion command us, to esteem God infinitely above our selves, and the Churches welfare above our own; because

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because that which is best, must be best esteemed and loved : But yet though we must ever acknowledge this inequality, Yet that we must never disjoyn them nor set them in a positive opposition or competition, nor really do any thing which tendeth to our damnation, upon any pretense of the Churches good, is past all question. He that hath made the love of our selves and felicity inseparable from man, hath made us no duty inconsistent with this inclination, that is, with our humanity it self : For God hath conjoynd these necessary ends, and we must not separate them.

Eph. 4. 11, 12, 13,
14, 15, 16. Col. 1.
24. 1 Tim. 4. 16, &
4. 7. 8.
Rom. 11. 36. Prov.
16. 4. 1 Cor. 10. 31.

§. 3. *The Interest of the Church, is but the Interest of the Souls that constitute the Church, and to preferre it above our own, is but to preferre many above one.*

§. 4. *He that doth most for the publick good, and the Souls of many, doth thereby most effectually promote his own consolation and salvation.*

§. 5. *The Interest of God, is the Ultimate End of Religion, Church, and particular Souls.*

Eph. 3. 10. 21. & 5:
27, 29. 2 Thess. 1.
10, 11.
Joh. 21. 15, 16, 17.
Math. 25.

§. 6. *Gods Interest is not any addition to his Perfection or Blessedness; but the pleasing of his Will in the Glory of his Power, Wisdom and Goodness shining forth in Jesus Christ, and in his Church.*

§. 7. *Therefore to promote Gods Interest, is by promoting the Churches Interest.*

§. 8. *The Interest of the Church consisteth, I. Intensive, in its HOLYNESS : II. Conjunctive & harmonice, in its Unity, Concord, and Order : III. Extensive, in its increase and the multiplication of Believers.*

Eph. 5. 25. 26. Tit. 2.
19. 1 Pet. 2. 9, 10:
& 1. 3. 14, 15, 16.
21, 8, 6,

§. 9. I. *The HOLYNESS of the Church consisteth, 1. In its Resignation and submission to God its Owner. 2. In its subjection and obedience to God its Ruler. 3. In its Gratitude and Love to God its Benefactor and Ultimate End.*

Act. 26. 18. Eph. 1:
18. Math. 28. 19.
Heb. 5. 9.

§. 10. *These ails consist, 1. In a right estimation and Belief of the minde : 2. In a right Volition, Choice and Resolution of the Will : 3. In the right ordering of the Life.*

Mar. 28. 20. Gal. 1.
7. 2 Tim. 1. 13.
Act. 10. 20, &c.
1 Tim. 4. 2:
1 Tim. 5. 17.

§. 11. *The Means of the Churches HOLYNESS are these: 1. Holy Doctrine : Because as all Holiness entereth by the understanding, so Truth is the instrumental cause of all.*

§. 12. 2. *The holy, serious, reverent, skilfull and diligent preaching of this doctrine, by due explication, proof and applica-*

application, suitably to the various auditors.

§. 13. 3. The holy lives and private converse of the Pastors of the Church.

§. 14. 4. Holy Discipline faithfully administred; encouraging all that are godly, and comforting the penitent, and humbling the proud, and disgracing open sin, and casting out the proved impenitent gross sinners, that they infect not the rest, embolden not the wicked, and dishonour not the Church in the eyes of the unbelievers.

§. 15. 5. The election and ordination of able and holy Pastors, fit for this work.

§. 16. 6. The conjunct endeavours of the wisest and most experienced members of the flock, not usurping any Ecclesiastical office, but by their wisdom, and authority, and example in their private capacities, seconding the labours of the Pastors, and not leaving all to be done by them alone.

§. 17. 7. Especially the holy instructing and governing of families, by catechizing inferiours, and exhorting them to the due care of their souls, and helping them to understand and remember the publick teaching of the Pastors, and praying and praising God with them, and reading the Scripture and holy books, especially on the Lord's day; and labouring to reform their lives.

§. 18. 8. The blameless lives, and holy conference, converse and example of the members of the Church among themselves: Holiness begetteth holiness, and encreaseth it, as fire kindleth fire.

§. 19. 9. The unity, concord, and love of Christians to one another.

§. 20. 10. And lastly, holy Princes and Magistrates, to encourage piety, and to protect the Church, and to be a terror to evil doers. These are the means of holiness.

§. 21. The contraries of all these may easily be discerned to be the destroyers of holiness, and pernicious to the Church.

1. Unholy doctrine. 2. Ignorant, unskillful, negligent, cold or envious preaching. 3. The unholy lives of them that preach it. 4 Discipline neglected, or perverted, to the encouraging of the ungodly, and assisting of the most holy and upright of the flock. 5. The election or ordination of insufficient, negligent, or ungodly Pastors. 6. The negligence of the wisest of the flock,

Act. 20. 1 Tim. 7.
18. 19. & 3. 2. &
4. 12.
1 Cor. 5. Mat. 18.
15 2 Thess. 3. Rom.
16. 16, 17. 1 Tim.
5. 20.

Act. 10. 2 Tim. 2.
15. 2. & 1 Tim. 3. 2.
3 Joh. 8. Act. 18.
26. Rom. 16. 3.
1 Tim. 6. 18. Tit.
3. 8.

1 Tim. 3. 4. Eph. 6.
4. Deut. 6. 6, 7, 8.
& 11. 18, 19. Act.
10. 2, 24.

1 Pet. 3. 2. Phil. 2.
14. 2 Pet. 3. 14.
Tit. 2. 5. 1 Tim. 6.
1. Rom. 2. 24.
Joh. 17. 21. 1 Cor.
1. 10.
1sa. 32. 1. & 42. 5.
& 49. 13. Hos. 8. 4.
5. Psal. 2. Dan. 9.
6, 8. Rom. 13. 3.
5, 6.

2 Pet. 2. Gal. 1. 7, 8.
1 Tim. 3. 6. & 5. 22.
& 4. 15 16. & 6. 4, 5.
1 Cor. 5. 1 Tim. 3. 7.
Mar. 9. 38, 39. Phil.
1. 15. Jam. 3. 1. 15.
17. 1 Sam 2. Act. 20.
30, 31. Rom. 16. 16.
17. 1 Thess. 5. 12, 13.
2 Chron. 26. 14, 15.
Ezek. 22. 27. Hos. 9.
15. & 7. 3. Zeph. 3.
3. 1 Cor. 2. 6, 8.

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or the restraint of them by the spirit of jealousy and envy, from doing their private parts in assistance of the Pastors. 7. The neglect of holy instructing, and governing of families; and the lewd example of the governours of them. 8. The scandalous or barren lives of Christians. 9. The divisions and discord of Christians among themselves. 10. And bad Magistrates, who give an ill example, or afflict the godly, or encourage vice, or at least suppress it not.

§. 22. To these may be added, 1. The degenerating of Religious strictness, from what God requireth, into another thing, by humane corruptions gradually introduced; as is seen among too many Friars, as well as in the Pharisees of old. 2. A degenerating of holy Institutions of Christ, into another thing, by the like gradual corruptions, as is seen in the Roman Sacrifice of the Mass. 3. The degenerating of Church-Offices by the like corruptions, as is seen in the Papacy, and its manifold supporters. 4. The diversion of the Pastors of the Church to secular employments. 5. The diminishing the number of the Pastors of the Church, as proportioned to the number of souls: as if one School-master alone should have ten thousand scholars; or ten thousand souldiers but one or two officers. 6. The pretending of the soul and power of Religion, to destroy the body or external part: or making use of the body or external part, to destroy the soul and power; and setting things in opposition which are conjunct. 7. The preferring either the imposition or opposition of things indifferent before things necessary. 8. An apish imitation of Christ by Satan and his instruments, by counterfeiting inspirations, revelations, visions, prophecies, miracles, apparitions, sanctity, zeal, and new institutions in the Church. 9. An over-doing, or being righteous over much, by doing more than God would have us, (over-doing being one of the devils ways of undoing) When Satan pretendeth to be a Saint, he will be stricter than Christ, as the Pharisees were in their company, Sabbath-rest and ceremonies: and he will be zealous with a fiery consuming zeal. 10. Accidentally, prosperity it self consumeth piety in the Church: if it occasion the perdition of the world, the Church is not out of danger of it.

§. 23. II. The unity and concord, and harmony of the Church consisteth, 1. In their Universal Adoption, or One Relation to God, as their reconciled Father in Christ. 2. In the

Math. 15. 2, 3, 9, 11,
13. Col. 2. 20, 21, 22.
Mar. 2. 26. Luk. 6. 2.
& 13, 14, 15. Joh.
5. 18. Joh. 11. 49.
& 18. 13. Act. 4. 6.
& 23. 2. 1 Tim. 2.
4, 5, 6, 11. & 1 Tim.
4. 15. Math. 9. 37.
38. 1 Cor. 3. 9. Act.
14. 23. Tit. 1. 3.
1 Cor. 14. 26, 15, 16.
31, 33, 34, 35. Math.
15. 9, 13. Rom.
14. & 15. Act. 15.
28. 1 Joh. 4. 1.
2 Thess. 2. 1. 1 King.
22. 22, 23. 2 Cor.
11. 14, 15. Math.
24. 24. Matth. 15. 2.
11. 13. & 12. 1.
Luk. 13. 14, 15.
Joh. 4. 16. Luk. 9.
54. Act. 11. 36. &
22. 22. Rom. 10. 2.
Prov. 1. 31. Jam. 5.
5, 6.

Eph. 4. 1, 2, 3, 4.
& c. Rom. 8. 17. Eph.
1. 12. 1 Cor. 12. 12,
13. Eph. 4. 15, 16.

the one Relation they have all to Christ their Head. 3. In the unity of the Spirit, which dwelleth and worketh in them all. 4. In their One Relation to the Body or Church of Christ as its members. 5. In the unity of that Faith which stateth them in these relations. 6. In the unity of the Baptismal Covenant, which initiateth them. 7. In the unity of the Gospel, (in the Essentials) which is the common rule of their faith and life, and the ground of their hope and comfort. 8. In the bond of mutual brotherly love. 9. In the concord of a holy life. 10. In the unity of the End which they all intend, and shall at last attain, (the pleasing of God, and the heavenly glory.)

§. 24. The Means of this Unity and Concord are, 1. All, as aforesaid, which promote their holiness. From holiness is the springing of all hearts in God: and it destroyeth that dividing Selfishness, which maketh men have as many ends as they are persons. 2. The learning and ability of the Pastors, to hold the flocks together by the force of truth, and to stop the mouths of cavilling dividers and seducers: When no gain-sayers are able to stand before the evidence of that truth which they demonstrate. 3. The holy lives of Pastors, which keep up the love of truth and them in the peoples hearts. 4. By the paternal government of the Pastors, ruling them, not by force, but willingly, and in fatherly love, and a loving familiar converse with them. 5. By the just execution of Discipline on the impenitent, that the godly may see that wickedness is disowned. 6. By the concord of the Pastors among themselves; and the prudent use of Synods or Councils to that end. 7. By the humble and submissive respect of the people to their Pastors. 8. By keeping up the interest and authority of the most ancient and experienced of the flock, over the young and unexperienced, who are the common causes of division. 9. By the Pastors avoiding all temptations to worldliness and pride, that they tear not the Church, by striving who shall be the greatest, or have the preeminence. 10. By godly Magistrates keeping their power in their own hand, and using it to rebuke intollerable false Teachers, and to encourage the peaceable, and restrain the railing and violence of Pastors and parties against each other; and by impartial keeping the Church's peace.

§. 25. Hence the causes of Church-divisions are discernable. 1. The encrease of ungodliness and sin, which is as fire in the thatch, 2 Chron. 28. 23. Ezek. 18. 30. Num. 32. 23. 1 Tim. 3. 6.

Rom. 8. 9. & 10. 15.
17. 8. Gal. 1. 6, 7.
2. 1 Th. 1. 17, 27.
1 Th. 4. 9. 1 Pet.
1. 22. Eph. 3. 17. &
4. 16. Heb. 10. 24.
1 Cor. 1. 10. 1 Joh.
3. 21. 1 Th. 2. 4.

Phil. 2. 4. 11. 2 Cor.
13. 14. Tit. 3. 9.
Eph. 4. 3, 4, 5, 11,
15, 16. 1 Th. 5.
12, 13. Tit. 1. 9-11.
Luk. 21. 15. 1 Tim.
3, 4, 5, 6. 1 Pet. 5.
1, 2. 18. 10. 20. &c.
2 Cor. 1. 24. 1 Tim.
5. 1. Tit. 3. 10.
1 Cor. 5. Joh. 17.
21, 23. Act. 15.
Heb. 13. 7, 17.
1 Th. 5. 12, 13.
1 Pet. 5. 4. Luk. 22.
24, 25, 27. 1 Pet.
5. 2. 3. 2 Chron.
19. 6, 7, 11. 1 King.
15. 13, 29. 2 King.
10. 17, 28. Rom. 13.
3, 4, 5, 6.

Eph. 4. 14. 3 Joh. 9, 10. 1 King. 17. 24, 25. 1 Cor. 1. 11. & 3. 3. 4. 1 Cor. 5. 5, 12, &c. Tit. 1. 10. 1 Thell. 5. 11, 14. 3 Joh. 9.

Non qui iussus aliquid facit, miser est; sed qui invitus. Senec. ep. 62.

Nullum violentum est perpetuum.

Jam. 4. 1, 2 Phil. 2. 4. 11. 1 King. 12. 21, 32. & 22 27. Rev. 13. 15, 17. 1 Cor. 12. 12, 18. Eph. 4. 7, 8, 13, 16. 3 Joh. 9. Matth. 15. 2, 3. 1 Tim. 3. 3.

Act. 20. 30, 31. Rom. 16. 17. 1 Tim. 1. 19 Eph. 4. 14. 1 Tim. 2. 16, 17. 23, 14, 25.

that, and possesseth all men with dividing principles, practices and ends. 2. The disability of Pastors, over-topp'd in parts by every Sectary. 3. The ungodliness of the Pastors, which looseneth the hearts of the people from them. 4. The strangeness, violence, or hurtfulness of the Pastors. 5. The encouragement and toleration of all the most flagitious and impenitent in undisciplin'd Churches, which frighteneth men out of the Church as from a ruinous house, and tempteth them to an unwarrantable separation, because the Pastors will not make a necessary and regular separation. 6. The discord of the Bishops among themselves. 7. The peoples ignorance of the Pastoral power, and their own duty. 8. An unruly, fierce, censorious spirit in many of the young and unexperienced of the flock. 9. The Pastors striving who shall be the greatest, and seeking great things in the world, or popular applause and admiration. 10. The Magistrates either permitting the endeavours of dividing Teachers in palpable cases; or suffering self-seeking Pastors or people to disturb the Church.

§. 26. But next to common ungodliness, the great causes of the most ruining Church-divisions, are, 1. Wars and dissensions among Princes and States, and civil factions in Kingdoms; whereby the Clergy are drawn or forced to engage themselves on one side or other: and then the prevailing side stigmatizeth those as scandalous who were not for them, and think themselves engaged by their interest to extirpate them. 2. Mistaking the just terms of union and communion, and setting up a false centre, as that which all men must unite in. Thus have the Roman party divided themselves from the Greeks and Protestants, and made the greatest schism in the Church that ever was made in it: 1. By setting up a false usurping constitutive Head, the Roman Bishop, and pretending that none are members of the Church who are not his subjects, and so condemning the far greatest part of the Catholick Church. 2. By imposing an Oath and divers gross corruptions in Doctrine, Discipline and Worship, upon all that will be in their communion, and condemning those that receive them not, and so departing from the Scripture-sufficiency. These two usurpations are the grand dividers.

§. 27. All Hereticks also, (who speak perverse things against Christianity, to draw away Disciples after them) or Schismatics, (who unwarrantably separate from those Churches in which they ought to abide, that they may gather new congregations

gations after their own mind) are the immediate adversaries of Church-union and concord.

Rom. 14. 1 Tim. 6. 3,
4, 5. & 1. 3, 4, 5,
6, 7. Luk. 22. 24.
1 King 22. 27.
Gal. 5. 15.

§. 28. So are the importune and virulent Disputations of contentious Wits, about unnecessary things, or matters of faction and self-interest.

§. 29. Especially when the Magistrate lendeth his sword to one party of the contenders, to suppress or be revenged on the rest, and to dispute with arguments of steel.

§. 30. The well-ordered Councils of Bishops or Pastors of several Churches, assembled together, have been justly esteemed a convenient means of maintaining the concord and peace of Christians, and a fit remedy for the cure of heresies, corruptions and divisions. And when the cause requireth it, those councils should consist of as many as can conveniently meet, even from the most distant Churches, which can send their Bishops without incurring greater hurt or discommodity, than their presence will countervail in doing good. And therefore the councils called General in the Dominions of the Christian Roman Emperours, were commendable, and very profitable to the Church, when rightly used. But whereas the Pope doth argue, that he is the constitutive Head of the whole catholic Church throughout the world, because his Predecessors did oft preside in those councils, it is most evident to anyone, who will make a faithful search into the History of them, that those councils were so far from representing all the Churches in the world, that they were constituted only of the Churches or Subjects of the Roman Empire, and those that having formerly been parts of the Empire, continued that way of communion when they fell into the hands of conquerors, their conquerors being commonly Pagans, Infidels or Arian Heretics. I except only now and then two or three, or an inconsiderable number of neighbour Bishops. There were none of the Representatives of the Churches in all the other parts of the world: as I have proved in my Disputation with Mr. Johnson, and desire the Reader, who thinketh that his Reply doth need any confutation, but to peruse Ortelius, or any true Map of the Roman Empire; and Myraeus, or any Notitia Episcopatum, and withal the names of the Bishops in each Council; and then let him ask his conscience whether those Councils were true or equal Representatives of all the Christian world, or only of the Subjects or Churches of one

AE. 15.
Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms, than to reform abuses, to compound the smaller differences, to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions, and rather to take off the principal Authors by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness. Lord Venulam Essay, 58.

Eph. 4. 14. 3 Joh. 9.
 9, 10. 1 King. 22.
 24, 25. 1 Cor. 1. 11.
 & 3. 3, 4. 1 Cor. 5.
 5, 12, &c. Tit. 1. 10.
 1 Thell. 5. 13, 14.
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 Rom. 16. 17. 1 Tim. 1. 19
 Eph. 4. 14.
 1 Tim. 2. 16, 17.
 23, 24, 25.

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Of the true Interest of Christ and his Church, &c.

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And since then Christ hath enlarged his Church to many more Nations and remote parts of the world, and we are not hopeless that the Gospel may yet be preached to the remotest parts of the earth; and an equal just Representative may be more impossible than it now is: Yet now such proper

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to perform the journey, and return. 3. The Princes^{of} countreys they live, or through whose dominions they must pass, are many of them Infidels, and will not suffer it, and many still in wars, and most of them full of State-jealousies. 4. When they come together, the number (of just Representatives, which may be proportioned to the several parts of the Church, and may be more than a mockery or faction) will be so great, that they will not be capable of just debates, such as the great matters of Religion do require: or if they be, it will be so long as will frustrate the work, and waste their age before they can return: when usually the cause which required their congregating will bear no such delays. 5. They cannot all speak to the understanding of the Council in one and the same language, (for all the commonest of Greek and Latine) God hath neither promised that all Bishops shall be able to converse in one tongue, nor actually performed it. 6. Such a council never was in any Christian Emperours time: for they neither could nor did summon all the just Representatives of the Churches in other Princes dominions, but only those in their own.

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Act 8. 18 20. 1 Tim.
6. 10. 1 Joh. 2. 15.
Gal. 5. 11. & 6.
1st 13, 14.

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of the true Interest of Christ, and his Church, &c.

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§. 32. Unity and harmony will be imperfect, whileſt true Holineſs is ſo rare and imperfect: And to expect the contrary, and ſo to drive on an ill-grounded unholy unity, is a great cauſe of the Division and diſtraction of the

Luk 22. 24. Act. 15. 39. Gal. 2. 12, 13, 14, 15.

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Phil. 3. 15, 16. Rom. 14. & 15. 1 Pet. 3. 15.

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Rom. 16. 17. 1 Theſſ. 5. 12, 13. 1 Cor. 1. 10. & 2. & 3. throughout.

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§. 35. III. The extenſive intereſt of the Church, conſiſting in the multiplication of Chriſtians, is 1. Principally in the multiplication of the Regenerate-members of the Church-miſtical: 2. And ſubordinately in the multiplication of Profeſſed Chriſtians in the Church Viſible.

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Act. 2. 41, 42. Act. 8. 37, 38.

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Luk 22. 24. Aſ. 15. 39. Gal. 2. 12, 13, 14, 15.

§. 33. When differing opinions cauſe diſcord betwixt ſeveral Churches, the means of Chriſtian concord is, (not an agreement in every opinion, but) to ſend to each other a Profeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, ſubſcribed, with a Renunciation of all that is contrary thereto; and to require Chriſtian Love and Communion on theſe terms, with a mutual patience and pardon of each others infirmities.

Phil. 3. 15, 16. Rom. 14. & 15. 1 Pet. 3. 15.

§. 34. No Chriſtian muſt pretend Holineſs, againſt Unity and Peace; nor Unity and Peace againſt Holineſs; but take them as inſeparable in point of Duty: And every tender Conſcience ſhould be as tender of Church-diſiſion and real Schiſme, as of drunkenneſs, whoredom, or ſuch other enormous ſins. Jam. 3. 14, 15, 16, 17.

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Aſ. 2. 41, 42, Aſ. 8. 37, 38.

See my Treat. of Confirmation,

Act. 8. 37. & 13. 21.
22. Act. 2. 41. Luk.
14. 16, 18, 22. & 3.

Phil. 1. 15, 16, 17,
18. Math. 10. 1. &
7. 22, 23.

Mar. 16. 16. Act. 5.
13.

Rom. 9. 6. Math. 13.
41, 42, 47. 10. 22.

Math. 13. 36, 28. &
3. 12. Psal. 1. 4.
Jer. 23. 28.

Math. 13. 28, 29, 30.

2 Tim. 2. 10. Joh. 11.
32. 1 Tim. 2. 4.

§. 39. Those that are baptized in Infancy, should at age have a solemn transiſion into the rank of adult members, upon a solemn serious owning and renewing of their Baptismal Covenant.

§. 40. God doth not require a false profession of Christianity but a true: But yet he appointeth his Ministers to take a Profession not proved false, as credibly true: Because we are no heart-searchers, and every one should be best acquainted with himself; and God will have every man the chooser or refuser of his own felicity, that the comfort or sorrow may be most his own: And a humane belief of them that have not forfeited their credit, especially about their own hearts, is necessary to humane converse.

§. 41. And God taketh occasion of Hypocrites intrusion, 1. To do good to the Church by the excellent gifts of many Hypocrites: 2. To do good to themselves, by the means or helps of Grace which they meet with in the Church.

§. 42. But the proper appointed place, which all that are not (at age) perswaded to the profession of true Christianity, should continue in, is the state of Catechumens, or Audientes; meer Learners in order to be made Christians.

§. 43. The Visible Church is much larger than the Mystical (though but one Church) that is, the Church hath more Professing than Regenerate Members, and will have to the end of the World; and none must expect that they be commensurate.

§. 44. As a Corn Field, hath 1. Corn, 2. Straw and Chaffe, and 3. Weeds and stricken ears; and is denominated from the Corn, which is the chief (preserved) part; but the straw must not be cast out because it is necessary for the Corn; but the weeds must be pull'd up, except when doing it may hurt the Wheat; Even so the Church hath 1. Sincere Christians, from whom it is denominated; 2. Close Hypocrites, whose gifts are for the good of the sincere, and must not be cast out by the Pastors; 3. Hereticks and notorious wicked men, who are impenitent after due admonition: and these must be cast out, except when it may hazard the Church.

§. 45. The means of increasing the Church, must ultimately be intended alwayes to the increase of the Church mystical, for Holiness and Salvation.

§. 46. These

§. 46. These means are, 1. All the fore-mentioned means of holiness: for holiness is the Church's glory; the Image of God, which will make it illustrious and beautiful in the eyes of men, when they are sober and impartial; and will do most to win them home to Christ. 2. Especially the great abilities, holiness, patience and unwearied diligence of the Ministers of Christ, is a needful means. 3. The advancements of Arts and Sciences, doth much to prepare the way. 4. The agreement and love of Christians among themselves. 5. Love to the infidels and ungodly, and doing all the good we can even to their bodies. 6. A spiritual, pure, rational and decent worshipping of God. 7. And the concord of Christian Princes among themselves, for the countenancing and promoting the labours of such Preachers, as are fitted for this work.

§. 47 The hinderances then of the Church's increase, and of the conversion of the heathen and infidel world are, 1. Above all, the wickedness of professed Christians, whose falsehood, and debauchery, and unholiness, perswade the poor Infidels, that Christianity is worse than their own Religion, because they see that the men are worse that live among them. And, 2. the badness of the Pastors, (especially in the Greek and Latine Churches) and the destruction of Church-discipline, and impurity of the Churches hereupon, together with the ignorance and unskillfulness of most for so great a work, is a great impediment. 3. The defectiveness in Arts and Sciences. 4. The many divisions and unbrotherly contentions of Christians among themselves, either for Religion or for worldly things. 5. Not devoting our selves and all that we have to the winning of Infidels, by love, and doing them good. 6. A carnal, irra-

Act. 2. 44. 46. & 4. 32, 34. & 9. 31. & 12. 24. Act. 9. 15. 2 Tim. 2. 21. Act. 10. 20, &c. Joh. 17. 24, 25. 2 Tim. 3. 25. Joh. 4. 22, 23. 24.

Isa. 9. 17. 1 Thess. 5. 23. Rom. 2. 21, 24. 1 Tim. 6. 1. Tit. 2. 5. 1 Pet. 3. 16, 17. & 4. 15. & 2. 12.

Read Joseph Acosta of this at large. And Thom. D. S. Jesu de convers. Genr.

1 Cor. 14. 2, &c. 7. 10, 11, 14, 16, 21, 23.

Read Bishop Bilson of Christian Subjection, p. 526.

Vos æris tinnitibus & tibiarum sonis—persuasum habetis

Deos delectari & affici, irasque aliquando conceptas eorum satisfactione molliori. Nos inconuenienducimus, quinimo incredibile iudicamus, eos qui gradibus mille genus omne virtutum perfectionis transferint summitate, in voluptatibus habere atque in deliciis esse res eas, quas boni sapienter rideant, & quæ non aliis videantur continere aliquid gratiæ, quam infantibus parvulis & trivialiter & populariter infimicis. Hæc cum ita se habeant, curque sit opinionum tanta nostrarum vestrarumque diversitas, ubi aut nos impii, aut vos pii; cum ex partium sensibus pietatis debeat atque impietatis ratio ponderari? Non enim qui subulachrum sibi aliquod conficit, quod pro Deo veneretur is habendus est: rebus esse dedicis diuinis. Opinio religionem facit; & recta de Dili mens: ut nihil eos existimes contra Decus præsumptæ sublimitatis appetere. *Arnob. adv. Gentil. l. 7. in Bib. Pat. Aufl. T. 1. p. 60.* Suppose these words spoken by us to the Papists.

Acosta is very large and honest in his reproof and lamentation of the sins of the Clergy.

Read Pet. Maximus his Hist. Ind. & Epist. Jesuit. & Histor. Japon. & Chin. The King of Terenate told Sir Francis Drake, We agree with you in Religion against the Portugals, that we must not worship Stocks and Stones. Fuller's Holy State in the Life of Sir Francis Drake, out of a M. S. of one of his company. What a scandal is such worship against the Christian cause.
Act. 9. 31.

As for the grand controversy of per se aut per alium, read Grotius de Imper. pag. 290, 291. [Nam illud quod quis per alium facit, per se facere videtur] ad eas duntaxat pertinet actiones, quarum causa efficiens proxima à pure Indefinita est.]

tional or undecent manner of worshipping God: for they will condemn that God, whose worship seemeth to them ridiculous and contemptible. 7. The discords, wars or selfishness of Christian Princes, who unite not their strength to encourage and promote this noble work; but rather binder it, by weakening the hands of the labourers at home. 8. Especially when the very Preachers themselves are guilty of covetous or ambitious designs, and under pretence of preaching Christ, are seeking riches, or setting up themselves, or those that they depend on. These have kept under the Church of Christ, and bindred the conversion of the world till now.

§. 48. The attempts of the Jesuits in Congo, Japon and China were a very noble work, and so was the Portugal Kings encouragements: but two things spoiled their success, (which Protestants are not liable to:) 1. That when they took down the Heathens Images, they set them up others in the stead; and made them think that the main difference was, but whose Image they should worship: And withall by their Agnus Dei's, and such like trinkets, made Religion seem childish and contemptible. 2. But especially, that they made them see, that while they seemed to promote Religion, and to save their souls, they came to promote their own wealth, or the Popes dominion; and to bring their Kings under a foreign power.

§. 49. The honest attempts of Mr. Elliots in New-England is much more agreeable to the Apostles way, and maketh more serious spiritual Christians. But the quality of place and people, and the greatness of wants, doth hinder the multiplication of Converts. And higher attempts were very desirable.

§. 50. The translating of fit Books into the language of the Infidels, and dispersing them, may in time prove the sowing of a boly fruitful seed.

§. 51. Prosperity useth greatly to encrease the Church extensively, in the number of visible members; and adversity and persecution to encrease it intensively, by increasing holiness in the tried and refined: Therefore God useth to send vicissitudes of prosperity and adversity, like Summer and Winter, to the Churches, that each may do its proper work.

§. 52. Every true Christian should daily lament the common infidelity and impiety of the world, that the interest of true Christianity is confined into so narrow a room on earth: and to pray

pray with his first and earnestest desires, that more labourers may be sent forth, and that God's Name may be hallowed, his Kingdom come, and his will be done on earth, that it may be like Heaven, which now is grown so like to Hell. But yet to comfort himself in considering (as is before said) that as this earth is to all the nobler world, but as one mole-hill to all England; so if God had forsaken all, it had been but as the cutting off a cancer from a man, or as the casting away of the paring of his nails, in comparison of all the rest.

Therefore should we long for the coming of our Lord, and the better world, which we have in hope. HOW long, Lord, holy and true, how long? Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly, Amen. For we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. 2 Pet. 3. 11, 12, 14.

Dr. Jer. Taylor of
Repent. Pref. [I am
sure we cannot give
account of souls of
which we have no
notice.]
Leg. Athanas. Patri.
Constantine de ne-
cessaria Episcop. refi-
demia.

Exod. 6. 12. Behold the children of Israel have not hearkned to me, how then shall Pharaoh hear me?

Ezek. 3. Not to many people of a strange speech, and of an hard language, whose words thou canst not understand: surely had I sent thee to them, they would have hearkned unto thee. But the house of Israel will not hearken unto thee, for they will not hearken unto me: for all the house of Israel are impudent and hard-hearted.

Obb. 16. 1666.

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THE CONCLUSION,

*Defending the Soul's Immortality
against the Somatists or Epicure-
ans, and other Pseudophilosophers.*



Hough in this Treatise I have not wil-
fully balked any regardable objecti-
ons, which I thought might stick with
an intelligent Reader, about the truth
of the things here delivered, yet those
which are proper to the Somatistical
irreligious sect of Philosophers, I
thought fitter to put here as an Appen-

dix by themselves, that they might not stop the more sober
in their way.

As to the *Subject and Method* of this Discourse, it consisteth
of these four parts: 1. *The proof of the Deity, and what God*
is. 2. *Of the certain obligations which lie upon man to be holy*
and obedient to his God. 3. *The proofs of a life of Retribution*
hereafter, where the holy and obedient shall be blessed, and the
unholy

Si vis Deorum speciem apprehendere, proprietates Animæ rationalis ultimæ cogita, & oppositas in perfectione Diis attribue. *Jamblic. de Myſter. per Ficin.*

unholy and disobedient punished. 4. The proofs of the verity of the Christian faith.

For the first of these, (that there is a God) though I have proved it beyond all rational contradiction, yet I have dispatched it with haste and brevity : because it is to the mind as the Sun is to the eye, and so evident in all that is evident in the world, that there needeth nothing to the proving of it, but to help the Reader to a rational capacity and aptitude, to see that which all the world declareth. The common argument, from the *effects* to the *cause*, in all the *entities* and *motions* in the world, is undeniable. Whatsoever any Being hath, and hath not originally from it self, or independently in it self, it must needs have from another : and that other cannot act beyond its power, nor give that which it hath not either formally or eminently : Therefore he that findeth in the world about him, so much *entity* and *motion*, so much Intellection, Volition and Operation, and so much Wisdom, Goodness and Power, must needs know that all these have some cause, which formally or eminently, or in a way of transcendency, hath more it self than it giveth to others. I measured my endeavours about this subject, according as the occasions of my own soul had led me : among all the temptations which have at any time assaulted me, I have found those so contemptible and inconsiderable as to their strength, which would have made me doubt of the being of a God, that I am apt to think that it is so with others. And therefore in the review of this discourse, I find no reason to stand to answer any mans objections, against the Being, or essential Attributes or Properties of God.

And for the second point, (that we all owe to this God our absolute *Resignation*, *Obedience* and *Love*, and so that *Holiness* is *naturally* our duty) it doth so naturally result from the Nature of God and Man compared, that I can scarce think of any thing worthy of a confutation which can be said against it, but that which denieth the Nature of God or Man ; and therefore is either confuted under the first head, or is to be confuted under the third.

* As for the fourth particular, contained in the second Tome, (the truth of the Gospel) I find not any reason to defend it more particularly, nor to answer any more objections

* when Machomet had taken Constantinople, and demanded of the Patriarch an account of the Christian faith, Georg. Scholarius, alias Gennadius, then Patriarch, wrote that brief summary which you may find in Mart. Crusius his Turco Græc. l. 2. Hist. Eccles. p. 10, &c. which very well opens the mystery of the Trinity, and of Christianity, with seven reasons of it.

jections than I have done : for in proving the truth, I have proved all the contradictory assertions to be false ; and I have answered already the greatest objections : and after this, to answer every ignorant exception of unsatisfied persons, against the several passages of the Scripture, would be tedious, and not necessary to the end of my design. And indeed I perceive not that any considerable number are troubled with doubtings of the truth of the Christian faith, in a prevalent degree, who are well convinced of those antecedent verities of the *Deity*, and of the *natural obligation* and *necessity* of *Holiness*, and of the *Immortality of the soul*, or of a *future life* of reward and punishment; and that live in any reasonable conformity to these natural principles which they profess. For when natural evidence hath sufficiently convinced a man, that he is obliged to be *holy*, in absolute *obedience* and *love* to his *Creator*, through the *hopes* and *fears* of another life; he is very much prepared to close with the design and doctrine of the Gospel, which is so far from contradicting this, that it doth but confirm it, and shew us the way by which it may most certainly be brought to pass.

And therefore my observation and experiences constrain me to think, that there is no point which I have insisted on, which so much calleth for my vindication, as the *third*, about the *Life to come*.

I know there is a sort of over-wise and over-doing Divines, who will tell their followers in private, where there is none to contradict them, that the method of this Treatise is perverse, as appealing too much to natural light, and over-valuing humane reason; and that I should have done no more but shortly tell men, that All that which God speaketh in his word is true; and that *propria luce*, it is evident that the Scripture is the Word of God; and that to all God's Elect he will give his Spirit to cause them to discern it: and that this much alone had been better than all these disputes and reasons: but these over-wise men, who need themselves no reason for their Religion, and judge accordingly of others, and think that those men who rest not in the authority of Jesus Christ, should rest in theirs, are many of them so well acquainted with me, as not to expect that I should trouble them

That Plato and Aristotle were of one opinion about the Soul, Mirandula and Mars. Ficinus upon Priscian Theophrastus, de Anima, have largely laboured to evince.

Galen is known to speak many objections against Plato, and the Soul's immortality: but in other places he speaketh doctly. And if really Neve-
sius had these words out of such a book of Galen, as he saith, de Ani. c. 2. p. 481. he would then seem to have thought better of the Rational Soul.

Plotinus his last words were (as Porphyry saith in his life) [I am now returning that which is Divine in us, to that which is Divine in the Universe.]

them in their way, or reason against them, who speak against reason; even in the greatest matters which our reason is given us for. As much as I am addicted to scribbling, I can quickly dismiss this sort of men, and love their zeal, without the labour of opening their ignorance.

My task therefore in this conclusion, shall be only to defend the doctrine delivered in this fore-going Treatise, of the Life to come, or the Soul's Immortality, against some who call themselves Philosophers. For of men so called, it is but a small part who at all gainsay this weighty truth. The followers of Plato the Divine Philosopher, with the Pythagoreans, the Stoicks, the Cynicks, and divers other Sects, are so much for it, that indeed the most of them go too far, and make the soul to be eternal both *à parte ante*, and *à parte post*: and Cicero doth conclude from its self-moving power, that it is certainly eternal and divine: Inasmuch that not only Arnobius, but many other ancient Christians, write so much against Plato for holding the soul to be naturally immortal, and assert themselves, that it is of a middle nature, between that which is naturally immortal, and that which is merely mortal, that he that doth not well understand them, may be scandalized at their expressions, and think that he readeth the Philosopher defending the souls immortality, and the Christian opposing it. And though Aristotle's opinion be questioned by many, yet Cicero, who lived in time and places wherein he had better advantage than we to know his meaning, doth frequently affirm, that he was in the main of Plato's mind; and that the Academicks, Peripateticks and Stoicks differed more in words than sense; chiding the Stoicks for their schism or separation, in setting up a School or Sect as new, which had almost nothing new but words. Not only Fernelius (*de abditis rerum causis*) but many others have vindicated Aristotle, however his obscurity hath given men occasion to keep up that controversy. And if the book *de Mundo* be undoubtedly his, I see no reason to make any more question of his meaning; much less if that book be his which is entituled, *Mystica Egypti. & Chald. Philos.* which Aben Ama Arabs translated out of Greek into Arabick, which Franc. Rosew brought from Damascus, and Moses Rovas Medicus Hebr. translated into Italian, and Pet.

Nicol.

Nicol. Castellinus into *Larine*, and *Patricius* thinketh *Aristotle* took from *Plato's* mouth.

It is only then the *Epicureans*, and some novel *Somatists* that I have now to answer, who think they have much to say against the separated subsistence and immortality of mans soul, which I may reduce to these objections following.

I. *Matter* and *Motion*, without any more, may do all that which you ascribe to *incorporeal substances* or *souls*: therefore you assert them without ground. II. To confirm this, the bruits have *sense*, *imagination*, *thought* and *reason*, by *matter* and *motion* only, without immortal or incorporeal substances: therefore by *sense*, *imagination*, *thoughts* or *reason*, you cannot prove that man hath more. III. *Forms* are but *Accidents*, that is, *Qualities*, or the mode of *matter*, and not *Substances* different from *matter*: therefore it is so with humane souls. IV. The soul dependeth upon *matter* in its operations, and acteth according to it, and not without it: therefore it is *material*, and consequently mortal. V. No immaterial substance moveth that which is material, or is the principle of its operations: but the soul moveth the body as the principle of its operations: *ergo*. VI. If in our dreams the thoughts do operate only according to the accidental irregular motion of the spirits, and sometime be so unactive, that we do not so much as dream, then the soul is nothing but the said active spirits, or some material corruptible thing: but, &c. *ergo*. VII. *Sense* is a more perfect apprehension than *Reason*: therefore Bruits, which have *sense*, have as noble and perfect a kind of soul as man; or at least *reason* is no proof of the immateriality of souls. VIII. *Sensation* and *Intellection* are both but *Reception*, and the soul is but a patient in them: *Ergo*, it is not a self-moving, and so not an incorporeal substance. IX. Nothing is in the understanding but what is first in the sense: *Ergo*, the understanding can reach no further than to sensible things: *Ergo*, it is it self of no higher a kind. X. Corporeal objects move the soul: *Ergo*, it is corporeal. For things material cannot work upon that which is immaterial. XI. If the soul were incorporeal, it would know it self to be so: but it is not only ignorant of that, but hath no true notion, but merely negative, of immaterial beings. X I. That which

which is generated is corruptible: but the soul is generated, as is proved by *Senectus*, and many others. XIII. *Quicquid oritur interit*; that which is not eternal as to the past duration, is not eternal as to the future duration: but all Christians maintain, that the soul is either created or generated, and not of eternal duration, as to what is past: and all the Philosophers, or most who took it to be eternal as to future duration, went on that ground, that it was so antecedently. XIV. You give us none but moral arguments for the soul's immortality. XV. Nay, you confess, that the soul's eternal duration cannot by you be proved by any natural evidence; though you think you so prove a life of Retribution. XVI. The soul and body are like a candle, where oyl, and wax, and fire, (which are all) are in *fluxu continuo*, and as there is not the same individual flame this hour as was the last, so neither have we the same individual souls: *Ergo*, they are incapable of a life of Retribution hereafter. XVII. If the soul be a durable substance, (as we must confess no substance is annihilated) it is most likely to come from the *anima mundi*, or some universal soul of that orb or system of which it is a part, and so to return to it again, as the beams to the Sun; and so to cease its individuation, and consequently to be incapable of a life of Retribution. XVIII. The *Platonists* who hold the souls immortality, (and some *Platonick* Divines too) have so many sopperies about its vehicles, regions and transmutations, as maketh their principal doctrine the less credible. XIX. If the soul should continue its individuation, yet its actions will be nothing like what they are in the body; nor can they exercise a memory of what they did in the body, as having not the material spirits and nerves, by which memory is exercised: and therefore they can have no proper retribution, especially punishment, for any thing here done. XX. The belief of the immortality of the soul doth fill men with fears, and take up their lives in superstitious cares for a life to come, which might be spent in quietness, and in publick works: and it fills the world with all those religious sects and controversies, which have so long destroyed Charity and Peace.

These are the Objections which I have here to answer.

OBJECT.

OBJECTION I.

Matter and Motion, without any more, may do all that which you ascribe to souls.

Answer. When nothing seemeth to us more false and absurd, than the matter of your objection; you cannot expect that your naked assertion should satisfy us without proof: and a satisfactory proof must reach to all the noblest instances, and must have better evidence than the bold and confident affirmations of men, who expect that their conceptions should be taken for the flower of reason, whilst they are pleading against the reasoning nature it self. And to what Authors will they send us for the proof of this assertion? Is it to Mr. Hobs? We have perused him, and weigh'd his reasons, and find them such as reflect no dishonour on the understandings of those, who judge them to be void of probability as well as cogent evidence. But after so smart a castigation as he hath received from the learned *D. Ward*, (now Bishop of Exeter) and from that clear-headed Primate of Ireland, Dr. Bramhal, I hope it will not be expected, that I trouble my self or my Reader with him here. Is it to *Gassendus*? He writeth for the immaterial created humane soul himself. And Charity obligeth me not to charge him with prevarication, whatsoever to *Cartesius* or any where else he writeth, which seemeth injurious to this Doctrine. And if *Sorberius* number it with his honours, (in *vita Gassendi*) that Mr. Hobs could not sufficiently admire his works, *Qui Heroem nostrum nunquam majorem apparere pronuntiabat, quam in retundendis larvis, tenues in auras tam facile diffunduntibus, gladio imperviis, nec ictum clava excipientibus: ita enim sentiebat vir emuncta naris de Meditationibus Cartesii & de illa Gassendi disquisitione, &c.* It was because he weighed not honour in an *English* ballance, nor judged not of an *English-man* by an *English* judgment, nor himself well perceived what was indeed honourable or dishonourable in his friend. If you send us to *Epicurus* and *Lucretius*, they are so overwhelmed with the number of adversaries that have fallen upon them, that it is a dishonour to give them another

The Platonists opinion that the Soul is all the Man, and that Animus cujusque is est quisque, is incomparably more probable, and of honest tendency, than theirs that think the Body is all the Man. Qui putant hominem esse ex Anima corporeque compositum, consequenter utile à justo sejungunt; Qui vero hominem esse animam conjungunt. Proclus de Anim. & dam. per Ficin.

What then will they hold and do, that think man is tantum corpus. For as Proclus there saith, and Cicero oft, most Philosophers agree that vivere secundum suam naturam, is man's great duty and felicity: Therefore as men differ about man's Nature, they will differ about his Duty and felicity: They that think he is all Body, will describe his work and his happiness accordingly: a train of sad and desperate consequence.

another blow. Besides all the crowd of *Peripateticks*, *Platonists* and *Stoicks*, even the moderate latitudinarian *Cicero* hath spit so oft in the face of *Epicurus*, that when *Gassendus* hath laboured hard in wiping it, he thought meet to let this spot alone. But because it is onely this sort of men, that are the adversaries with whom we do contend, I will this once be so troublesome to the Reader, as to give him first some general countercharges and reasons, against the authority of these men; and next some particular reasons against the objected sufficiency of *Matter* and *Motion*, to do the offices which we ascribe to souls.

And, 1. When I find men dispute against *Man*, and reason against the power of Reason, I think humane interest alloweth me to be distrustful of their sophistry, and to yield no further than I have cogent evidence. If man's soul be his form, he denieth man to be man, who denieth him that soul.

2. I find Philosophers so little agreed among themselves, that it greatly diminisheth their authority and requireth a man who is just to his reason, to make a very accurate trial before he fall in with any of their opinions. Their divisions are sufficiently opened and aggravated by *Laertius*, *Cicero*, and many more of themselves; and contemptuously displayed by *Hermas*, *Arnobius*, *Athenagoras*, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, and many other Christians. There are few things that one asserteth, but there are many to rise up against him and contradict it. They must better defend themselves against one another, before their authority be much revered by others.

3. I find the wisest of them so conscious of their ignorance, that they take most for uncertain which they say themselves; and confess they talk but in the dark: which made the *Pyrrhonians* and *Arcefilas* have so many followers; and *Cicero* with the *Academicks* so over-moderate in disclaiming certainty and confidence, and writing by Dialogues with so much indifference and wavering as they did. I need not send you to *Zanchus* his *Nililscitur*, nor to our Mr. *Glanvil's* *Vanity of Dogmatizing*, for satisfaction. The learned *Gassendus* his modesty is sufficient, who if he speak of *Occult Qualities*, will ask you, *What Qualities are not occult?* And if he speak of the magnitude and distances of the Stars, will

will tell you how little possibility of assurance is left to mortals, about those things which others with over much confidence have asserted. And about the case in hand, he could no better defend Epicurus against Cicero's [*Hoc est optare, & provincias dare atomis, non disputare*] than by confessing [*Vere quidem id obijci, sed eam tamen esse ingenii humani imbecillitatem, ut obijci idem nemini non possit* — De ipsis principiis dicere nil aliud licet, nisi quod hac ipso, illa illo modo se habeant, ex sua natura necessitate; cum ignoremus germanam causam ob quam ita se habeant; immo cum ea frustra queratur, nisi sit eundem in infinitum. §. 1. l. 3. c. 7. pag. 275. And ingenuously he confesseth, §. 2. l. 2. c. 3. p. 560. *Verum quicquid dicatur (scilicet per Cartesium & Epicurum) hypothesis semper vera est, ac difficultas remanet, fierique nihil tutius potest, quam profitendo ignorantiam, totum quem videmus rerum ordinem in arbitrium, summi opificis conferre. Dicere certe quod aliqui, solum v. g. idcirco hic potius quam alibi esse, quia ejus natura ita exigat, id quidem vere dicitur; sed interim nil aliud est, quam respondere ipsum quæsitum, & dissimulando ignorantiam, videri esse animi in causam optimam parum grati.* Which is true and applicable to many other cases. And it is ingenuously confessed lately by the very ingenious Mr. Samuel Parker, [*I am lately grown such a despairing Sceptick in all Physiological Theories, that I cannot concern myself in the truth or falsehood of any hypotheses. For though I prefer the Mechanical hypotheses before any other, yet me-thinks their contexture is too slight and brittle to have any stress laid upon them: and I can resemble them to nothing better than your glass drops, from which if the least portion be broken, the whole compages immediately dissolves and shatters into dust and atoms: for their parts which rather lie than hang together, being supported only by the thin film of a brittle conjecture, (not annealed by experience and observation)* &c. And upon the like reasons it is rejected by that eminently learned and industrious man, Dr. Willis, de ferment. p. 3. *At quoniam principia sua supponit potiusquam demonstrat, docetque qualis figura elementa ista corporum sint, non quæ ipsa fuerint, atque etiam notiones inducit valde subtiles & a sensu remotas, quæque naturæ phenomenis quando ad particularia descenditur, non satis quadrant, hæc suspensa habita, &c.*

The truth is, in Fire is per essentiam, a meaning, enlightning, beaming substance; so the soul is per essentiam a Life or Vital Principle; and therefore, as Porphyry argueth, for the soul to die, is for life it self to die; or that which is per essentiam life, to cease to be what it is.

Quibusdam qui ne ignem calere putant, nisi cum manu conrectarint, nihil credendum esse placet, quod supra progredientem naturam videatur. Multorum quoque studia tardantur, quod id credere noluit quod minus sub eorum cognitionem cadit: quæ errorum pravitas ex ingeniorum imbecillitate defluxit: siquidem cum sensuum angustia ex quibus hominum agnitio cœruitur, in externorum sensuum genere versentur, satis notum esse debet, his tanquam compedibus intelligentiæ cursum retardari, divinaque capessere nequire. *Paul. Cartesius 1. Sent. dis. 9. p. 22.*

4. And I find that the Philosophers that have rejected or vilified *Epicurus* and his way, have been very numerous; multitudes to a few, and of the most venerable names in the ages and places where they lived; and no one sect of them so vilified by the rest, as the *Epicureans* were by all.

5. I find also, that the most who in this age adhere to the *Epicurean* (or *Cartesian*) Hypothesis, are the younger sort of ingenious men, who have received prejudice against the *Peripateticks*, *Platonists* and *Stoicks*, before they did ever thoroughly study them; but reverencing more some person noted for much ingenuity, by his authority have been drawn to defend, what they scarce understand themselves. And that it is the *meer novelty* of some of these new-started notions, which maketh them so much followed; as *novelties in Religion* are with some young and wanton wits: and accordingly I expect, that ere long they will grow out of fashion, and die again before ever they come to have such supporters as the other Philosophy hath had.

6. *Respicere ad plurima*, to take in all that must be taken in, is the character of true wisdom. But I find that the *Epicureans* do *respicere ad pauca*; they look so much at things corporeal, that they quite over-look the noblest natures; and they reduce all to *Matter* and *Motion*, because nothing but *Matter* and *Motion* is thoroughly studied by them. And like idle Boys, who tear out all the hard leaves of their books, and say they have learn'd all when they have learnt the rest; so do they cut off and deny the noblest parts of nature, and then sweep together the dust of agitated Atoms, and tell us that they have resolved all the *Phænomena* in Nature.

7. And I find that they are very kind natured to their own conceptions, and take those for demonstrations, which other men think are liker dreams.

8. I perceive that they are deluded by taking the *vestigia* and *images* of things, for the things themselves. The *Intellectual* nature is the *image* of the *Divine*, and the *Sensitive* of the *Intellectual*, and the *Vegetative* of the *Sensitive*, and the *Fiery* of the *Incorporeal*. And when they can prove no more in any of the lower, but such an *image* of the higher, they would on that advantage confound them all; and would hence

hence conclude that Bruits are intellectual, and deny the differencing forms of all things.

9. I find that as they look so much at the Organ, as to over-look the Agent; and look so much at the *particles* of matter, as to over-look the different *natures* of it: so do they observe the second cause with so narrow a mind, as much to over-look the first: or when they have acknowledged that there is a God, they think they have done fair, though afterwards they consider not that interest of his in all operations, which their own concessions necessarily infer.

10. Lastly, I perceive that they proceed not methodically in their collections, but confound all by mixing *certainities* with *uncertainties*. Whereas the first, the great, the most discernable truths, should be first congested as CERTAIN-TIES by themselves, and the uncertainties should not be pleaded against them, nor suffered to stand in contest with them.

Perceiving all these general Reasons to distrust this sort of Philosophers above others, though I resolve to be impartial, I cannot willingly be so foolish, as to over-look their disadvantage in the present cause.

II. The particular reasons which dissuade me from believing the *Epicurean* sufficiency of *Matter* and *Motion* are these following.

1. They all (with whom I have now to do) are constrained to confess an *incorporeal intellectual substance*; even that *there is a God*, and that *GOD* is such. *Epicurus* himself doth not deny it, yea, seemeth to speak magnificently of God, and in honour to him would excuse his providence from the minding of inferior things. For, 1. They know that *matter* did not make it self; and *motion* is but its mode: and therefore *matter* cannot be made by its own *motion*. Its being is in order of nature before its *motion*. And *matter* is in it self so dull a thing, (and by the adversaries stripped of all forms, which are not caused by *motion*) that if it were said to be from eternity in its duration, they will confess it could be but as an eternal effect of some nobler cause. So that at the first word they grant, that *matter* hath an *incorporeal* cause.

2. And *motion*, as it is found in *matter*, could not cause it self; though it be but of the mode of *matter*, it is such a

Quibusdam qui na-
ignem calere putant,
nisi cum manu con-
trectarint, nihil cre-
dendum esse placet,
quod supra progred-
ientem naturam vi-
deatur. Multorum
quoque studia tar-
dantur, quod id cre-
dere noluit quod mi-
nus sub eorum cog-
nitionem cadit: quæ
errorum pravitas ex
ingeniorum imbecil-
itate defluxit: si-
quidem cum sensuum
angustia ex quibus
hominum agnitio e-
ruitur, in externorum
sensuum genere ver-
sentur, satis notum
esse debet, his tan-
quam compedibus in-
telligentiæ cursum
retardari, divinaque
capessere nequire.
*Paul. Cartes. in 1 Sent.
dis. 9. p. 22.*

4. And I find that the Philosophers that have rejected or vilified *Epicurus* and his way, have been very numerous; multitudes to a few, and of the most venerable names in the ages and places where they lived; and no one sect of them so vilified by the rest, as the *Epicureans* were by all.

5. I find also, that the most who in this age adhere to the *Epicurean* (or *Cartesian*) Hypothesis, are the younger sort of ingenious men, who have received prejudice against the *Peripateticks*, *Platonists* and *Stoicks*, before they did ever thoroughly study them; but reverencing more some person noted for much ingenuity, by his authority have been drawn to defend, what they scarce understand themselves. And that it is the *meer novelty* of some of these new-started notions, which maketh them so much followed; as *novelties in Religion* are with some young and wanton wits: and accordingly I expect, that ere long they will grow out of fashion, and die again before ever they come to have such supporters as the other Philosophy hath had.

6. *Respicere ad plurima*, to take in all that must be taken in, is the character of true wisdom. But I find that the *Epicureans* do *respicere ad pauca*; they look so much at things corporeal, that they quite over-look the noblest natures, and they reduce all to *Matter* and *Motion*, because nothing but *Matter* and *Motion* is thoroughly studied by them. And like idle Boys, who tear out all the hard leaves of their books, and say they have learn'd all when they have learnt the rest; so do they cut off and deny the noblest parts of nature, and then sweep together the dust of agitated Atoms, and tell us that they have resolved all the *Phænomena* in Nature.

7. And I find that they are very kind natured to their own conceptions, and take those for demonstrations, which other men think are liker dreams.

8. I perceive that they are deluded by taking the *vestigia* and *images* of things, for the things themselves. The *Intellectual* nature is the *image* of the *Divine*, and the *Sensitive* of the *Intellectual*, and the *Vegetative* of the *Sensitive*, and the *Fiery* of the *Incorporeal*. And when they can prove no more in any of the lower, but such an *image* of the higher, they would on that advantage confound them all; and would hence

hence conclude that Brutes are intellectual, and deny the differencing forms of all things.

9. I find that as they look so much at the Organ, as to over-look the Agent; and look so much at the particles of matter, as to over-look the different natures of it: so do they observe the second cause with so narrow a mind, as much to over-look the first: or when they have acknowledged that there is a God, they think they have done fair, though afterwards they consider not that interest of his in all operations, which their own concessions necessarily infer.

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2. And motion, as it is found in matter, could not cause it self; though it be but of the mode of matter, it is such a

Read the Mystic.
Ægypt. & Chald.
Philos. to prove that
souls are not corpor-
real; and Nemesius
and Mammertus.

mode as must have a cause. And the passive matter yet un-
moved, is supposed by themselves to be void of all antecedent
moving power. So that they are all fain to say, that God
made the matter, and gave it the first push. And so all matter
and motion is reduced to a first efficient, who is incorporeal:
And therefore an incorporeal being is acknowledged.

If the soul be nothing
but Matter and Moti-
on, then no man is the
same this year as he
was the last. For
Matter is in fluxu
continuo, as they ob-
ject themselves anon:
We have not the same
flesh and blood to day
which we lately had:
and the motion of this
instant is not the same
with the motion
which succeedeth in
the next: So that no
man's soul, and con-

sequently no man, is long the same: and so (as I have said after) Kings will lose their titles to their
Crowns, and all men to their lands, as being not the same who were born heirs to them. And there
must be no rewards or punishments, unless you will reward and punish one for another's faults: And
they need no more to fear the pain or death which will befall them, than that which befall their neigh-
bour, because it is not the man that now is who must undergo it. Nor should any man have a wife
or child of his own one year together. If they like not these consequences, let them either prove that
Identifying Matter and Motion are permanent, or grant that some other permanent thing doth identify
the person.

Anim. c. 2. p. 477.

profligata ibid. p. 479 &c.

See this as the argument of Ammonius and Numerius, press by Nemesius de
Vid. & Cleanthis argumenta pro animæ corporeitate à Nemesio

3. As they confess that this intellectual Agent is the first
cause both of matter and motion, so they cannot deny that
he still causeth both, by his continued influx or causing effi-
cacy. For there can be no effect without a cause; and there-
fore when the cause ceaseth, the effect must cease. The ma-
terial part of a moral cause may cease, and yet the effect con-
tinue. But that moral causation continueth which is pro-
portioned to the effect. The Parent may die while the child
surviveth: but there is a continued cause of the life of the
child, proportioned to the effect. Matter is not an inde-
pendent being. To say that God hath made it self-sufficient
and independent, is to say that he hath made it a God.
Suppose

Suppose but a total cessation of the Divine emanation, influx and causation, and you must needs suppose also the cessation of all Beings. If you say that when God hath once given it a Being, it will continue of it self, till his power annihilate it: I answer, if it continue without a continuing causation, it must continue as an independent self-sufficient being. But this is a contradiction, because it is a creature; GOD is no effect, and therefore needeth no cause of subsistence: but the creature is an effect, and cannot subsist a moment without a continued cause. As the beams or communicated light cannot continue an instant, if there were a total cessation of the emanation of the luminary, because their being is merely dependent: and they need no other positive annihilation, besides the cessation of the causation which did continue them. It was from one of your own Poets that Paul cited, [*In him we live, and move, and have our being, for we are his offspring.*] And nothing is more abhorrent to all common reason, than that this stone or dirt, which was nothing as yesterday, should be a God to it self, even one independent self-sufficient being, as soon as it is created; and so that God made as many demy-gods as atoms. We see past doubt, that the creature cannot subsist or move without another, on which it is dependent; how much less can any creature subsist or move without its continued reception of its Creator's influx. If you could suppose that for one moment there were no God, you must suppose there would be nothing. If I thought any would deny this, besides those inflated vertiginous brains, that are not to be disputed with, I would say more for the illustration of it.

Object. But though matter subsist not without a continued divine causation, or emanation, or efficacious volition; yet motion may continue when all divine causation of it ceaseth: Because when God hath given it one push, that causeth a motion, which causeth another motion, and that another, and so in infinitum, if there were no stop.

Ans. 1. If this were so, it must be on supposition of a *vis motiva communicata vel impressa*: for if there had been no such, the first motion would have not been, or all have presently ceased for want of a continued cause. As there is no motion *sine vi motiva*, so none can be communicated, but

by the communication of that *force*. Action is not nothing: nor will be caused by nothing: As the *delepfus gravium* would presently cease, if we could cause the *pondus* or gravity to cease; so is it in all other motions. If there be no *vis* or *strength* communicated along with the motion, there would be nothing in that motion to cause another motion, nor in that to cause another. (And if it were by way of *traction*, if the cause cease which is the *prima trahens*, all the motion ceaseth: and so also if it be by way of *pulfion*) So that in every motion, there is something more than *matter* and *motion*.

2. All motion (of things below within our reach) hath many *impediments*: and therefore would cease, if the first cause continued not his powerful efficacy. It is tedious and needless to enumerate instances.

3. The *moving power* of the noblest creatures, is not *purely active*, but partly *passive* and partly *active*, and must receive the influx of the highest cause, before it can act or communicate any thing. Therefore as soon as the first mover should cease, the rest would be soon stop'd, though some active power was communicated to them. As we see in a Clock when the poise is down, and in a Watch when the spring is down; the motion ceaseth first where it first began.

4. Can you constrain your reason to imagine, that God is the sole principal active cause, for the first touch, and, as it were, for one minute, or instant, (while he causeth the first *motus*) and is an *unactive being*, or no cause ever after, (save only *reputativè*, because he caused the first.) This is to say, that God was God till he made the world, and ever since he hath done nothing, but left every atom or creature to be God. Is God so mutable, to do all for one instant, and to do nothing ever after?

5. The *infiniteness* and *perfection* of God fully proveth, that all continued motion is by the continuance of his efficacy. For it is undeniable, that he who made all things is *everywhere*, or present to all his creatures, in the most intimate proximity. And it is certain, that he cannot but *know* them all: and also that his Benignity maintaineth all their beings and well-beings; and therefore that he is not an *unactive being*; but that his *power* as well as his *wisdom* and

If the doctrine of Matter and Motion only were true, there would never be any true miracles in the world; but all things go on from motion to motion as the first touch did put them into a necessity: where as (however the world hath been deluded by many fictions, yet) many certain miracles there have been. Whether the removing of the mountain by faith mentioned by M. Paulus Venetus, l. 1. cap. 18. be true or not, and the dissolution of excommunicate bodies in Constantinople, mentioned in Mart. Crusius his Hist. Eccles. Turco græc. l. 2. with multitudes of the likes which most Historians have, &c. Yet certainly that there have been some such, hath been fully proved unto many.

and Goodness, is continually in act. How strangely do these Epicureans differ from *Aristotle* ? who durst not deny the Eternity of the World, lest he should make God an unactive Being *ad extra*, from Eternity till the Creation ? When-as these men feign him to have given but one instantaneous push, and to have been *cetera otiosus*, or unactive from Eternity.

Seeing then it cannot by sober reason be denyed, that God himself is by a continued Causation, the Preserver and intimate first mover of all things, it must needs thence follow, that *matter* and *motion* are still insufficient of themselves; and that this is to be none of the Controversie between us: but only whether it be any *created Nature, Power, or other Cause*, by which God causeth *motion* in any thing, or all things? or whether he do it by his *own immediate Causation alone* without the use of any second Cause, save meer motion it self? so that the *insufficiency* of *Matter* and *Motion* to continual alterations and productions, must be confessed by all that confess there is a God.

4. It is also manifest in the effect, that it is not a *meer motion* of the *first Cause*, which appeareth in the *being* and *motions* of the Creature. There is apparently a tendency in the Creatures motion to a *certain end*, which is an *attractive Good*; and there is a *certain Order* in all motions to that end; and certain *Laws, or Guidances* and *overrulings*, to keep them in that Order: so that *Wisdom* and *Goodness* do eminently appear in them all, in their beings, natures, differences, excellencies, order and ends, as well as *Motion* the effect of *Power*. 1. It is certain that God who is unmoved himself, is the first mover of all: 2. And if God were not unmoved, but by self-motion caused motion, yet he exerciseth *Wisdom* and *Goodness* in his Creation and Providence, as well as *Motion*. 1. He that is *Infinite*, and therefore not properly in any place or space, or at least is limited in none, can himself by *Locomotion* move himself in none: which methinks none should question: And they that make the World *infinite*, or at least *indefinite*, as they call it, methinks should not deny the Infiniteness of God: And they acknowledge no motion themselves but *Locomotion*, or *migratio a loco in locum*. But saith *Gassendus*,
Vol.

Vol. 1. pag. 337. Et certe captum omnem fugis, ut quippiam quantumvis sit alteri præsens conjunctumq, ipsum moveat, si in seipso immotum maneat, &c. — Itaq; necesse omnino videtur, ut cum in serie moventium quorum moventur alia ab aliis procedi in infinitum non possit, perveniatur ad unum primum; non quod immotum moveat, sed quod ipsum per se moveatur.

Ans^w. You gather from hence, that it is the contexture of the most subtile Atomes which is the form and first mover in physical beings. But you granted before, that God moved those Atomes, and also put a moving inclination into them. And atomes are far from being *unum* or *primum*. You said before [*sufficiat Deum quidem esse incorporeum, ac pervadere foveaq, universam mundi machinam.*] And if so, then *movere etiam* as well as *fovere*. Either you mean as you speak in confessing a God or not: If not, it is unworthy a Philosopher to dissemble for any worldly respects whatsoever. If you do, then, Is it beyond your capacity to conceive that God being unmoved moveth all things? or not? If not, why should it be beyond your capacity to conceive the same in a second Order of a second spiritual being? The reason as to motion is of the same kinde. If *yea*; then either you believe God is the first Mover or not: If not, withdraw your former Confession. If *yea*, what Locomotion (for you deny all other) can you ascribe to God, who is unbounded and infinite? what place is he moved from, and what place is he moved into? And is his motion *rectum vel circularis*? is it *one* or *multifarious*? or rather will you not renounce all these? 2. And as God moveth being unmoved, so he doth more than move: He moveth Orderly, and giveth Rules and Guidances to motion; and moveth graciously to the felicity of the Creature, and to a desirable end. A Horse can move more than a man; for he hath more strength or moving power: But he moveth not so regularly nor to such intended ends, because he hath not wisdom and benignity or goodness as Man hath. He that buildeth a House or Ship, or writeth such Volumes as Gassendus did, doth somewhat more than barely move, which a Swallow or a Hare could have done as swiftly: And he that looketh on the works of God, even to the Heavens and Earth as Gassendus hath himself described them, and seeth not the effects of Wisdom and Goodness

in the Order, and tendency, and ends of motion, as well as Power in motion it self, did take his survey but in his dream: saith Balbus in Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. 2. p. 62. *Hoc qui existimant fieri potuisse* (that is, for the World to be made by meer fortuitous motion of atomes, &c.) *non intelligo cur non idem patet, si innumerabiles unius & viginti formæ literarum, aliquo conciderentur, posse ex his in terram excussis: Anales Ennius, ut demerps legi possint effici, quod nescio an in uno quidem versu possit tantum valere fortuna.* Quod si mundum efficere potest concursus atomorum, cur porticum, cur templum, cur domum, cur navem non potest, quæ sunt minus operosa, & multo quidam faciliora? Certe ira temere de mundo effutiant, ut mihi quidam nunquam hunc admirabilem cæli ornatum, qui locus est proximus, suspexisse videantur. Where he brings in this passage as from Aristotle, that if we should imagine men to have lived in some Dungeon or Cavern in the Earth, and never to have seen the Sun or Light, or World, as we do, and if there should be a doubt or dispute among them, whether there be a God; and if you should presently bring up these men into our places, where they might look above them and about them, to the Sun and Stars, and Heaven and Earth; they would quickly by such a sight be convinced that there is a God: But as he truly addeth, *Affuitatæ quotidianæ & consuetudine oculorum assuescunt animi, neq; admittuntur neq; requirunt rationes earum rerum quas semper vident: perinde quasi novitas nos magis quam magnitudo rerum debeat adquirendas causas excitare.*

But I suppose it will be granted me, that the first mover doth more than merely move, the effects of Wisdom and Goodness being so legible on all the World; but you'll say, that to do it wisely and to attain good ends by it, &c. is but the *modus* of action with the effect, and therefore matter and motion rightly ordered may be nevertheless sufficient to all effects. To which I answer, that the Creatures motion requireth not only that the Creator move them, but that he place and order them, and move them rightly, and that he remove and overcome impediments, &c. Therefore there is necessary in the first mover, both Wisdom and Love as well as Power: And neither his Power, Wisdom or Love are Locomotion in himself. And this much being proved, that in

every motion, there is Divine Power, Wisdom and Love, which is more than matter and motion it self, I proceed next to enquire,

5. Do you think there is any thing existent in the World, besides matter and motion, or not? As to meer site, and figure and other such order or modes of matter, I know you will not deny them to have now a being as well as motion. But is there no different tendency to motion in the parts of matter? Is there not in many Creatures a Power, an Inclination, or aptitude to motion, besides motion it self? Is there not a reason *à priori* to be given, why one Creature is more agile and active than another? and why they act in their various ways? Why is fire more active than earth? and a Swallow than a Snail? If you say, that the different ratio motus is in some extrinsecal agent only which moveth them, you will hardly shew any possibility of that, when the same Sun, by the same virtue (or motion as you will say) is it that moveth all: And if it were so, you must go up to the first Cause, to ask for the different motions of those movers; when our enquiry now is *de natura moventium & motorum Creatorum*? If you say, that it is the Ratio recipiendi in the different magnitudes or positions of the parts of matter, which is the cause of different motions; I would know, 1. Whether this difference of magnitude and figure and site, being now antecedently necessary to different motions, was not so heretofore as well as now? If you say, No, you feign without proof a state of things and order of Causes, contrary to that which all mens sense perceiveth to be now existent? And who is the wiser Philosopher? he that judgeth the course and nature of things to be, and have been what he now findeth it, till the contrary be proved? or he that findeth it one thing, and feigneth it sometime to have been another without any proof? That which is now antecedently necessary to diversity of motion, it's like was so heretofore. 2. And then how could one simple equal act of God, setting the first matter into motion, cause such an inequality in motions to this day, if it be true that you hold, that only that which is moved or in motion it self can move? and that motion is all that is necessary to the diversity? 3. Either the first matter was made solid in larger parcels,

or all conjunct, or in Atomes: If it was made first in *Atomes*, then *Motion* caused not *Division*. If it was made *conjunct* and *solid*, then motion caused not *conjunction* and *solidity*. And if the first *division*, or *conjunction*, *size* and *figure* of *matter* was all antecedent to *motion* and without it, we have no reason to think that it is the sole Cause of all things now.

But surely *quantity*, *figure* and *size*, are not all that *now* is antecedent to motion. Doth not a man feel in himself a certain *Power*, to sudden and voluntary motion? He that *sate* still, can suddenly rise and go: And if you say, that he performeth that sudden motion by some antecedent motion, I answer, that I grant that; but the question is, whether by *that alone*? or whether a *Power* distinct from motion it self, be not as evidently the Cause? For otherwise the antecedent motion would proceed but according to its own proportion: It would not in a minute make so sudden and great an alteration. I can restrain also that motion which some antecedent motion (*e. g.* passion) urgeth me to? Surely this *Power* of *doing* or *not doing*, is somewhat different from *doing* it self. A *power* of *not-moving* is not motion.

And what is the *Pondus* which *Gassendus* doth adde to *magnitude* and *figure* as a third pre-requisite in *Atomes*? I perceive he knoweth not what to make of it himself. But in conclusion it must be no natural Gravity by which the *parts* are inclined to the *whole* in themselves, but the meer effect of *pulsion* or *traction*, or both. At the first he was for both *conjunct*, *pulsion* of the Air, and *traction* of the *Atomes* from the Earth: But of this he repented, as seeing *impulsum aeris nullum esse*: and was for the *traction* of *Atomes* alone. (Than which, his Friends conceit of the *pulsive* motion of the Sun in its *Diastole* or whatever other motion, is the cause, doth seem less absurd.) But that man that would have me believe that if a Rock were in the air, or if *Pauls* Steeple should fall, the descent would be only by the traction of the *banuli* of invisible *Atomes*, (or by the *pulsion* of Air and Sun conjunct) must come neerer first, and tell me how the *banuli* of *atomes* can fasten upon a marble rock? and how they come to have so much strength as to

move

move that rock (which no man can move in its proper place) if there be no such thing as strength or power besides actual motion? and why it is that those *drawing* atoms do move so powerfully Earthwards, when at the same time it is supposed, that as many or more atoms are moving *upwards* by the Suns attraction, and more are moved circularly with the Earth? why do not these stop or hinder one another? and why doth not the Rock as well go upward with the ascending atoms? And when the Rock descendeth, doth it carry down none of the ascendants with it? As likely as for the descendants to carry down it. Are those atoms that carry down the Rock, more powerfull than an hundred thousand men, who could not lift it up at all; much less so swiftly? And why do not the same (partial) atoms, bear down a Feather, or the Birds that fly quickly in the air? And why feel we not the power of their motion upon us? How easily can some men believe any thing, while they think that their increase of wisdom lyeth in believing no more than evidence constraineth them to? If *Gassendus* his instance of the Load-stone put under the ballance to increase the *pondus* of the Iron, prove any thing, it will prove something more than a traction of the hooked atoms, even the traction of Nature that needeth no hooks.

Those that fly to this ingenita dispositio vel pondus, will in other words grant that Nature, form or quality which they deny. And those that grant nothing to move but former motion, must needs make some degrees of motion daily to diminish in the World, one thing or other still ceasing its motion;

And all motion within our knowledge having such constant impediment, that before this time we may think all things would have stood still, if their opinion were true. If they say that the Sun or some superior Movers renew the motion of things inferior; I grant it; But that is because it hath a moving nature: For if they say, that the Sun is self halting the least impediment to diminish the degrees of its motion, they speak not only without any proof, but contrary to our observation of all things known, and to their own opinion, who make the Air impeditiv to other motions, and the effluvia of other Globes to be impeditiv to the Sun,

ceaseth.

cesseth. You'l say perhaps, that he meaneth only a *passive* receptivity by which one thing is easier moved by an exterior cause than another. But you mistake him: for he taketh not *mobilitas ingenua* only passively, but also actively, and therefore saith, that [*it endeavoureth to move and free itself.*] And lib. 5. c. 2. he saith, [*Non movetur sed impetus, ab initio perseverat; vel visum perpetuum.*] which is as much as I desire now. For then there is somewhat besides *matter* and *motion*; even as *Impetus* & *Nisus*, which must also come from a *Power* which *per-nisum* & *impetum* doth shew it self.

And indeed, it doth not only overpass our Reason, but contradict it, that meer subtilty of matter, or smallness of particles, should be all the cause of motion that is found in the matter it self. Must we believe that an *Alcohol impalpabile* of Marble or Gold, if it could but be anatomized more, would be as moveable as fire; or would thereby turn to fire it self: or as active as the Vital and Intellectual Creatures; yea turned to such a thing it self: If all matter was *Atomes* at first, then all was fire, and all was of one kinde, and equally moveable: And what hath made the difference since? And if you will feign that God made some parts *Atomes*, and some parts more gross; or that he distinguished matter *ab initio* into *Cartesianam*, *materia subtilis*, *globuli aetherei*, and grosser matter, why may not we better say, that the same Creator hath distinguished matter by different *natures* and *powers*, which we finde them possessed of? And by what proof do you distinguish matter into those three degrees, or sorts, any more than into two, or four, or six, or ten, or ten hundred? who can choose but shake the head, to see wise Philosophers thus impose upon the world? and at the same time say, It is the first duty of a man that would be wise, to believe no more than by evidencee he is forced to? Yea, and at the same time to say, These are but our Hypotheses, which saith one, I acknowledge to be false, and saith another, I cannot say is true: and yet they are our foundation; and from these our Philosophical Verities result; which must make you wise, who must believe nothing without proof. Alas, what is man!

And I would know whether they can prove against *Gassendi*,

sendus, that *Impetus & Nisus vel conatus* is *ipse motus*? when the heaviest poise is at a Clock that standeth still, the poise doth not move; but it doth *nisi vel conari*: Hold but a Weight of an hundred pounds of Lead in your hand, as immoveable as possible, I am of opinion you will feel that it doth *incline* to motion, though it move not. Is not this *inclination* then somewhat different from motion? If you tell me again of nothing but the invisible tractive hooked atomes, I advise you to involve a thousand pound of Lead in a sufficient Case of Feathers, which it seems are charmed from the power or touch of atomes, and try then whether it be no heavier than the Feathers are? The same I may say of a Spring of Steel which is wound up in a standing Watch, or other Engine. There is no proof of any motion: and yet there is a *Conatus* different from motion. You'll say perhaps that the particles in the Steel are all in motion, among themselves: but when will you prove it? and prove also that they are so in the Lead or Rock that by Gravity inclineth to descent? and prove also that the particles are moved by an extrinsecal mover only, and have no principle of motion in themselves?

Moreover, what think you is the nature of all our *Habits*? Is there nothing in a *Habit* but actual motion? Suppose that you sleep without a dream? or that a Lethargy intercept your intellectual motion? or that other business alienate your thoughts? Do you think that all your Learning is thereby obliterated? Or that you are after as unapt for your arts and trades as if you had never learnt them? Let a Musician, an Astronomer, a Physician, try! whether they will not return more expert than an Ideot? what then is this *Habit*? It is not *actual motion* it self? Else it would be totally extinct when the motion is but for an hour intercepted. If you say, that there is *other* motion in us still, to renew it: I answer, why should that other, (e.g. the motion of the Lungs or Heart, or the Circulation of the blood) make you an Artist the next morning, any more than your Neighbour, if that were all? You'll grant, I suppose, that a *Habit* is somewhat distinct from *Motion*, but it is the *Eff. &* of it only, and one of the *Phænomena* which we say that *matter* and *motion* are sufficient for. To which

I answer, Do you deny that a *Habit* doth it self conduce to future motion, or not? If not, it is no *Habit*: If yea, then as to future actions there is more than matter and motion needfull: and the Principles are more: And then what reason have you to contradict us, who finding some Principles in Nature which conduce to motion as much and more than *Habits* do, do assert such Principles? And how know you that former motion proceedeth not from such Natures, or Principles, when you confess that later motions do so? If you say that *Habits* are nothing but a *Cursus motuum*, as of water that by running in a certain Channell is inclined to run that way again: I answer, They are certainly something that remain when the action ceaseth; and therefore are an *Inclination ad agendum*, as well as a *cursus actionum*; And they are something that are active Principles, and not only so many Channels which the Spirits have made themselves in the brains and nerves: Otherwise the numberless variety of objects would so furrow and channel the brain that they would consume it, (as *gutta cavat lapidem*, &c.)

6. And do you know what you oblige your selves to, when you undertake to solve all *phenomena* by matter and motion only? and how have you satisfied the studious and impartial World herein? I hope you will not put off all questions that are put to you, with these same two general words only? when we ask you, what causeth the *descensus gravium*, do not tell us, *It is matter and motion*: but tell us the differences in the motion or matter which cause this effect as different from others: What is the reason in motion that Fire ascendeth? what is the reason that the *motus projectorum* doth continue? why doth the Ant take one course, and the Bee another, and the Fly another, &c. what different motions are they that are the cause? what motion is it that causeth the Hen to sit on her Eggs in fasting and patience, and to know her Chickens, and to cherish them till they are mature, and then beat them away? And so almost of all other Birds and Beasts? What is the difference in motion that causeth one Creature to love this food, and another that; that one eateth Grass, and another Flesh? that every seed doth bring forth only its proper species? what are the differences in motion, which cause the difference

rence in odour, and taste and virtue, and shape of leaves, and flowers, and fruits, &c. between all the Plants that cover the Earth? that all that come of one seed have an agreement in leaf, and flower, and fruit, and odour, and taste, and virtue, e.g. Germander, Betony, Peony, &c. what are the different motions that cause all these differences? even in the very seeds themselves? To tell us only in general that the difference is all made by *motion*, is to put an end to learning, and studies, and to give one answer to all the questions in the world, and one description of all beings in the world: You may as well tell us, that you solve all the *Phænomena*, to tell us, that all things are Entities, and made and moved by God. It is a fair advancement of Knowledge indeed, to cast away and deny all the noblest parts of the world, and to tell us, that all the rest is matter of various magnitude and figure, variously moved and placed. This is short Philosophy. And the particular specifying differences, you do not, you cannot tell us, according to your Principles.

Gassendus, §. 1. l. 3. c. 2. denyeth the transmutation of Elements. Others of the Atomists tell us, that every Hour changeth the Elements, and that continual motion is continually turning one into another: And that Fire e.g. is but that part of matter which falleth under such or such a motion: And that the same matter which is Fire this moment while it moveth, is something else the next when that motion ceaseth: And that whatever matter falleth under the same motion, be it Stone or Earth, or any thing, it is presently by that motion turn'd to Fire, as Fire may be in a Stone or Earth. But that which we expect from them is, to tell us, *what motion* it is that maketh the different Elements? and what doth constitute them? and what transmuteth them, and not to put us off with two general words, when they boast of solving all the *Phænomena*.

We expect also to hear from them, how *Density* and *Solidity* come to be the effects of motion? And how the Cohesion of the particles of Gold or Marble, or Glew, is caused by the meer magnitude and figure of Matter, or by the motion of it, without any other material properties.

And they must give us a better account than they have yet done,

done, of the true cause of sense in matter and motion. They know our argument, but I could never yet understand how they answer it. We say that *Nihil dat quod non habet, vel formaliter vel eminenter.* (All the objections against this Maxim they may find answered (besides others) in *Campanella, defensu rerum.*) Atoms, as matter, have no sense: they smart not, they see not, they feel no delight, &c. *Formaliter* you will not imagine that they have sense: and they cannot have *eminenter*, being not above it, but below it; and shewing us nothing that doth transcend it, or is like it. And motion is no substance, but a mode of matter, and therefore hath it self no sense.

Object Doubt not Campanella, Telesius, &c. argue, that all things have sense?

Answer. 1. Their fanaticisms are no part of our Physical Creed. 2. They mean, when all is done, but this much, that there is some Image or Participation of Life in Inanimates, of Sense in Vegetatives, of Reason in Sensitives, and of Angelical Intellection in Rationals. 3. As it is said in the *Mystic. Egypt. & Chald. Philos.* ascribed to Aristotle, [*Et si quibusdam videtur quod elementa habent Animam, illa est aliena adventitiaque eis. Cumque sint viva, vita illis est accidentaria, non naturalis: alioquin forent inalterabilia.*] l. 12. c. 11. So the *Sticks* deit'd the fire, and made it Intellectual; but it was not as it is matter, but as they supposed it animated with an intellectual form. So many of the ancients thought, that the Angels were compounded of an intellectual form or soul, and of a fiery or *athereal* body. But it is only the body that we are now enquiring of. Have atoms sense? doth matter feel or see as such?

Object. We say not that all matter or atoms have sense, but only some part of it, which by motion is subtilized.

Answer. Still *nihil dat quod non habet*; you grant then that matter as such hath no sense at all. Else the argument would hold *ad omnem*. And if it have none as matter, motion can give it none as *meer motion*; for motion hath not sense to give. Let motion attenuate the matter, and subtilize it, it is but matter still; and it can be no less than atoms. Therefore shew us how *materia subtilis*, or atoms, should feel or see, because of the subtility or *purity*, and by its magnitude or grossness

Sane ignis, aer, aqua,
terra, suapte natura
carent anima: & cui-
cunque horum adest
anima, hoc vita utitur
peregrina: Alia vero
præter hæc nulla sunt
corpora. Plotin. En-
nead. 4. l. 7. c. 2.
p. 457.

ness lose that sense. Tell us *how* and *why* the change of meer magnitude and figure should make a thing *feel* that felt not before. If you difference not *matter* by some *natural* difference of *forms*, or *properties* and *virtues*, you will never speak sense in proving sense to be in *matter*, by meer atomizing it, or moving it. The alkohol of Marble feelth no more than the solid stone; nor the air than the earth, for any proof that we have of it. The boys that whip their tops, and the women that turn their wheels so swiftly, that the motion shall not be discerned, yet put no feeling into either, though the motion be swifter than that of the heart, or lungs, or blood. What the learned Dr. *Ward* hath said of this against Mr. *Hobs*, I refer you to peruse, and excuse me for transcribing it. *Scaliger*, *Sennertus*, and many others, have heretofore challenged these Philosophers, to shew the world how *atoms* by *motion*, or elements by mixture, can get that sense which neither *matter*, *motion* nor *mixture* have; but we can meet with no account of it yet worth the reading: not by *Cartesius*, not by *Regius* or *Berigardus*, not by *Gassendus*, nor any other that we can get and read. How unsatisfactory is it to tell us that *facultas sentiendi & movendi, quæ anima sensitiva vulgo dicitur, est partium animalis in spiritus, nervos & alia sensoria, &c. talis attemperatio & conformatio, quæ animal ab objectis variis motibus affici potest; æ Regius, l. 4. c. 3. p. 267.* This is an easie solving of the *Phænomena* indeed. But *qualis est illa contemperatio? & quomodo potest contemperantia insensibilium, sensibile constituere? Nomen dat ista contemperatio, quod non habet?*

Perhaps you will say with him in *Cicer. de Nat. Deor.* that by this argument God must be a Fidler, because he maketh men that are such. *Ans.* By this argument no fidler, nor any other man, hath more wisdom than God, or can do that which God cannot do: but because God is above him in his skill, doth it follow that the names which signifie humane imperfection must be put on God? Can God enable a man to that which he is not able to do himself, and can he give that which he hath not to give?

Object. None of the parts of a clock can tell the hour of the day, and yet all set together can: and none of the letters of a book are Philosophy, and yet the whole may be a learned system; and

and no atoms in a Lute can make melody, as the whole can do.

Ans. This is but to play with words. In all these instances the whole hath nothing of a higher kind in nature than the several parts, but only a composition by the contribution of each part. The clock telleth you nothing but *per modum signi*; and that *signum* is only in the sound, or order of motion. And sound and motion belongeth to the whole, by virtue or contribution of the parts, and is not another thing above them. And that the motion is so ordered, and that man can by it collect the time of the day, is from the power of our understandings, and not from the matter of the engine at all. So the book is no otherwise Philosophy at all, but *per modum signi*: which *signum* is related to *mans understanding* both as the cause and orderer, and as the receiver and apprehender. So that the letters do nothing at all, but passively serve the mind of man. And so it is in the other instance: the strings do but move the air, and cause the sound which is in the ear: that this is melody, is caused only by the mind of man, who first frameth, and then orderly moveth them, and then *suo modo* receiveth the sound, and maketh melody by the aptitude of his apprehension. If you had proved that Clock, or Book, or Lute do make themselves, and order and use themselves, and know the time, or understand or delight in themselves, you had done something. But by the deceitful names of Philosophy and Melody, to confound the bare natural sound and sign, with that ordering and that reception, which is the priviledge of a mind, is unfit for a Philosopher.

Moreover I expect from Matter and Motion, an account of motions great concomitants, that is, of Light and Heat. Mistake me not, I am not undervaluing the effects of motion; I take it for a most noble and observable cause of most that is done or existent in the corporal world: but must it therefore be the solitary cause? I have long observed amongst wranglers, and erroneous zealots in Divinity, that

Vid. Priscian. in Theophrast. Proving that light is neither a Body nor a Quality, c. 19. But I find no satisfaction when he cometh to tell us what it is: For will I subscribe to Pictus, who (with other Pla-

tonists) saith, [Cœleste corpus primum luminis suscepcaculum incorporeas vites & intelligentiæ regi à qua & Lumen habent; ceterisque tradit.— Si Lumen esse dicimus, Radios vitales cœlestium oculorum in se vivantium, perque ejusmodi radios cunctis viciniorum agentiumque videndo— non errabimus.]

most of their error and misdoing lieth in setting the necessary co-ordinate causes or parts of things as inconsistent in opposition to one another. It would make one ashamed to hear one plead, that Scripture must be proved by it self; and another, that it must be proved by reason; and another, that it must be by miracles; and another, by the Church; and another, by general History and Tradition, &c. As if every one of these were not necessary concurrent parts in the proof. Such work have we among poor deluded women and ignorant men, while the *Romanists* say, that they are the true Church; and the *Greeks* say, it is they; and the *Lutherans* say, it is they; and the *Anabaptists* say, it is they: as if my neighbours and I should contend, which of our houses it is that is the Town. And so do these Philosophers about the Principles and Elements. The *Intellectual nature*, which is the Image of God, hath notoriously three faculties, *Understanding, Will and Executive Power*; and men think that they cannot understand the one, without denying the other two; and the *fiery nature* which constituteth the Sun and other Luminaries, (and is the *image of the vital nature*) hath three notorious powers or properties, *Light, Heat and Motion*; and they cannot understand *Motion*, without making nothing of *Light and Heat*, or greatly obscuring and abusing them. Cull out into one, and set together, but what *Patricius* hath said of *Light*, and what *Telesius* hath said of *Heat*, (and *Campanella* after him) and what *Gassendus* and *Cartesius* have said of *Motion*, and cut off all their superfluities, and you will have a better entrance into sound Philosophy, than any one book that I know doth afford you*. I confess, that as wisdom must lead the will, and determine

*Leg. Le Grand. Dissert. in Epicur. Philos. ad Gassend. & de communi rerum vivendi ratione ad Campanel. & de nominibus Dei soli attributis; In which he saith *Atoms or indivisible particles for the first real passive mat-*

ter, antecedent to the distinction of Elements: but Fire (called also Spiritus Ethereus & Natura) to be of a higher elevation, the Active informer, disposer and moderator of all matter: and animated Fire, (that is, the Sun and its emanations) to be the life and Ruler of the material world: And that this was the sense of almost all the old Philosophers: And that by their numerous names of God, they meant the same thing, as diversly operating; that is, the Sun, Fire or Ether, (which they took to be animated intellectual) as considered in its various respects to mortals.

Uc docet Hermes, Mens generalis habet pro corpore Ignem, & quasi Igne ripatur & circum vestitur suis & sapor & xus & aqua & d rûe; Temper enim & necessarius Ignis Ethereus & Mens Universalis sibi invicem comites assident; amboque ita affines alibi continentur aliud quàm Spiritum Igneum, Ethereum, lucidum, celestem, & divinum, tanquam hanc & informem immanis materiei abyssum complementem, illustrantem & animantem. Idem ad Campanel. pag. 80.

Vide quæ ex Mercur. Pimand. citat. pag. 79;

its acts *quoad specificationem*, and the will must set a work the same *intellectu*, and determine its acts *quoad exercitium*; and the active power doth partly work *ad intra* in the operations of both these, and *ad extra* is excited by the *imperium* of the will; so that these three faculties (as Schibler, Alsted, and many others truly number them) are marvellously conjunct and co-operative: Even so it is in the Motion, Light and Heat of the active element, or fiery or æthereal nature. I know motion contributeth to *light* and *heat*; but it's as true that *light* and *heat* have their proper, coequal and coordinate properties and effects, and that heat contributeth as much to *motion* at least, as motion doth to *heat*: indeed in one essence they are three coequal virtues or faculties, the *Vivifica, Illuminativa & Calefactiva*. And so vain is their labour, who only from *matter* and *motion* give us an account of *light* and *heat*, that I find no need nor willingness to be at the labour of confuting them. Call but for their proofs, and you have confuted them all at once.

And if no better a solution be given us of the nature of *Light* and *Heat*, what shall we expect from them about *Intellection* and *Volition*? do atoms *understand* or *will*? or doth *motion* *understand* or *will*? If not, (as sure they do not as such) then tell us how that which hath no participation of *understanding* or *will* should constitute an agent that doth *understand* and *will*? Set to this work as Philosophers, and make it intelligible to us if you are in good earnest.

7. But to proceed a little further with you, I take it for granted, that you confess that an *intellectual incorporeal being* there is, while you confess a *God*: and that this sort of being is more excellent than that which is corporeal, sensible and gross. I would next ask you, Do you take it for *possible* or *impossible* that God should make any secondary Beings, which are *incorporeal* and *intellectual* also? If you say, *it is impossible*, give us your proof. If *possible*, I next ask you whether it be not *most probable* also? You acknowledge what a spot or punctum in the world this earthly Globe is: you see here that *man*, whose flesh must rot and turn to dust, hath the power of *Intellection* and *Volition*: you look up to the more vast and glorious Regions and Globes, and I am confident you think not that only this spot of earth is inhabited.

Saith a novel Philosopher himself, Ex speculis ustoris certum est, calorem a sole creari intensissimum, non acceleratione motus, sed coalitione radiorum.

Lumen species est inter omnes species sensibiles præceteris intellectualium speciem representans: & in intellectu est per causam; in cælo per formæ plenitudinem; in igne per plenitudinem participationis; hinc derivatur in portiones. Ficin. in Theophrasti de Anim. c. 44.

Non ergo levitas & gravitas causæ primi motoris sunt, sed qualitates sunt elementorum; sed tamen ut etiam hoc deur, quomodo ratiocinari, opinari, judicare, gravitatis & levitatis opera esse possunt; si non sunt gravitatis & levitatis opera, neque elementorum sunt; si non elementorum, neque certe corporum. *Nemesius de An. l. 2. p. 484.*

inhabited. And surely you think that the glory of the inhabitants, is like to be answerable to the glory of their habitations. You make your Atoms to be invisible, and so you do the Air and Winds; when yet our earth and dirt is visible. Therefore you take not crassitude, nor visibility or sensibility, to have the preeminence in excellency. Judge then your selves whether it be not likely that God hath innumerable more noble and excellent creatures, than we silly men are? And will you reduce all their *unknown perceptions*, or their known intelligence to *matter and motion* only?

Moreover, when you observe the wonderful variety of things, in which God is pleased to take his delight, what ground have we to imagine that he hath no greater variety of substances, but corporeal only? nor no other way of causation but by *motion*? when no man can deny, but he could otherwise cause the variety which we see, and fix in the creatures *ab origine* their differing natures, properties and virtues; what reason then have you to say that he *did not do so*?

And can you believe that the goodness of that God, who hath made this wonderful frame which we see, would not appear in making some creatures liker and nearer to himself, than *matter and motion* is?

But to talk no more of *probabilities* to you, we have certain proof that man is an *intellectual free agent*, whose soul you can never prove to be corporeal, and whose power of *intellection* and *volition* is distinct from corporal motion. And we have proof that there are superiour *Intelligences* more noble than we, by the operations which they have exercised upon things-below.

And what should move you (who seem not to be over-much Divine, and who seem to observe the order and harmony of the creatures) to imagine, that God doth himself alone, without any instrument or second cause, *move* all the corporeal matter of the world? If you are serious in believing that God *himself* doth move and govern all, why do you question, whether he make use of any nobler natures next him, to move things corporeal? And why do you against your own inclinations, make every action to be done by

by God alone? I doubt not but he doth all: but you see that he chooseth to communicate honour and agency to his creatures. He useth the Sun to move things on earth. Therefore if you believe that corporeal beings stand at so infinite a distance from his perfections, you may easily judge that he hath some more noble; and that the noblest are the most potent and active, and rule the more ignoble: as you see the nobler bodies (as the Sun) to have power upon the more ignoble. Therefore to violate the harmony of God's works, and to deny all the steps of the ladder save the lowest, is but an unhappy solving of Phenomena.

Nay, mark what you grant us: you confess God to have Power, Wisdom and Will, and that he is incorporeal, and moveth all: and you confess that man hath in his kind Power, Understanding and Will; and is there any thing below that's liker God? If not, do you not allow us to take these faculties for incorporeal? and that those are so that are higher than we?

8. And you seem to us by your Philosophy to write of Nature, as the Atheist writeth of God; instead of explaining it, you deny it. What is Nature but the *principium motus* & quietis? &c. * And you deny all such principia, and substitute only former motion: so that you leave no other nature but what a stone receiveth from the hand that casteth it, or the childrens tops from the scourge which driveth them: or rather every turn is a nature to the next turn; and so the nature of things is mostly out of themselves in the extrinsic mover.

* So Lipsitorpius in his Specim. Philos. Cartes. Deus in principio mundi materiam simul cum motu & quiete creavit—Unde communissima naturæ lex, &c. vid. pag. 37, 38. So that

Nature with the Cartesians is nothing at all, but God's first moving all at the creation: as if he caused motion, without any moving created principle: and as if spirits and fire had no more moving a nature or principle than clay; but only that their matter was either in the creation more moved by God, or since by a knock from some other mover, put into motion, by which accidental motion clay or water may be made fire.

Leg. Petr. Moufnerii, lib. de Imperio, & lib. 2. de motu naturali: Where the nature of Motion is more exactly handled than by the Epicureans or Cartesians; though too little is said de vi inercntis, in comparison of what is said de impetu mobilis. Leg. l. 2. pag. 76, 77, &c. de causa ininterfusa motus localis naturalis. Et pag. 78. his seven Reasons against Gailendus his doctrine of Gravitation by the traction of Atoms; and his confutation of all the extrinsecal causes, viz. Causa prima sola, æter, terra vis magnetica (vel per qualitatem diffusam, vel per vim sympathicam, vel tractionem filamentoformem) virtus coeli pellens, destructio per lucem, & generans (And as easily may the Cartesian reason be confuted, which Lipsitorpius so magnifies:) and the Impetus inercntis is the reason which he assigneth, pag. 80, 81, &c.

¶ Vid. exceptiones Jo. Bap. de Hamel contra Cartes. in conclus. pag. 148, 151, 170, 209, 210.

And

And so you level all things in the world : you deny all specifick forms, or natural faculties and virtues. The Sun and a clod have no natural difference, but only *magnitude*, and *figure*, and *motion* : as if so noble a creature had no differing peculiar nature of its own, nor any natural power or principle of its own motion, and so it moved but as a stone is moved.

Yea, you make all motion to be violent, and deny all proper natural motion at all : for that which hath no active principle of motion in its nature, hath no proper natural motion as distinct from violent.

Hereby also you deny all *vital powers* : you make a living creature and a dead to differ but in the manner of motion ; (which whether you can at all explain, we know not) why may not the arrow which I shoot, or the watch which I wind up, be said to live as well as you ? It hath matter and motion ; and some inanimates (the Air and Fire) perhaps have as subtil matter and as speedy motion, as is in you. Why doth not the wind make the air alive, and the bellows the fire ? In a word, you deny all Intelligences, all Souls, all Lives, all Natures, all active Qualities and Forms ; all Powers, Faculties, Inclinations, Habits and Dispositions, that are any principles of motion : and so all the natural excellency and difference of any creature above the rest. A short way of solving the Phænomena.

Lastly, with *Nature* you deny the being of *Morality*. For if there be no difference of Beings, but in quantity, figure, motion and site ; and all motion is Locomotion, which moveth by natural necessitating force, than a man moveth as a stone, because it is irresistibly moved, and hath no power to forbear any act which it performeth, or to do it otherwise than it doth. For if there be no *power*, *habits* or *dispositions*, antecedent to motion, but *motion* it self is all, then there is one and the same account to be given of all actions, good and bad, I did it because I was irresistibly moved to it, and could no more do otherwise than my pen can choose to write. There is then no virtue or vice, no place for Laws and moral Government, further than they may be tacklings in the engine which necessitateth : whatsoever is done amiss, is as much imputable to God the first mover, as that which

is done well. If you shoot an arrow which killeth your friend, the arrow could not hinder it: if you make or set your watch amiss, though one motion causeth another, yet the error of all is resolved into the defect of the first cause. They that killed *Henry* the 3. and *Henry* the 4. Kings of *France*, may say, that as the knife could not resist the motion of their hand, so neither could they the motion of the superiour cause that moved them, and so on to the first. No Traitors or Rebels can resist the power which acteth them therein, any more than the dust can resist the wind which stirreth it up. And so you see what cometh of all the Government of God and Man, and of all Laws and Judgments, Justice and Injustice, Right and Wrong. And how little cause you have to be angry with the Thief that robbeth you, or the man that cudgelleth you, any more than with the staff. But of this I refer you to the foresaid writing of Bishop *Bromhal* against Mr. *Hobs*, allowing you to make the most you can of his Reply.

We are certain by the *operations* of things, that there is a difference in their *natural powers* and *virtues*, and not only in their quantity, figure and motion. God hath not made only homogeneal undifferented matter: there are plainly now exceeding diversities of natural excellencies, virtues and qualities in the things we see. And he that will say that by motion only God made this difference at first, doth but presumptuously speak without book, without all proof to make it credible, and taketh on him to know that which he knoweth that he knoweth not. Is not the *virtue* and *goodness* of things as laudable, as their quantity and motion? Why then should we imagine so vast a disproportion in the image of God upon his works, as to acknowledge the *magnitude* and *motion* incomprehensible, and to think that in *virtue* and *goodness* of *nature* they are all alike, and none is more noble or more like himself than a clod of earth? We see that the *natures* of all things are suited to their several uses. *Operari sequitur esse*. Things act as they are. There is somewhat in the *nature* of a bird, or beast, or plant, which is their fitness to their various motions. If only motion made that fire to day, which yesterday was but a stone, why doth not the strongest wind so much as warm us? or why doth

it so much cool us? Why doth not the snow make us as warm as a fleece of wool? the wool doth move no more than the snow, and the matter of it appeareth to be no more subtil. Indeed *man* can give to none of *his works* a *nature*, a *life* or *virtue*, for the operation which he desireth. He can but alter the magnitude, and figure, and motion of things, and compound and mix them, and conjoyn them: and these *Epicureans* seem to judge of the works of God by mans. But he who is *Being, Life and Intelligence*, doth accordingly animate his noble Engines, and give them *natures* and *virtues* for their operations; and not only make use of *matter* and *weights* where he findeth it, as our *Mechanicks* themselves can do. Debasing all the noblest of Gods works, is unbeseeming a true Philosopher, who should search out the *virtues* and *goodness*, as well as the *greatness* of them.

But I have been longer in answering this first Objection, than I can afford to be about the rest; unless I would make a Book of this, which I call but the Conclusion. I will adde but this one thing more; That in case it were granted the *Epicureans*, that the soul is *material*, it will be no disproving of its immortality, nor invalidate any of my former arguments for a life of retribution after this. To which purpose consider these things.

1. That where *matter* is simple and not compounded, it hath no tendency to corruption. Object: *Matter is divisible, and therefore corruptible, how simple soever.* Answer. It is such as may be divided, if God please, and so the soul is such as God can destroy. But we see that all parts of matter have a wonderful tendency to unity, and have a tendency to a *motus aggregationis* if you separate them. Earth inclineth to earth, and water to water, and air to air, and fire to fire.

2. All Philosophers agree to what I say, who hold that *matter* is eternal, either *a parte ante*, or *a parte post*. For if *matter* be eternal, the soul's materiality may consist with its eternity.

3. Yea all without exception do agree, that there is no annihilation of matter when there is a dissolution. Therefore if the soul be a simple un compounded being, though *material*, it will remain the same. This therefore is to be let down as granted us, by all the Infidels and Atheists in the world, that *man's soul*, what ever it is, is not annihilated when

when he dieth, if it be any kind of substance material or immaterial. And they that call his temperament his soul, do all acknowledge, that there is in the composition some one predominant principle, more active or noble than the rest; and of the duration of this it is that we enquire, which no man doth deny, though some deny it to be immaterial. But this will be further opened under the rest of the Objections. The reasons of my many words in answering this Objection, I give you in the words of a late learned Conciliator, *Philosophia Platonice explicationi diutius immorati sumus, quod res maximas & cognitione dignissimas complectatur. Habet id quoque præ cætern, quod ad æternas & primitivas rationes mentem erigat, eamque à fluxis & perituris rebus advocatam, ad eas quæ sola intelligentia percipiuntur convertat. Quæ quidem in re infinitum prope momentum est: Nam obtrunimur turbâ Philosophorum, qui nimis fidunt sensibus, & nihil præter corpora intelligi posse contendunt. Atque ut mihi videtur, nulla perniciosior pestis in vitam humanam potest invadere, nihil quod magis religioni adversetur.* Joh. Bapt. du Hamel. in Consens. veteris & novæ Philos. Præfat.

OBJECTION II.

By Sense, Imagination, Cogitation, Reason, you cannot prove the Soul to be incorporeal, because the Bruiits partake of these; whose Souls are material and mortal.

Ans. 1. It is easie for men, that set themselves to say all they can, either with Mr. *Chambre* to extol the bruiits as rational, or with *Gassendus* to talk of the whispers and consultations of the Ants; or with *Telesius* and *Campanella* to say that every thing hath sense; or on the other hand with *Cartesius*, to deny all to a bruit which belongeth not to an engine. But our converse with them dorth teach all men to judge of their natures, as between both these extremes, unless by study and learning they learn to know less than they did before, and do but study to corrupt their understandings, and obliterate things that are commonly known. I doubt not but the Minerals have something like life, and

the Vegetatives have something like to *sense*, and the Sensitive have something like to *reason*: but it doth not follow that therefore it is the *same*. But this is so copiously written of by very many, that I supersede my further labour about it.

2. If it were so, that the *apprehensions* of a bruit might be called *Reason* or *Intellection*, yet the difference betwixt it and humane *Intellection* is so great, as may easily prove to those that have their reasons in free use, that they are several species of creatures, made for several uses and ends. And none of the twenty Arguments which I used, are at all debilitated by this. If a bird have reason to build her nest, and to feed her young, yet she hath none to build Cities and Castles, nor to use Navigation, nor any of the Arts: much less to set up Government by Laws, and to write Systems of Philosophy and other Sciences; and least of all to enquire after God, the cause of all things, or to hope for blessedness in another life, or to escape a future misery, or to be ruled in this life by the interest of another. Beasts think not of God, nor of loving him, seeking him, pleasing him or enjoying him, or of being judged by him. I know the perverse wrangler will ask me, How I know this? And I can answer him no better than thus: As I know that a Stone doth not see or feel, or that my Paper doth not talk; because they *manifest* no such thing: And these are all operations which they that exercise, are apt to manifest; and things that in their nature are unapt to be long hid. *Campanella*, who hath written *de sensu rerum*, to prove Bruits Rational, and Plants sensible, hath yet in his *Atheismus Triumphatus* written more for the excellency of humane nature and the Souls immortality; than any Infidel can soundly answer.

See Sir W. Rawleigh
Hist. l. 1. of Fire,
making it certainly a
thing unknown, and
probably quiddam me-
dium between things
corporeal and incor-
poreal.

3. And how prove you, that the Souls of Bruits exist not, after death? Of their Individuation we shall say more anon. But there is no part of their substance annihilated as you will confess: Nor any part of it abased below the same nature which it had in the composition: Only the constituting parts are separated, retaining their several natures still. All men that confess that Bruits are sensible, do confess that there is some one predominant part in their composition which is the principal cause of sense; whether it be the finest

Atomes,

Atoms, or the *materia subtilis* or *globuli caelestes*, or Elementary Fire, or Aristotle's quintessence analogous to the coelestial Starry substance, or yet an incorporeal soul: whatever it is, it is not annihilated, nor the nature of the simple essence destroyed.

4. And here let me venture to tell you once for all, that I never found cause to believe that any mortal man, † is so well acquainted with the true difference between a Corporeal and an Incorporeal substance, as to tell us certainly wherein it doth consist; and to lay the stress of this Controversie upon that difference. I know what is said of *Moles & extensio*, & *partes extra partes*; of divisibility and impenetrability; and so on the contrary side. But how much of this is spoken in the dark? Are you certain that no true matter is penetrable? (If you say, that which is so, we call not Matter, and so make the Controversie *de nomine* only intelligible, I must pass it by.) And are you sure that no matter is indivisible? And that no spiritual incorporeal substance is quantitative, extended, or divisible? It now goeth for current that *Light* is a *Body*: And *Patricius* that so judgeth, doth take it to be indivisible in *longitudine radiorum*, and to be penetrable; and that it can penetrate other bodies. And it's hard to be sure that Diaphanous bodies are not penetrated by Light. I know *Gassendus* and others think that it passeth but through the pores of the Glass or Chrystal: But I have heard of no Engyscope that hath perceived pores in Glass. In Cloth they are certainly discernable, and large, and numerous, when yet the Light doth not penetrate it as it doth the Glass: *Gassendus* saith, the reason is, because the pores of the Glass and other diaphanous bodies, are all one way, so that the Light is not intercepted by their irregularity: And he giveth us a proof of his opinion, because that if you set white Papers on each side the Glass, there will be umbels on one side, and light reflected on the other. I

† Hence it is that the wisest Philosophers differ in this point, whether any proper matter be found in the Soul of men. *Micraellus Ethnoph.* l. 1. c. 13. p. 23, 24. hath instanced in many that are for some materiality. Eam sententiam inter veteres probavit apud Macrobi-um, Heraclitus Physicus, cui anima est essentia Stellaris scintilla: & Hipparchus apud Plinium cui est colli pars: Et Africanus apud Cicero-nem, qui detrahit animum ex illis sompitiis ignibus, quae sidera vocamus; quaeque globosae & rotundae divinis animarum membris circum suos orbesc; conficiunt celeritate mirabili: & Seneca, qui descendisse eam ex illo caelesti Spiritu ait, & Plato ipse, qui alicubi animam

vocat *ἀνέμω*, ὄχημα, radians & splendidum vehiculum: Et Epictetus qui astra vocat nobis *πῦρ* & *πυρρὴν σάρκα*, amica & cognata Elementa: ipsaeque cum Peripateticis Aristoteles, qui eam quinta essentia constare & *ἀνδρογυνὴν* ἢ *ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἐκμίστῃ*, in animabus inesse dicit. Inter nostrates Scaliger quoque vocat animam naturam coelestem, & quintam essentiam aliam quidem a quatuor Elementis naturam praeditam, sed non sine omni materia. Eadem opinio videtur Roberto de Fluxibus, &c.

Lege rationes Carpenterarii in Dec. 1. Exerc. 7. contra porositatem diaphanorum.

Dicit Plato universæ naturæ animam perfectam esse a centro orbis terræ usque ad extremas oras cœli: Non ut locum ista notet perfectio, sed extensionis quendam modum, quem Mens & Ratio affe-
quatur. *Nemes. de Anim. c. 2. pag. 487.*

have oft tried, and see indeed abundance of such umbræ: But I as plainly see that they all answer the Squills or sanded faults that are in the Glass (the bigger sort of which are all as visible as the shades). And surely all the rest of the Glass is not pores, or nothing! And if the pores lie all one way, how cometh it to pass, that a Glass of water, or a Ball of Chrystal is equally perspicuous every way. Look which way you will it is all alike: Therefore it must be every way equally porous. But I would know whether we have any atoms smaller than the body of Light, which thus penetrateth the Glass and Chrystal? I think they all make it the most subtile matter: And yet *Gassendus* thinketh that they are *Bodies* (and such as have their *hamuli* too) which flow from the Load-stone to the Iron: And if so, then those Bodies must be more penetrating than Light: For they will pass through a brick wall, and operate by their attraction on the other side, where no light can pass. And whether the Air be penetrable by Light, is scarce well cleared or understood. They that think there is no *Vacuum* I think (with *Gassendus*) can never prove that there can be any motion, unless the Air or some bodies are penetrable. Let them talk of a Circulation with *Cartesius* as long as they will, some body must *cedere* before the next can move: And no one can give way till the motion or cession begin at the utmost part of the corporeal world. My understanding is past doubt that there must be an *inane* or a *penetration*. And yet on the other side, I am satisfied that Entity is the first excellency, and that *something* is better than *nothing*. And therefore if Rarity be only by the multitude and greatness of interspersed *Vacuities*, and the rarity and subtilty of matter be but the scantness or smallness of its quantity in that space, then it would be but next kin to annihilation, and the rarest and most subtile matter would be *cæteris paribus* the basest, as being next to nothing. For instance, Sir *Kenelm Digby* tellth *Gassendus* from two accurate Computers, that Gold in the same space is seven thousand six hundred times heavier than Air: so that Air is in the same space seven thousand six hundred times nearer to nothing than Gold is; and the whole Air betwixt us and the Heavens hath interspaces that are vacuous, to the same proportion of 7600 to one:

And

And then we may well say that *datur inane* ! Nay *quere*, whether it be more proper to say, that all between us and Heaven is a *Vacuum* or not ? when it is to be denominated from the space which so far exceedeth all the rest as 7600 to one ? And then if the *æther* be something more subtil, it must be still more near to nothing, and consequently be most vile : But I am satisfied that *dung* is not so much more excellent than *Light* as it is more gross. And that these terrestrial bodies are not the most noble, nor have most of *Entity* or *Substance*, because they are more gross : † Therefore though *Gassendus* put off Sir K. Digby by saying only that the said disproportion is no inconvenience, I see not how these inconveniences will be answered. I am satisfied, that nothing, is not so good as *Entity*, and yet that the most subtil and invisible substances are the life of the World, and of greatest excellency and force. But what will hence follow about penetrability I know not ; But I know that it's little about these things which men understand of what they say. The fiery nature seemeth as *Patricius* saith to be some middle thing between *corporal* and *incorporeal*. And I much doubt whether *Materia* be a *sumum genus* ; and whether the lowest degree of things *incorporeal*, and the highest degree of things *corporeal*, (suppose fire, or that which is the matter of the Sun) do differ so much more than *Graduals*, as that mortals can say, that one of them is penetrable and indivisible, and the other not. There have been some Philosophers that have thought that *sensibility* was as fit an attribute to characterize *Matter* or *Bodies* by, as any other ; But then they meant not by [*sensible*] that which *Man* can perceive by sense : But that which is a fit object for senses of the same kinde as mans, supposing them elevated to the greatest perfection that they are capable of in their kinde. And so *fire* and *atomes* being of the same kinde as other *matter*, may be visible to a sight of the same kinde as ours, if it received but the addition of *enow* degrees. And for ought I know, this is as wise Philosophy as that which is more common. I am sure it is more intelligible.

And for *Divisibility* they have Demonstrations on both sides that a *Function* is divisible, and that it is not. One thinketh, that if three be set together, it's possible at least for God

to

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Lege rationes Carpentarii in Dec. 1. Exerc. 7. contra porositatem diaphanorum.

Dicit Plato universæ naturæ animam perfectam esse a centro orbis terræ usque ad extremas oras cœli: Non ut *locum* ista notet porrectio, sed *extensionis* quandam modum, quem Mens & Ratio assequatur. *Nemes. de Anim. c. 2. pag. 487.*

have oft tried, and see indeed abundance of such umbels: But I as plainly see that they all answer the Squills or fanded faults that are in the Glass (the bigger sort of which are all as visible as the shades). And surely all the rest of the Glass is not *pores*, or nothing! And if the pores lie all one way, how cometh it to pass, that a Glass of water, or a Ball of Chrystal is equally perspicuous *every way*. Look which way you will it is all alike: Therefore it must be every way equally porous. But I would know whether we have any atomes smaller than the body of Light, which thus penetrateth the Glass and Chrystal? I think they all make it the most subtile matter: And yet *Gassendus* thinketh that they are *Bodies* (and such as have their *hamuli* too) which flow from the Load-stone to the Iron: And if so, then those Bodies must be more penetrating than Light: For they will pass through a brick wall, and operate by their attraction on the other side, where no light can pass. And whether the Air be penetrable by Light, is scarce well cleared or understood. They that think there is no *Vacuum* I think (with *Gassendus*) can never prove that there can be any motion, unless the Air or some bodies are penetrable. Let them talk of a Circulation with *Cartesius* as long as they will, some body must *cedere* before the next can move: And no one can give way till the motion or cession begin at the utmost part of the coporeal world. My understanding is past doubt that there must be an *inane* or a *penetration*. And yet on the other side, I am satisfied that Entity is the first excellency, and that *something* is better than *nothing*. And therefore if Rarity be only by the *multitude* and greatness of interspersed *Vacuities*, and the rarity and subtilty of matter be but the scantness or smallness of its quantity in that space, then it would be but next kin to annihilation, and the rarest and most subtile matter would be *ceteris paribus* the basest, as being next to nothing. For instance, Sir *Kenelm Digby* telleth *Gassendus* from two accurate Computers, that Gold in the same space is seven thousand six hundred times heavier than Air: so that Air is in the same space seven thousand six hundred times nearer to nothing than Gold is; and the whole Air betwixt us and the Heavens hath interspaces that are vacuous, to the same proportion of 7600 to one:

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to divide just in the midst : Another with *Gassendus* thinketh, that it's unlike to be true, that every part should be as much or more than the whole, and a point as much as all the Universe : And that if a point may be divided into infinite parts it is infinite in magnitude, and therefore bigger than the World : And is it any marvell, if *Indivisibility* then be an unfit property to know a Spirit by, when they are not agreed about it as to Bodies ? Certain it is, that there is a true *Individuation* of Souls, and so a *numeral division* of them. That which is *your Soul*, is not your *Neighbours*. And it is certain, that created Spirits are not *infinite* as to extent. And what *Division* God can make upon them, is more than I can tell.

Scotus thinketh, that the subject of Physicks is not *Corpus naturale* but *substantia naturalis*; and so that Angels are moved *motu physico*. Scaliger, Schibler, &c. say, that Angels have *extension* and *figure*, that is, *extension entitative* distinct from *extension quantitative*. vid. Scalig. Exercit. 359. §. 4. The *termini effendi*, saith Schibler, being no other than are signified *per inceptionem, seu dependentiam ab alio & definitionem*: and that no Creature is *imense*, but hath *finem adessendi* according to which it is *determinate* to a certain space. He saith, that Angels are finite, 1. *Essentia*, 2. *Numero*, 3. *Potestate*, 4. *Quantitate*, h. e. *non esse immensos*. And that they are *in spatio intelligibili*. He saith also Exerc. 307. *Unum primum est: alia dependent igitur. Ergo sua natura omnia præter unum sunt corruptibilia. Tametsi sunt Entia absoluta à subiecto & termino, non sunt absoluta à Causa.*

Damascene saith, de Orthod. fid. l. 2. That God only is a Spirit by nature, but other things may be Spirits by indulgence and grace.

† In Ficinus his col-
lectionibus, lib. de dæ-
monib.

The doctrine of *Pfeiffer*† is too gross, and largely delivered by himself.

Engubinus, Niphus, and Vorstinus, were of the same mind, - that Angels were Corporal.

Augustine himself saith, that *Anima respectu incorporei Dei corporea est: de Spir. & anim. c. 8.*

Cassianus in Dialog. i. p. 573. B. P. Gaith, Ἀσώματος μὲν ὁ
 ἄγγελος καὶ ὁ ἡμῶς σῶμα Ν καὶ ἡμεῖς, οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὁ πῦρ, ὁ
 καὶ πνεῦμα, ὁ αἶθρ. σῶματι γὰρ ὑπάρχεισι λίθια καὶ ὅλα ἐξ ὧν τῆς
 οὐσίας

ἰσχυροὺς μαχόμενος. And he applyeth to them the Apostles words, *There are Bodies celestial, and bodies terrestrial.*

Arnobius is a little too gross herein, and almost all the Ancients, especially the *Greeks*, that speak of that subject, take Angels for more subtile purer Bodies.

I know not what *Athenagoras* meaneth to call the Devil, ὁ τῆς σαρκὸς τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἰδίων ἀρχὸν — *Materia ejusq; formarum Princeps, & alii ex illis qui circa primum mundi fundamentum erant peccarunt, &c.* pag. 71. And hence he and others talk of their falling in love with Virgins, &c.

And when *Faustus Rhegiensis* wrote a Book to prove that Angels and Souls were but a purer subtile sort of bodies or matter, *Claudianus Mammerius* largely and learnedly confuteth him (who pretended that all the Ancients were on his side): Yet doth the same *Mammerius* think, that though Angels *quoad formam* be incorporeal, they had Bodies also which were Fire, or of the nature of the Starrs. Which *Cassiodorus* also seemeth to mean, when he saith that [Nor only that which is here with us below is Fire; but also those bigger Powers seem to be Fire, and kin to that which is with us, as our Souls are kin to Angels.] Dialog. 1. Q. 58, 59. pag. 584. And Qu. 60. he saith [That the Shepherds when they will bott flesh (in the Fields where they have no Fire) do use to fill a glass Vessel with water, and hold it directly opposite to the Sun, and then touch dryed dung with it, and it will kindle Fire.] And having thus proved the Sun to be Fire, he saith, Dial. 2. Qu. 195. that *Omnibus creatis levior est ignis natura: ideoq; Angeli etiam hanc sortiti sunt: Qui faciunt Angelos suos spiritus, & Ministros suos ignis flammam.* And Qu. 107. he saith, that the Starrs which led the *Magi* to Christ, was an Angel.] It would be tedious to cite all out of *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, and all the Ancients that was written to assert that Angels *quoad formam* were *corpora tenuiora*; and out of those that came after them, and confuted them, who yet wrote that they were the Souls of fiery bodies.

And abundance of our writers of Physicks, Metaphysicks and Logick, do tell us, that Angels have *Materia metaphysicam*, and in a certain sense may be called corporeal. And the summ of all is, when they determine the questions about their locality, extension, or quantity, that they have their ubi,

to divide just in the midst: Another with *Gassendus* thinketh, that it's unlike to be true, that every part should be as much or more than the whole, and a point as much as all the Universe: And that if a point may be divided into infinite parts it is infinite in magnitude, and therefore bigger than the World: And is it any marvell, if *Indivisibility* then be an unfit property to know a Spirit by, when they are not agreed about it as to Bodies? Certain it is, that there is a true *Individuation* of Souls, and so a *numeral division* of them. That which is your *Soul*, is not your *Neighbours*. And it is certain, that created Spirits are not *infinite* as to extent. And what *Division* God can make upon them, is more than I can tell.

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† In *Ficinus* his *collections*, lib. de *demoniis*.

The doctrine of *Pfellus* † is too gross, and largely delivered by himself.

Engubinus, *Niphus*, and *Vorstius*, were of the same minde, that Angels were Corporeal.

Augustine himself saith, that *Anima respectu incorporei Dei corporea est: de Spir. & anim. c. 8.*

Casarius in *Dialog. 1. p. 573. B. P.* saith, ἄσματος μὲν οἱ ἄγγελοι καὶ ἡμεῖς σώματα δὲ καὶ οὐκ αὐτοὶ, ὡς ἀνθρώποι, ὁ πῦρ, ὁ αἰὼν, ἢ αἶψα. σώματα γὰρ ὑπαρχούσι λεγόμενα καὶ ἀυτὰ ἐξ οὗτος αὐτοὶ.

ἰσχυράς αἰχμήτας. And he applyeth to them the Apostles words, *There are Bodies celestial, and bodies terrestrial.*

Arnobius is a little too gross herein, and almost all the Ancients, especially the *Greeks*, that speak of that subject, take Angels for more subtile purer Bodies.

I know not what *Athenagoras* meaneth to call the Devil, ἡ τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀρχὴ — *Materia ejusq; formarum Princeps*, & alii ex illis qui circa primum mundi fundamentum erant peccarunt, &c. pag. 71. And hence he and others talk of their falling in love with Virgins, &c.

And when *Faustus Rhegiensis* wrote a Book to prove that Angels and Souls were but a purer subtile sort of bodies or matter, *Claudianus Mamertus* largely and learnedly confuteth him (who pretended that all the Ancients were on his side): Yet doth the same *Mamertus* think, that though Angels *quoad formam* be incorporeal, they had Bodies also which were Fire, or of the nature of the Starrs. Which *Cassianus* also seemeth to mean, when he saith that [*Not only that which is here with us below is Fire; but also those higher Powers seem to be Fire, and kin to that which is with us, as our Souls are kin to Angels.*] Dialog. 1. Q. 58, 59. pag. 584. And Qu. 60. he saith [*That the Shepherds when they will bott fesh (in the Fields where they have no Fire) do use to fill a glass Vessel with water, and bott it directly opposite to the Sun, and then touch dryed dung with it, and it will kindle Fire.*] And having thus proved the Sun to be Fire, he saith, Dial. 2. Qu. 195. that *Omniū creatū levior est ignis natura: ideoq; Angeli etiam hanc sortiti sunt: Qui facit Angelos suos spiritus, & Ministros suos ignis flammam.* And Qu. 107. he saith, that the *Starre which led the Kings to Christ, was an Angel.*] It would be tedious to cite all out of *Tertullian*, *Lactantius*, and all the Ancients that was written to assert that Angels *quoad formam* were *corpora tenuiora*; and out of those that came after them, and confuted them, who yet wrote that they were the Souls of fiery bodies.

And abundance of our writers of Physicks, Metaphysicks and Logick, do tell us, that Angels have *Materiam metaphysicam*, and in a certain sense may be called *corporeal*. And the summ of all is, when they determine the questions about their *locality, extension, or quantity*, that they have their *ubi*;

In defence of the Soul's Immortality, &c.

their quantity and extension (which are the properties of bodies) *suo modo, vel modo metaphysico*, as bodies have them *modo suo physico*; being not immense or infinite no more than bodies. (How far the name of Nature belongeth to them, see *Fortunius Licetus de natura primo-movente.*) And Schibler with others, maketh the difference of extension to be this, that Angels can contract their whole substance into one part of space, and therefore have not partes extra partes. Whereupon it is that the Schoolmen have questioned how many Angels may sit upon the point of a Needle?

For my part I profess, that as my understanding is fully satisfied by the operations and effects, that there are such invisible potent substances, which we call *Angels* and *Spirits*, so it is utterly unsatisfied in the common properties of Penetrability and Impenetrability, Extension, or discernibility, and indiscernibility or indivisibility, as the Characters to know them by. And as I think that *Materia* had been as fit a name as another, for that part or notion of spiritual substances which is distinguished from their form, if Custom had so pleased to use it; so I think that such Substances as we call *Spirits* or *immaterial*, may be well said to be compounded of *Metaphysical* or *spiritual matter* and *form*, and this in consistency with such simplicity as belongeth to a Creature. And I remember not what apt word we have instead of *matter* to supply its place in Latine, which taketh not in the notion of the *Form*: For the word *Matter* signifieth no real Being, but only a partial inadequate Conception of Real Beings *quoad hoc*, which have all something more which is essential to them. There is no such thing existent as matter without form or peculiar nature. And the *matter* and *form* are such *partes intelligibiles* as can neither of them exist alone. Therefore as it is not fit to make too eager a Controversie *de nomine materia, vel materialis*; so I think that it is little that we know of any substances at all, but what their accidents and effects reveal. Matter we know by the quantity, figure, colour, heat or cold, density or rarity, hardness or softness, levity or weight, &c. And forms, or differencing natures we know by their operations: But that either *matter* or *form* is known to us immediately by it self, and is the ob-
jectum

jectum sensus per se & immediate, I cannot say by any observed experience of mine own.

Would you have me to go further yet? I shall then adventure to say, That as I feel no satisfying notion to difference the highest simple Being called Material; from the lowest next it called *Immaterial*, but what is in and from the forms; so I think that it is too slippery a ground for any man to satistie himself or others by, to say only that one is material and the other immaterial. *Matter* as I said being but a *pars intelligibilis* or inadequate conception of a thing, is not to be a *Genus* in any predicament. And if *substance* express the adequate conception, it must comprehend something answerable to *Matter*, with that *differencing nature* called the *form*. And what name besides *matter* to give to that part of the conception of a substance, which is contradistinct from the form, Philosophers are yet but little agreed in: some name there must be when we speak of any created substances: For the name of *substance* must not confound these distinct Conceptions: Therefore *materia metaphysica vel spiritualis* is the term, that hitherto men are fain to use.

Moreover, it is the *form* that doth difference and denominate. How then can you sufficiently difference corporeal and incorporeal from the material Cause, by calling one *Physical* and the other *Hyperphysical*, or *Metaphysical*? Doth any mans understanding perceive the true positive difference by these words? Is *Matter* as opposed to *Nihil reale*, and is *Ens creatum*, (or as it expresseth our half conception both of corporeal and incorporeal substances) differenced so discernably or *toto genere, vel tota specie*, without a *form* to make the difference; Doth *mole immunis* & *mole pradita* speak a formal difference or not? If not, what place hath it in *arbitrio Porphyrii vel Gassendi*? And if it do not, you make the matter of substances *ab origine* differenced in se without any forms to difference them; that is the *Physical* and the *Metaphysical* matter. But if those words do express a formal difference, you should finde some other to expound them by: For sure *mole pradita*, expresseth no form intelligibly: And *mole immunis* is but a meer negation of quantity.

Differences therefore that are fetcht from *matter* here (or the

the *material* part of substance) are hardly made intelligible: And we have so little acquaintance with spiritual substances in their naked *matter* (for unless you will take *idea* which is better than substance) I know not how else to call it) that we speak but by rote when we talk of *Indivisibility*, and *unextensiveness*, and *impenetrability* as the notifying differences; because they are things beyond our understandings.

Is there a difference between *Intellectual* and *Spiritual* Beings among themselves or not? Doubtless there is, as the case of Angels, Devils, and the Souls of men declare: Is this difference among any of them *specific* and *formal*? It is commonly so concluded, as between Angels and men. Is there then any *agreement* in *substance*, or in another *essential* part, where there is a formal difference? I know none that notifie the *other* essential difference of the *substance* of mens Souls and Angels; but they commonly confess that both are Spirits, not differenced *materially* otherwise than in *degrees* of *purity* and *dignity* (which how far it belongeth to the form I pretermitt). But there can be no *specific* difference in the *matter* considered without that *form* which specifeth. At least *some* agreement there is; and of *Spirits* which are of *different* forms or *species*, there must be some *one* name for that in which they still agree. If you say that it is in [*substance*] you must then take *substance* as we do *matter* for an *inadequate* conception, or only the *pars intelligibilis* of a being as without the *form*; But that is not the common acceptioun of it; nor is it then fit for the place assigned it in *ordine predicamentali*.

From all this I am not about to injure any mans understanding, by building my Conclusions upon any questionable grounds: I do but right your understandings so far, as to remove all uncertain foundations, though they be such as seem to be most for the advantage of my Cause, and are by most made the great reasons of the Souls Immortality. And it is not my purpose to deny, that as Angels are compounded *ex genere & differentiâ*, so the *generical* nature of Angels greatly differeth from the nature of *Corporal* things: As God can make multitudes of corporal Creatures, *formally* or *specifically* different, of the matter of one simple Element only

only (as Air, or Fire) without material mixture; so he can either make an Element of Souls, either existent of it self, of which he will make Individuals, yea species formally divers, or else existent only in the species and individuals, as he please. But then we must say, that as fire, and air, and water, do differ formally, as several Elements, so the spiritual Element or general Nature hath a formal difference from the Corporeal (called the Material). But hence it will follow, 1. That Angels and humane Souls have a double form (as some use to call it) that is, *Genetical* as *Spirits*, which is presupposed as the aptitude of their Metaphysical matter, by which they differ from *bodies*; and *specific* by which they are constituted what they are, and differ among themselves: (unless you deny all such formal difference among them, and difference them only by *individuation* and *accidents*; as several drops or bottles of water taken out of the same Sea.) 2. And it will seem plain, that our *differencing* characters or properties between *Spirits* and *Bodies*, must be sought for in their *different forms*, which must be found in the *noble operations* which flow from the forms, and not from uncertain Accidents. Therefore my design in all this is but to intimate to you, how *lubricous* and *uncertain*, and beyond the reach of mans understanding, the *ordinary characters* from such *Accidents* are, and that its better fetch the difference from the *Operations*.

Saith Georg. Ritschel Contempl. Metap. c. 6. pag. 40, & 43. Difficile est rectus materialibus immersis substantiam immaterialem concipere.— Et licet pro certo non constet an Mentis Angelica omnis simpliciter Materialitas repugnet; certum tamen est elementatam nostram ab illa abesse; atq; Divinam Essentiam ab omni esse materia secretam aeterna ejus & immutabilis battudo convincit, nisi per materialitatem forte substantiam intelligat. — §. 15. Dubium quidem nullum est immaterialem Mundum essentiarum varietate Inelligibilem aequè admirabilem & angustum esse, atq; Mundum corporeum videmus: sed in quo illa consistat diversitas, bono indicio certo non percipitur. Nimirum si prater se & lumbricum atq; scarabaeum animal aliud nullum vidisses, audires autem esse alia innumera genera, diversitate natura & forma penitus discrepantia, tum vagas quidem confususq; de diversitate vol-

Porphyry de Oratione, per Ficin. holds that *Anima quidam Medium quiddam est inter Essentiam individuum, atq; essentiam vera corpora divisibilem, Intellectus autem essentia est individua solam: sed qualitates materialesq; formæ secundum corpora sunt divisibiles.*

vere cogitationes posses; non posses autem illos tot bestiarum, piscium, reptilium, avium, species suo vultu & coloribus figurare: Ita quid spiritus sit immaterialis ex te capere, qui Mentem immaterialem habes, qualemcumque, notitiam potes, non potes autem in te perspicere in quo precise illa varietas consistat.

To come neerer to the application of what is said to the present Objection. 1. The Souls of Men and Brutes, we see do not differ in genere entis, nor in genere substantiæ, nor in genere principii vitalis, nor in genere sentientiæ; 2. The matter of both, whether it differ as Metaphysical and Physical, or how, is much beyond our knowledge. 3. The great diversity of Operations, doth shew the great diversity of their Powers and forms, and inclinations. 4. This sheweth the diversity of their uses and ends for which they were created. 5. It is certain, that no substantial Principle in either of them is annihilated at death. The Souls of Brutes have the same nature after death as they had before, and the Souls of men have the same nature as before. They are not transformed into other things. 6. Therefore about both of them, there is nothing left of doubt or controversie, but only 1. About the perpetuated Individuation, 2. The future Operations (and so the habits); viz. 1. Whether the Souls of men or brutes, or both, do lose their individuation, and fall into some Universal Element of their kinde? 2. Whether they operate after death as now? There is nothing else about their Immortality that common Reason can make a question of. And for the Souls of Brutes, whether they remain Individuate, or return to a common Element of their kinde, is a thing unknown to us, because unrevealed; and unrevealed, because it is of no use and concernment to us. Our own case concerneth us more, and therefore is more made known to us by God. As will further appear in that which followeth.

OBJECT.

OBJECTION III.

Human souls are but forms: and forms are but the qualities or modes of substances, and therefore accidents: and therefore perish when separated from the bodies.

Answer. The world of learned men do find themselves too much work, and trouble others with controversies about names and words, and especially by confounding words and things, and not discerning when a controversy is only *de nomine*, and when it is *de re*. And they have done so about forms as much as any thing. The word form is usually liable to this ambiguity: In compounded beings, it is sometime taken for the active predominant part or principle; and sometimes for the state which resulteth from the contemperation of all the parts. Which is the fittest to be called the form, is but a question *de nomine*. Gassendus himself confesseth this ambiguity of the word, and having pleaded that all forms, except man's intellectual soul, are but modes or qualities of bodies, and accidents. He addeth, §. 1. l. 6. c. 1. *Si forma nomine spiritum quendam & quasi florem materia intellexeris, cujusmodi fere concipimus animam in equo, tum forma dici potest substantia, immo & corpus tenuissimum, quod crassius pervadat, perficiat & regat — At si forma nomine intelligatur dispositio ac modus quo tam substantia illa spirituosior quam crassior reliqua se habet, & ad quam facultates actionesque naturales consequuntur tum posse Qualitatem conferri ac dici.* Whether the souls of bruits be only the spirits, or the flos materia, or not, it is granted by him, and by almost all men, that in mixt bodies there is one part more subtil than the rest, which is the most active, powerful, predominant part, and which doth corpus pervade, perficere, regere. He thinketh that this is but that subtil matter which others call fire; but others think upon the reasons before given, that it is a superior nature, and that the spiritus, or fiery nature, is but its nearest instrument: Because no subtilty will make atoms sensible or appetitive, which in their proper nature have no such thing. But what ever becomes of the controversy, whether the animal principle in bruits be material or immaterial, it

Lege Plotinum de Anim. En. 4. l. 3. c. 391. lib. 26.

it is granted us, and is certain, that in all mixed beings, there is a difference of the constitutive parts: as the fiery nature (such as the Sun is of) is *active* in comparison of the other three Elements, which to it are *passive*; so the vital principle in brutes is *active, powerful and regent*, as to the rest of the compounding parts. And it's certain, that the name of a [form] is by contenders taken, sometime for that *regent active principle or substance*, (be it what it will) and sometime for the *temperament* resulting from all the parts. In Engines where there is no principle or part which is notably predominant, the name of the [form] is given to the *ordered conjunction* of all the parts. So in a Watch, the *spring*, though the beginning of motion, is not so strictly called the form of the watch, as the *order of the whole frame*. But in living things, there is more room for a competition between the *regent part* and the *temperament*, which of them should be called the form. Now it is undeniable with all men, that both in men and brutes, that *regent principle* is a *substance*, and that the *contemperation* or *order* of the parts is but their *mode*, and maketh no other kind of being than *Ordo Civitatis vel Reipublice* is, which ceaseth upon the dissolution. And the form of simple beings, corporeal or incorporeal, elements or spirits, is neither another substance, distinct from the Physical and Metaphysical matter, nor yet an accident or mode: but that peculiar nature, consisting in certain powers or virtues, by which, as essential to it, that being is specifically diff'renced from others: which some call an essential quality, and some a substantial quality, and some a substantial form, because it is the perfection and essential nature of the substance *in specie*, and not another substance besides it.

Thus *Burgersdicius* (howeyer in his Physicks he saith as others) in his Metaphysics, l. 1. c. 25. §. 6, 7, 9. saith, that [Forma substantialis est quæ materiam complet eamque informat, atque inconstituit substantiam corpoream: Forma accidentalis est addisamentum complet a substantia inharrens, & cum illa constituens. Eius congressum atque unum per accidens.] And he addeth that [Forma substantialis non per se est substantia: substantia enim per se subsistit, &c. Quid ergo erit substantialis forma? Nihil aliud quam substantialis modus. Quia forma debetur, quod res corporales tales res sunt, in eam enim parte debetur

betur quod sint : Quia esse non potest concipi absque tali aut tali esse, & tale esse est ipsius esse complementum.] And yet the same man saith, i. id. l. 2. c. 17. §. 13. p. 304. *Res Animae vegetativae & sensitivae unitas quidem esse corpori ex elementis confectio, sed mediante spiritu vituli & animali: Ideoque facultates earum animarum non esse temperationes primarum qualitarum, sed ipsam substantiam animarum, quatenus spiritum ope elementari corpori aligantur.*

If then you take the word [form] for the order of the parts, I say that man's soul is not his form in that sense, nor is his form a substance: but if the regent, pr dominant, active, vital, intelligent principle be called the [form] so the form is a substance, and the soul is that form.

Here we must not confound *formam corporis, formam animae, & formam hominis*. 1. The form of Adam's body, before it had received a soul, was but the contemplation or order of all the parts, by which it was apt to receive a soul, and to be actuated by it, as *corpus physicum organicum*. 2. The form of the soul it self, (e. g. in its separated state) is that *vis naturalis intelligendi, volendi & exequendi*, by which it is essentially differenced from all other kinds of being, (commonly comprehended under the name of reason alone.) 3. The form *hominis*, taken for the state of the parts contemplated and ordered, is that said state or order, and not the soul. But taken for the vital, intelligent, regent part or principle, it is the soul it self. So that the soul is not the *forma corporis*, nor the *forma hominis* in the one sense; but it is the *forma hominis* in the other: and its own differencing nature is its own form.

The like ambiguity there is in the word *Quality*, used in the objection. As I was never satisfied with the order or number of Aristotle's ten predicaments, so especially I never understood him in the predicament of Quality it self. As it is a very hard thing to know what those are that are by him, and commonly, called *Qualities*; so I think that name too general and defective to signify the nature of them aright. And I supposed ever that his *forma & figura* differ much more from the other species of Quality, than most of the predicaments do from one another, (of which see *Bergersdicius Metaph. l. 2. cap. ult. & Gassendus in Logic.*) Judicious Mr. Pembble, *de origine formarum*, pleadeth hard that *principia constitutiva*

constitutiva are materia (vel subiectum) & accidentia; & principium transmutationis is contrariarum qualitarum pugna: that forma, exceptâ humanâ, non est substantia, nec materialis, nec immaterialis, sed accidens vel accidentium mixtura dictum temperamentum, & quod accidentia per se & immediate agunt, & non in virtute formæ substantialis. That is, Quod qualitates immediate barent in materia, & à Qualitatibus immediate profuunt operationes & operandi vires. Quod Qualitates omnes primæ, (which he maketh five, lux, calor, frigus, humiditas, siccitas) & aliqua secundæ, tenuitas, crassities, gravitas, levitas, fluor, consistentia, creationis die primo existerunt: Quod Qualitates omnes activæ generant sibi simile, & ita sui diffusive & similium generativæ sunt, ut necesseario materiam sibi proportionatam efficiunt. Quod animæ vegetativa in plantis & sensitivæ in brutis sunt tantum temperamenta nobiliora qualitarum actusorum in materia subtili, pura, spirituosiore.

Teleseus maketh the same principles (materia, calor & frigus) as to the chief; but he maketh calor & frigus to be substances, vel formæ substantiales, & non tantum accidentia. So that they that agree that it is Qualities that are the active forms, are never the more agreed what they are, nor what the word Qualities doth signifie. And what if by the word Quality, Pemble do mean the very same thing as many others do that call them forms, (when they speak of vegetatives.) And what if by substances, Teleseus mean the same that Pemble doth by accidents. Is not the world then troubled with ambiguity of words? He that will consider them well may suspect, that they mean as I conjecture. An active power or principle being the chief cause of operations, alterations and discrimination, is the thing that they all mean by all these names. And the followers of Democritus, especially Gassendus and Cartesius, do not improbably argue that it is some substantial being which maketh that change or effect upon our senses, which as there received is a quality. So that unless Mr. Pemble can better tell us what lux, & calor, are, than by calling them Qualities, he hath given the understanding no satisfaction at all. Much less when he nakedly asserteth, without any proof, that sensation doth not superare naturam primum qualitarum, that are none of them sensible themselves. And when he hath no other answer to this argument,

ment, but that *non minus miranda sunt in inanimatis*, which he giveth not one instance or word to prove. When *Aristotle*, &c. *Scaliger*, *Sennertus*, and abundance more, have said much to the contrary.

I conclude, that for all that is here said, and whether you call them our *forms* or not, (as you may or may not, in several senses) *humane souls* are those parts of man which are *simple, pure, invisible, active, powerful substances*; and therefore being not annihilated, must needs subsist in their separated state.

OBJECTION IV.

THE Soul is material, and consequently mortal, because it dependeth upon matter in its operations, and consequently in its essence.

Ans. 1. I have proved already, that if you did prove the soul material, you had not thereby at all proved it mortal: (unless you mean only, that it hath a *posse mori vel annihilari*; which may be said of every creature) for simple matter, which hath no repugnant parts or principles, hath not only a *posse non mori*, but an aptitude in its nature, *ad non moriendum*. Remember your friends that make the world, or matter, at least, to be eternal. They thought not that materiality was a proof of either annihilation or corruption.

Object. If it be material, it must be compounded of matter and form, and therefore is corruptible.

Ans. True, if that matter and form were two several substances, and were one repugnant to the other. The soul and body are different substances; but the metaphysical matter and form of the soul, being but the genus & differentia, are not two substances, much less repugnant; and therefore have never the more a tendency to corruption.

2. The soul useth matter, and dependeth no otherwise on it than its instrument. It doth not follow that a man is a horse, because he dependeth on his horse in the manner of his riding, and his pace: nor that I am inanimate, because in writing I depend on my pen, which is inanimate. If you

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Against the soul's dependence upon matter, the Platonists write excellently. Plato himself, and Plotinus, and Jamblicus, Proclus, &c.

Anima per efficientiam est mobilis ex se ipsa; sed conjuncta corpori quodammodo evasit etiam mobilis aliunde; sicut enim ipsa sua presentia dedit corpori ultimum ex se movendi vestigium, sic & ipsa propter corporeum contubernium conditionis notam subit mobilis al unde. Proclus de Anim. & Damon.

put *spirits* of wine into *water* or *wey*, as its vehicle to temper it, for a medicine, it doth not follow that the *spirits* are meer *water*, because they operate not without the *water*, but conjunct, and as tempered by it. If the *fire* in your *Lamp* do not *shine* or *burn* without the *oil*, but in manner and duration dependeth on it, it doth not follow that *fire* is annihilated when the *candle* is out, or that it was but *oil* before: no nor that it ceaseth to be *fire* afterwards, as *Gassendus* must needs confess, who holdeth that the *Elements* are not turned into one another, §. 1. l. 3. c. 2. *Fire* ceaseth not to be *fire*, when it goeth out of our observation.

The noblest *natures* use and rule the inferiour. God himself moveth and useth things material, and yet is not therefore material himself. Yea, if *motus* be in *patientie* & *recipitur ad modum recipientis*, you may conjecture how far God's own operations upon the creatures may be called dependent, as to the effect, as being *ad captum* & *modum creature*. And the *Sun* doth move and quicken all passive matter here below *ad modum recipientis*, with great variety through the variety of the matter; and yet it followeth not that the *Sun* is it self such passive matter.

3. The soul hath operations, which are not upon matter at all, though matter may possibly be an antecedent occasion or prerequisite. Such is the apprehension of its own intellect and volitions, and all that it thence gathereth of God, and other intellectual natures and operations, of which I must say more anon.

OBJECTION V.

NO immaterial substance moveth that which is material, as a principle of its operations: but the soul moveth the body as the principle of its operations: Ergo.

Ans. 1. I have already said, that if you proved the soul material, it would not prove it mortal.

2. As the body hath various operations, so it is moved by various principles or powers. As to locomotion, and perhaps vegetation, the *materia subtilis*, or finest atoms, as you will call

call it, or the *fiery matter* in the spirits, as I would call it, is an active being, which hath a natural power to move it self and the rest. But whether that motion do suffice to *sensation*, is undecided. But certainly there is another inward principle of motion, which *guideth* much of the *locomotive*, and over-ruleth some of the *natural motion*, by a *peculiar action* of its own, which is called *Intellection* and *Volition*, as I have proved before. When I go to the church, when I write, or talk, the spirits are the nearest sufficient principle of the *motion as motion*: but as it is done in this *manner*, to this *end*, at this *time*, with these reasons, it is from the intellectual principle.

3 And thus I deny the major Proposition. And I prove the contrary. 1. God is the first principle of all motion in the world, and the first cause of material motion, and yet is not material. 2. What the lower and baser nature can do, that the higher and nobler hath power to do, (*suppositis supponendis*) therefore if a body can move a body, a soul can do it much more.

But, *sic* Gassendus, *Causis secundis primum agendi principium est Atomorum varia mobilitas ingenita, non incorporea aliqua substantia.* *Ans.* Angels are *causa secunda*, souls are *causa secunda*, animated bodies of men are *causa secunda*: prove it now of any of these (in your exclusion) if you can. But he saith, *Certe non licet quomodo si incorporeum sit, ita applicari corpori valeat, ut illi impulsus imprimat; quando n'que ipsum contingere, carens ipsa tactu seu mole qua tangat, non potest* — *Physica actiones corporea cum sint, nisi à principio physico corporeoque elici non possunt* — *Quod anima autem humana incorporea cum sit, & in ipsum tamen corpus suum agat, motumque ipsi imprimat, dicimus animam humanam qua est intellectus seu mens, atque adeo incorporea, non elicere actiones nisi intellectuales, seu mentales & incorporeas.* Et quum est sentiens, vegetans, pradiataque vi corporum motrice atque adeo corporea est, elicere actiones corporeas, &c. And of Angels and Devils he saith, *That it is known by faith only that they are incorporeal, and perhaps God gave them extraordinary bodies, when he would have them move or act on bodies.*

To this I answer, 1. Who gave those atoms their ingenite mobility, and how? You say that *caprum omnem fugit ut quippiam*

quippiam aliud moveat, si in seipso immotum maneat. If so, then it seemeth, that either God was moved when he moved atoms, or that he never moved them. How then came they to be moved first? But you confess that God put into them their mobility. You say, *De Deo alia ratio est, quoniam infinita virtutis cum sit, & ubique presens, non ullo si i motu, sed nutu solo agere & movere quidlibet potest.* If you think not as you speak, it is unworthy of a Philosopher; if you do, then it is strange that you should overthrow your own reasoning, and excuse it no better than thus. If the reason why incorporeal spirits cannot move bodies be that which you alledge, (because only a body can be applied to a body to make impression on it) then God can less move a body than man's soul can; because his purest essence is more distant from corporeal grossness than our souls are. At least, the reason would be the same. And to say that God is every where, and of infinite virtues, maketh him nevertheless a Spirit: and created spirits (if that be enough) may have power or virtue enough for such an effect. Doubtless if God move bodies, the spirituality of an agent hindereth not the motion.

2. But why should it *captum omnem superare*, that a nobler and more potent nature can do that, which a more ignoble can do? Because I cannot know how a spirit by contact can apply it self to matter, shall I dream that therefore it is incapable of moving bodies? Clean contrary, I see that matter of it self is an unactive thing: and were it not that the noble active element of fire, (which as a lower soul to the passive matter, and a thing almost middle between a spirit and a body) did move things here below, I could discern no motion in the world, but that which spirits cause, except only that of the *parts to the whole*, the aggregative motion which tendeth to rest. The difference of understandings is very strange: it is much easier to me to apprehend, that almost all motion should come from the purest, powerful, active, vital natures, than that they should be all unable to stir a straw, or move the air, or any body.

OBJECTION VI.

THe soul is in our sleep either unactive, (as when we do not so much as dream) or acteth irregularly and irrationally, according to the fortuitous motion of the spirits: Ergo, it is no incorporeal immortal substance.

See in Aristot's Histor. de 70. p. 879. the Kings Quest. 19. about Dreams, with the Answer, how far Dreams are in our power.

Ans. 1. I suppose the soul is never totally unactive. I never awaked since I had the use of memory, but I found my self coming out of a dream. And I suppose they that think they dream not, think so because they forget their dreams.

2. Many a time my reason hath acted for a time as regularly, and much more forcibly, than it doth when I am awake: which sheweth what it can do, though it be not ordinary.

3. This reason is no better than that before answered; where I told you, that it argueth not that I am a horse, or no wiser than my horse, because I ride but according to his pace, when he halteth, or is tired. Nor doth it prove that when I alight, I cannot go on foot. He is hard of understanding that believeth, that all the glorious parts of the world above us, have no nobler intellectual natures than man. Suppose there be Angels, and suppose one of them should be united to a body, as our souls are: we cannot imagine but that he would actuate it, and operate in it according to its nature; as I write amiss when my pen is bad. The same I say of persons Lethargick, Apopleckick, Delirant, &c.

OBJECTION VII.

RReason is no proof of the soul's immateriality, because sense is a clearer and more excellent way of apprehension than Reason is; and the bruits have sense.

Ans. 1. I have said enough to the case of Bruits before.

2. The soul understandeth bodily things, by the inlet of the

the bodily senses : Things incorporeal (as I shall shew more anon) it otherwise understandeth. When it understandeth by the help of Sense, it is not the *sense* that understandeth any thing. If Brutes themselves had not an Imagination which is an *Image* of *Reason*, their sense would be of little use to them. We see when by business or other thoughts the minde is diverted and alienated, how little sense it self doth for us : when we can hear as if we never heard, and see, and not observe what we see, yet it's true, that the more sense he'peth us in the apprehending of things sensible, which are then objects, the better and surer we perceive them by the understanding. As the second and third Concoction will not be well made, if there be a failing in the first ; so the second and third *perception*, (in the Phantasie and Intellect) will be ill made, if the first deceive or fail them. But this proveth not either that the first Concoction or Perception is more noble than the third ; or that Sensitives without Reason have any true understanding at all ; or that Sense, Phantasie and Reason, are not better than Sense alone. But these things need not much disputing. If *Sense* be nobler than *Reason*, let the Horse ride the man, and let the Woman give her milk to her Cow, and let Brutes labour men, and feed upon them, and let Beasts be your Tutors, and Kings and Judges, commit to them the noblest works, and give them the preeminence, if you think they have the noblest faculties.

OBJECTION VIII.

Sensation and Intellection are both but Reception : The passiveness therefore of the Soul doth shew its materiality.

Read Priscians Theophrast de Anim. with Ficinus Notes, which sheweth how far the Sense is Active.

Answer. A short answer may satisfy to this Objection.
1. All created Powers are partly passive, how active soever they be. For being in esse & operari dependant on and subordinate to the first Cause, they must needs receive his influence, as well as exercise their own powers. As the second wheel in the Clock, must receive the moving force of the first, before it can move the third.

2. It

2. It is an enormous error about the operations of the Soul, to think that *Intellection* yea or *Sensation* either, is meer Reception, and that the *sensitive* and *intellective power* are but Passive. The active Soul of Man (yea of Brutes) receiveth not its object, as the *mark* or *butt* receiveth the arrow that is shot at it. It receiveth it by a *similitude of nature*, and by an *active attendance*, and *embracement*, yea by an active appetite *sicut famina marem, vel potius sicut esuriens cibum*: Yea, it moveth towards its object, and meeteth it: It actively welcometh and improveth it: As I said even now, a Scholar that in his studies so far diverteth his thoughts, that he knoweth not that the Clock hath stricken at his ears, and knoweth not what those say that talk by him, doth shew that some active attendance is necessary to almost all perception. He that seeleth not that his understanding doth *agere* as well as *pati* (when he is studying, reading or writing) is a stranger to himself. How oft have I read over many lines when I have thought of something else, and not known one word that I have read? Is inventing, compounding, dividing, defining, &c. no action? I never felt cause from any experience of my own, to believe that I was a meer patient in any thought that was ever in my minde. Nay the Epicurean that supposeth thoughts to be but a dance of Atomes, called Spirits, doth think that those atomes or spirits are notably active. *Cartesius* his *materia subtilis* is eminent in activity. Do you think that every dead Object which I think on with my eyes shut in the night, and so much more alive than I, and so much more active than my minde, that it must be accounted the sole agent, and my minde the patient. They know little of a minde that talk in this strain.

I know *Cartesius* telleth us, that *the eye* hath no *fire* or *light* in it, except perhaps the eye of a Cat or Owl. But if the study of *matter* and *motion* had left him any room for the consideration of other things which he past over, he would by a little search have found that the eye doth close with its primary object, *Light*, by meer connaturality, because it participateth of *Light* it self, in its own constitution. It is *fire* in the eye, even in the visive Spirits, which meeteth the fire or light without, and by union canserth

*Sensus Principium
mediusq; & finem senti-
endi rei individue
comprehendit, &
Actio est, judicium-
que perfectum, & in
presenti momento si-
mul totus existit, est
non absq; passione
aliqua instrumenti
sensus efficitur non
tamen est hæc passio
sensus; Quo fit ut
patiamur & vigilan-
tes & dormientes nec
tamen perentiamus.
Theophrast. de Anim.
ut supr.*

*Lege Marf. Ficinum
de Volupt. c. 1. & 2.
& 3, &c. Platonis
dogma defendentem,
scil. Voluptatem esse
Actum vel Motum.*

*Priscian in Theophrast.
de Anim. c. 13. scilicet,
[Anima quidem cum
sit forma vivens &
sensualis, agit circa
illa quæ sibi offerun-
tur. Vitaliter atque
sensualiter: & quia
est in corpore, usq;
ad certum spatium
operatur.]*

that which we call sight. And seeing that experience forced him to confess it of Cats and Owls, how could he think that all other eyes or sight were quite of another kinde? Some men have been able to see in the dark, and had sparkling eyes almost like Cats. The degree here differeth not the species. If this *materia subtilis* or *globuli atheri* be fire, he might have allowed some of that to the vivise spirits in Man as well as in Owls. Saith Ficinus in *Theophrast.* de Anim. c. 14. *Primum luminosum est Caleste: Secundum est Igneum: Tertium inter composita quod quasi fulget ut Ignis. Primum luminale est Oculis, præcipue radiosus, in animalibus, quæ nocte vident; sed alii quoque oculis quamvis minus, sunt tamen luminales.*

† See Alcinoüs de doctr. Plat. cap. 18. to the same purpose.

Nemesius † l. pro Immort. Anim. in Bibl. Pat. p. 305. approveth Plato's Judgement, (*Plato inquit*) *per confusionem splendorum res affici existimat, ut id lumen quod ex oculis proficiscitur aliquo usque in aerem, qui ejusdem est secum genus est. Quod vero à corporibus manat contrahatur, & quod in aere est, qui interponitur, facileque diffunditur & vertitur, simul cum oculorum igne extendatur*. Et Galenus (*inquit*) *de visione cum Platone consentit in 70 de consens.* And he saith himself, that the Sun sendeth its light by the Air, and the light in the eye streameth also into it; which is to seeing as the Nerves are to the Brain for feeling. Porphyry saith, that sight in the Soul it self discerning it self in all things. But if there were any doubt in the point of sight (which is performed both by active spirits, and an active object, Light) yet methinks that when I feel a Stone, much more when I meditate on a Mountain, all should confess that my sense and intellection is like to have more action than that Stone and Mountain. And if you say only that Spirits first moved move others, and so touch the Intellectual Organs, or Spirits, I have partly answered that before, and shall answer it more anon. We have great reason to ascribe the most of action to that part which is most subtile, vigorous and active.

OBJECT.

OBJECTION X.

That which things corporeal work upon, is corporeal: for it cannot be conceived how bodies can work upon that which hath no body: But things corporeal work upon the soul: Ergo, it is self corporeal.

Ans. 1. I largely before shewed, that our uncertainty of the just consistence of Metaphysical matter, or incorporeal substance, doth make all such arguings to sound like dreams.

2. I have shewed, that spiritual powers receive not impressions as dull matter doth, by a meer passive power: but by an activity and outgoing, it worketh indeed upon that which it receiveth, much more than any such matter can be said to work on it: nay, matter doth not properly work upon it at all, but only afford it matter to work upon, and occasion to exercise its active power. As the stone or tree doth not work upon the sight, but the sight by the help of light doth work upon it. As the eye can see a dung-hill, and yet be of a nobler kind, and God and Angels can know beasts and worms, and yet be incorporeal. So man can know things inanimate, and yet be animate; and things insensible, and yet be sensible; and things irrational, and yet be rational; and things corporeal, and yet be incorporeal. And this by the activity and extent of its power, and not by any passive debasing defectiveness at all.

OBJECTION XI.

That is not incorporeal, which neither knoweth it self to be incorporeal, nor hath any notion but negative of an incorporeal being: But such is man's soul.

Ans. 1. If the soul know not it self to be an immortal spirit, what maketh almost all the world to judge so of themselves? inasmuch that those men that under pretence of Philosophy deny it, are fain to study very hard, and take many years pains to blot out this light of nature from their minds;

vid. Paul. Carcadium in Sent. 1. Dif. 1. p. 7. & Dif. 2. p. 8. That spiritual things are better known than corporeal, and of the knowledge of God.

minds; because they cannot be ignorant of it at ease rates: The understanding will not lose its natural light, nor suffer such verities to be obliterated, but by a great deal of industry, and by the engines of abundance of false notions, which are sought after to that use. As Cicero saith of the Epicureans, *They learn those things, quæ cum præclare didicerunt nihil sciunt.* (Piso de fin. 5. p. 204.) They learn diligently to unlearn the truth, that when they have learn'd much, they may know little.

2. Hath man no notion but Negative, of an incorporeal being. I shewed you before why the notion of materiality should not be here used for a cheat or blind. But look back on what I said even now, and you will see that as Cartes truly saith, we have not only positive conceptions of a mind, but the first, the clearest, and the surest conceptions of it, in the measure that is fit for our present state.

Quest. 1. Have you not a positive conception of Intellection and Volition? If not, you are unfit for any controversies about them, and cannot own your own humanity.

Quest. 2. Have you not a clearer perception, that you think, and know or reason (either right or wrong) than you have what that thing is that you think or reason about?

Quest. 3. Have you not a sure and positive conception, that omnis actus est alicujus actus, & quod nihil, nihil agit? and therefore that you are an intelligent volitive being.

Quest. 4. Have you not a positive sure conception, that quicquid agit agere potest, and that nothing doth that which it cannot do; and therefore that your souls are beings potentiated for Intellection, Volition and Execution?

Quest. 5. Have you not a positive sure conception, that you have a natural inclination to these acts, and a pleasure in them, and that they are natural and perfective to you? and consequently that your souls are beings, that have not only a power, but a vis & inclinatio naturalis, or a power that is natural, and active, and inclined to these particular actions.

Quest. 6. Have you not a positive sure conception, that the end and highest objects of these acts and inclinations, are things above sense, viz. your selves or minds in the first place, and then the things above you, the first Being, Cause, and Mover of all; the infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness, who

Porphyr. de occas.
inq. Anima est Essen-
tia inextensa, immat-
terialis, immortalis,
in vita habente à se-
ipsa vivere atque esse
simpliciter possidente.

OBJECTION IX.

THere is nothing in the Intellect which was not first in the Sense, from which it receiveth all its knowledge by the Idea's of the Phantasie; Therefore the Soul can reach no higher than to corporeal sensible things: Therefore it is but such it self.

Ans. The Antecedent is false, and both the Consequents. Had he limited his assertions to corporeal objects, I should easily acknowledge to Gassendus, that *Omnis quæ in mente habetur Idea ortum ducit à sensibus. Et Omnis Idea aut per sensum transit, aut ex iis quæ transiunt per sensum formatur. Et quæ Idea proprio acquiritur sensibus perfectior est eâ quæ ex facta ab alio descriptione formatur. Qualis Idea rei, talis definitio.* But that these things will not hold true as he delivereth them universally, I think I shall make plain, and confute this Objection to the satisfaction of any one that knoweth himself.

Ortum ducere à sensu is an ambiguous phrase: The sense may be the *Occasion sine qua non*, of that whereof it never had the least participation in it self. I desire you but to distinguish between the Intellect's Object and its *Id.* and those Objects which it knoweth by the mediation of other extrin-sick objects, and those which it knoweth by the mediation of its own *Id.* These differences are past all doubt. When the eye seeth these Lines and this Paper, the Light and Lines and Paper are each one thing, and the sight of them is another. I see the Light, and thereby the Paper; but I see not my sight: My sight is not the object of my sight: It may be said, that the Object is in my sight, but not that my sight is in my sight; Yet by seeing I perceive not only *what I see*, but that I see; and I perceive much more plainly *what I see*, than *what I see*. I may doubt of a thousand objects which I see; *what matter, shape, or colour they are of*; but I doubt not at all of the *act of seeing*; that right or wrong some sight I have, or that I see the Light: so is it with the Intellect. This book is one thing, and the understanding it is another thing. The book is the object of my understanding; but (at least in

primò instanti) my understanding is not the object of my understanding; but by *understanding* I have an immediate perception that I *understand*. And (as *Cartesius* truly saith) the act of Intellection is more perceived than the object: I am more certain that I *think* and *understand*, than I am of the nature of that which I *think* of and *understand*. If any say, that the act of Intellection is the object of another Intellection, because *intelligo me intelligere*, and so that *intellectio non est tantum actus intellectus, sed etiam est in intellectu*, and that the Intellect doth understand its own act *intuitive* as some speak, or by *reflexion* as others (though doubtless the first perception that I *understand*, is not by *reflexion*, but by that same act of understanding something else) (as sight doth not reflect upon it self to get a perception that I see) I will enter no controverſie about any of these notions of the manner of our understanding our own act of Intellection, which doth not concern the present business. But it is most certain that *Actus intelligendi nunquam fuit in sensu*: when the object of Intellection did pass through the sense, the Act of Intellection did not: nor the intellection or perception of that Act of Intellection, did not: Nor the Intellection of the common nature of an Intelligence, which from hence I gather; nor the Intellection of particular Intelligences as Angels; nor my Intellection of any mans Intellect or intellectual act, whose nature I gather from mine own: Nor the conception I have of a Deity as the most perfect intellect; nor the perception which I have of my own Volition of my own felicity, or of the means thereto as such, nor of the pleasing of God, nor of another mans good: Nor my perception of the nature of the will hence gathered; nor my conception of the Volitive power in other persons; nor my conceptions of the Volitions of God, of Angels, &c. nor my conception of Intellectual or moral habits, nor of the Wills natural inclinations! None of all these were ever in the Sense; nor passed through the Sense: some of them (which *Gassendus de Ideis* overlooketh) are without any Idea at all properly so called (as the first perception of the act of my own understanding and will, by understanding and willing other things; as we perceive that we see *non videndo ipsum visum, sed alia videndo*): And that Idea which we

have of all the rest, is fetcht from this perception of our own acts, and not from any thing which ever was in the sense: The Soul by knowing it self, doth gather the knowledge of all higher intellectual beings, which is its most considerable worthy knowledge. I hope I have given you instances enow; and plain enough; and you see now what truth there is of *nihil est in intellectu quod non fuit prius in sensu*.

D' Orbellin distinguisheth Knowledge (largely taken) into *sensitive & intellective*: and both of them into *Abstractive & Intuitive*. Knowledge Intuitive is of an Object as it self present, when a thing in its present existence, is the moving object of knowledge. Knowledge Abstractive is when the species of the thing doth move us to know the thing it self: and that whether the thing it self be present or absent, and have existence or not. The example of Intuitive sensitive knowledge or perception which he giveth, is the Eye seeing Colours. The instance of Abstractive sensitive knowledge is, as the Phantasie imagineth colours: The instance of Intuitive Intellective Knowledge is, the Saints seeing the glory of God in Heaven, and he might have instanced in many other things: The instance of Abstractive Intellective Knowledge, is the understandings Knowledge of the Quiddity of Colours by means of the species. To which may be added, that Abstractive Knowledge is either *per speciem propriam*, or *per speciem alienam*: In this life the Soul knoweth its own acts either Intuitively or by an act, if possible, yet neerer to its essential power, that hath no usual distinguishing name. It knoweth its own powers, inclinations, and habits, neither by a knowledge, in proper and strict sense, intuitive or abstractive: For it is not by a proper species, but it is its natural innate power of discerning this Principle, that *quicquid agit potest agere quod agit*; by arguing *ab actu ad potentiam & naturam*. But in the large sense as Cartesius useth the word, this may be called; an Idea. The minde knoweth God and Angels, and other mens Souls, in this large sense also by an Idea, but not *per speciem propriam*, sed *alienam*; that is, not by a species of God and Angels, but by an Idea borrowed from our own Intellections and Volitions. But this is not an Idea that ever passed through the senses: and

In defence of the Soul's Immortality, &c.

Gassendus might have thought on it, whether it be not an *Idea* in the *Intellect*, if not without the *phantasie*, at least over and above the *Idea* in the *Imagination*, when he denieth that there is any such *Intellective Idea's*.

2. But what if there *had been* nothing in the *intellect*, but what passed through the *sense*? it would no more thence follow that the *intellect* is no more *noble*, *spiritual* or *immortal* than the *sense*, than it will follow that the *King* is no better than his *Porter*, because none cometh to him till he let them in; or that the *animal spirits* are no more noble than the *teeth*, or than the natural heat; or the third concoction is no more excellent than the first, because nothing cometh to the third concoction, but what was masticated, swallowed, and passed the first and second concoction. Of which, before.

3. And even by the help of things sensible, *Epicurus* can reach the knowledge of insensible *atoms*, and *Cartesius* of his *subtil matter*, and *globuli caelestes*: why then by things sensible may we not reach the knowledge of *spiritual* substances and powers?

Yet after all this, I am much of their mind, who think that it is not actual knowledge that is born with us; nor is there any true *Idea* or picture of any thing innate in our understandings; and I think that if *per possibile vel impossibile*, you suppose a man born without any one sense, that he would have had no actual knowledge at all, (though that is uncertain.) Because as if I had not *seen* any thing objective, I should not have perceived that I could see; so if I had never known any other object, I could not have known what it is to know: and other objects have no way, that I know of, to the *intellect*, but through the *sense*: (Though what the active spirits would have done upon the *phantasie*, I cannot possibly understand.) But all this only concludeth, that the senses reception is the way to the intellection of things sensible; and that it was a necessary occasion, *sive qua non*, to the perception of our own intellectual *act*, because thus necessary to the *act* is self: But not that any *Idea* of our own *Intellection*, or any of all the things fore-instanced, was received through the senses.

OBJECT.

is your Maker and your End? If you find no such thing, The Lord have mercy on you, for every honest man may find it.

Quest. 7. Have you not a positive sure conception, that such as the Operations are which flow from the essential powers or faculties, such in nobility, and excellency, and nature is the substance thus potentiated and acting.

All these are clear, undeniable, positive conceptions of the soul; which set together are thus much, that [The Mind or Soul of man is a noble Essence, above the reach and nature of sense, naturally potentiated and inclined, as an active being, to intellection, volition, and seeking after things celestial and everlasting, especially God himself, his ultimate end.] All this is positive, clear and sure. And you would think this enough, 1. If you did consider what *Lud. Vives* saith, that God bath given man a soul to use, rather than accurately to know; or to know so far as is necessary to use. As your child may have the use of his knife, or clock, or watch, or cloaths, without knowing what metall they are made of, or how to compose and make the like, as long as he can but do that with them which is necessary to their use. Often saith *Seneca*, *Necessaria ignoramus, quia superflua didicimus*. 2. If your minds were not by sense deluded and captivated to such fixed idea's of things corporeal and gross, as to over-look all other beings, and measure all substance by such gross idea's. 3. If you well considered, that you know in any respect little more of things corporeal, and in some respects much less. Let us see wherein it is that you know more: either as to the sensible or insensible parts of such beings. As for the substances as such, you confis they are but *per accidens*, the objects of sense, and that as stripped of their accidents you have no positive true conception of them. And as for the accidents, you are no whit agreed either what they are, or how many. Of all things you are most unanimous in that of Quantity, moles, or extensions; but what a poor kind of knowledge is it, to know that this or that is quantum, and not to know what it is that is quantum. What light, colour, sapor, odor are, and what all the senses that perceive them; you are as much disagreed as if this age had been the first that had debated it. The same I may say both of Qualities in general, and of all other in particular, except figure, which

properly belongeth not to the predicament. Of all the rest there is the like disagreement; even *time* and *place*, which truly are *nothing but entia rationis*, are debased by you in the first place, and are two of *Gassendus* his four predicaments. About the number either of *principles* or *elements*, there is no agreement; no nor what any one of the elements are: Who hath told us what is the form of *earth*, or *water*, or *air*, or described them otherwise than by their qualities? And then differ you as much about those qualities. Who hath told us any thing of the *naked matter* or *form of fire* (such as the Sun and Luminaries are)? any otherwise than by its *acts*, and *powers* or *vertues of Motion, Light and Heat*, as we describe to you the *soul* of man. And if you go to the invisible part of matter, it would make a man rather *sick* than *wise*, to read men *provincias dare atomis*, as *Cicero* speaketh; and to think with what bold unreasonable fiction they *number them*, as shaped and figured; and figure and shape them to the uses which they have feigned for them, and then use them and conduct them, and vary their motions, as confidently and seriously, as if they had given us any proof of any of this, and indeed expected to be believed. Nay, we must know how the *corners of atoms* (pardon the contradiction) came to be filed or worn off by motion, and so reduced to greater subtilty. And *Gassendus*, after all the fabrick which he buildeth upon atoms, saith, [*That atoms have not of themselves a moving force, but from God's first motion.* §. 1. c. 8. p. 280. *Non quod Deo necesse fuerit creare seorsim atomos, quas deinceps in partes grandiores, grandioresque ex his, mundus constaret, compingerit; sed quod creans materie massam, in corpuscula excolubilem, atque adeo ex corpusculis tanquam minimis extremisque particulis compositam, concreasse illi ipsa corpuscula censetur.* ib. So that they know not indeed whether God created matter first in *atoms* disjunct, or in more large and bulky parts: and so whether *motion* did divide *grosser* and *greater parts* into atoms, or whether it coagulated atoms into greater bodies. But the sum is, that they only affirm, that, whatever bodies God made, they are divisible into *atoms*, that is, into parts by man indivisible. A great mystery sure, that the whole is divisible into smaller parts! And what the nearer is any man by this, for the discerning

discerning of any of their wild hypotheses? In a word, God hath given man knowledge for his benefit and use, to the ends of his being and life: and so far as we have use for it we may know all things about us; but to humour our wanton fancies he is not obliged. And because we have more use for the faculties of our souls, than for fire and water, or any outward thing, he hath given us the *first and surest* knowledge of them; whatsoever self-contradicting *Somatists* say, to depress this knowledge, and advance that knowledge of Bodies, which their own disagreements do confute. Sure I am, if that be a probable opinion which hath divers learned men for it, almost all things are probable in Philosophy: and if that be *improbable* which hath multitudes of learned men against it, almost all things are improbable.

OBJECTION XII.

THAT which is generated is corruptible: but the soul is generated: Ergo, &c. —

Ans. 1. If by [corruptible] you mean that which hath [à posse perire] or a certainty of perishing, if God uphold it not, I grant it of the whole Creation. But if you mean that which in its nature is so fitted to dissolution, perishing or decay, as that God seemeth to intend it to such an end; or must miraculously preserve it, or else it will perish; or that which eventually will perish, then we must not so easily dismiss you.

2. The word [generated] is of so great ambiguity, and generation it self a thing so little understood by mortals, that this reason doth but carry the controversie into the dark, and argue *ab obscuriore & minus noto*; which is the way of a wrangler, and not of one that would reveal the truth. Either generation is the production of some new substance, not existent before so much as in its matter; or it is only the composition of pre-existent substances. If it be the later, then you may prove the possibility and probability of the dissolution of the frame, and separation of those several substances. But you will confess your selves, that each part re-

taineth its proper nature still; and that if one were a more noble and active element than the rest, it is not annihilated, but remaineth so still without debasement. Therefore if their opinion were true, who hold the pre-existence of that purest part of man which we call his soul, (either in a common element, or individuate) no reason can think that the dissolution doth any more than separate the parts of man, and return that soul to its pre-existent state; where still it will be as noble a creature as it was here.

But if *Generation* do produce a *substance de novo*, which did no way pre-exist, then it is either a *corporeal substance*, or a *spiritual or incorporeal*: which soever it be, can you give any reason *why this should perish* at the dissolution, any more than if it had pre-existed? If the *nature* of it be the same, why should not the *duration* be the same? one of the two you will confess it, either a *corporeal substance* or an *incorporeal*, if it be at all a substance: and you confess that no *substance* is annihilated, or perisheth, otherwise than by dissolution of parts. If the reason of your *major* be, because the thing generated hath a beginning, and did *origiri de novo*, so did all *matter and substances* that be created. Or if you suppose them all from eternity, yet do but suppose them to be created and have had a beginning, and yet to be the same as if they had been eternal, and you will see that there will be the same reason to prove their continuance, as long as their *nature* and their *dependance* on *God* are both the same.

But it may be you will form your objection better, and say, that *Generation* produceth no new substance, but only a composition, order and temperament of pre-existent substances: But souls are generated: Ergo, They are no substances, but the order or temperament of pre-existent substances.

Ans. I never saw any thing like a cogent proof of the *major*: and most Christians think you can never prove the *minor*.

A substance may be called *new*, either because it is made of *nothing*, as in *creation*, or because it ariseth to its natural state of perfection *ex semine vel natura fecunda*, where it was only *virtually* and *seminally* before.

Before you can prove your *major* even in the first sense, you must be better acquainted with the *nature* of *God*, and
of

of Spirits, and of Generation, than you are: I cannot imagine what shew of proof you can bring to prove, that universally no generation causeth a substance totally new, unless you will go to Scripture, (which you believe not) and plead from *Genes. 1.* that *God then ended all his works, and therefore doth create no more.* But, 1. He may cause them totally *de novo*, without such a creation as is there spoken of: for he may by a stablished Law of Nature adjoyn his producing influx to the act of a creature, (ordinarily) and so difference it from that proper creation. 2. No man can prove that God hath there said one word to assure us, that he will never create any thing hereafter. Cannot a workman look on his house, and see that it is well done, and say, I have finished it, without obliging him never to build another, nor to make any reparations of that as there is cause? May not God create a new Heaven and Earth? may he not create a new Star, or a new Plant or Animal, if he please, without the breaking of any word that he hath spoken? For my part, I never saw a word which I could discern to have any such signification or importance. The argument from *Genes. 1.* is no better than theirs, who from Christ's *consummation est* do gather, that his death and burial which followed that word, were no part of his satisfactory meritorious humiliation.

On the contrary, there have been both Philosophers and Divines, who have thought, that God doth *in omni instanti*, properly create all things which he is said to conserve: of whom the one part do mean only, that the being of the creatures is as dependant on his continual causation, as the life of the branches is on the tree: but that the *same substance is continued*, and not *another daily made*. But there are others who think, that all creatures who are *in fluxu continuo*, not *per locomotum*, but *ab entitate ad nibilum*, and that they are all but a continual emanation from God; which as it passeth from him tendeth to nothing, and new emanations do still make such a supply, as that the things may be called the same; as a River, whose waters pass in the same Channel. As they think the beams or light of the Sun doth *in omni instanti oriri & festinare ad nibilum*, the stream being still supplied with new emanations. Were it not for the over-

throw of individuation, personality, rewards and punishments that hence seemeth to follow, this opinion would seem more plausible than theirs, who groundlessly prohibit God from causing any more new beings.

But though, no doubt, there is *unto* all beings, a continual emanation or influx from God, which is a continued causation, it may be either *conservative* of the being first caused, or else *resterative* of a being continually in decay, as he please: for both ways are possible to him, as implying no contradiction; though both cannot be about *one and the same* being, in the same respect, and at the same time. And our *sense and reason* tell us, that the *conservative* influx is his usual way.

2. But it is commonly, and not without reason, supposed, that generation produceth things *de novo* in another sense: not *absolutely*, as creation doth; but *secundum quid*, by exalting the *seminal virtue* into *act*, and into perfection. New individuals are not made of *new matter* now created; but the corporeal part is only pre-existent matter, *ordered, compounded and tempered*: and the *incorporeal* part is, both *quoad materiam suam metaphysicam, & formam vel naturam specificam*, the exaltation and expurgency of that into *full and perfect existence*, which did before exist in *semine virtuoso*.

When God had newly created the first man and woman, he created in them a propagating virtue and fecundity: this was, as it were, *semen seminis*: by this they do first *generare semen separabile*: which *suppositio supponendis*, hath a fecundity fit to produce a new *suppositum vel personam*; and may be called a *person* *seminally* or *virtually*, but not *actually, formally and properly*: and so this person hath power to produce another, and that another in the same way. And note, that the same *creating word*, which said, *Let there be light*; and, *Let us make man*; did say also to man, as well as to other creatures, *Increase and multiply*: not, [*create new souls or bodies*] but by generation, [*Increase and multiply*] which is the bringing of many *persons* out of two, and so on, as out of a *seminal pre-existence* or *virtual*, into *actual formal existence*.

He knoweth not the mystery of this wonderful work of God, nor the ignorance of mankind, who knoweth not that all *generation of man, bruits or plants*, hath much that

that is to us unsearchable. And they that think it a dishonour to a Philosopher, not to undertake or pretend to render the just causes of this and all other the Phænomena in nature, do but say, *I will bide the dishonour of my ignorance by denying it*; that is, by telling men that I am ignorant of my ignorance, and by aggravating it by this increase, and the addition of *pride, presumption and falsity*.

This much is certain, 1. That whatsoever distinct parts do constitute individuals, which are themselves of several *natures*, so many several *natures* in the world we may confidently assert, though we understand not whether they all exist *separately*, or are found only in conjunction with others.

2. We certainly find in the world, * 1. An intelligent nature; 2. A sensitive nature; 3. A fiery, active, vegetative nature; 4. A passive matter, which receiveth the influx of active natures; which is distributed into air, and water, and earth.

* The Platonists method of progression is thus summed up in Plotinus Ennead. 4. l. 3. p. 384. and out of him by Ficinus, [Sicut aëris summum primum omnium ignitur, ab infimo ignis, sic cælum summum corpus primo animatur ab anima quæ est ultimum Divinorum: Ipsum Bonum est quasi Centrum: Mens, lumen inde emicans; & permanens: Anima, Lumen de Lumine se movens: Corpus, per se opacum illuminatur ab anima; sed Animæ in cælo, securæ illuminant; sub cælo non sine curâ.

Est utique aliquid velut centrum; Penes hoc autem circulus ab ipso micans: Præter hæc & alius circulus, Lumen de lumine: ultra hæc insuper non amplius Luminis circulus, sed jam Luminis indigus alieni, propriæ lucis inopia. Inqu. Plot. ibid.

3. The most active nature is most communicative of it self, in the way of its proper operations.

4. We certainly perceive that the *Sun* and *fiery nature* are active upon the air, water and earth, which are the passive Elements. And by this activity in a threefold influx, *Motion, Light and Heat*, do cause the sensible alterations which are made below; and so that it is as a kind of life, or general form, or soul to the passive matter.

5. We also find that *Motion, Light and Heat*, as such, are all different: totâ specie from sensation; and therefore as such are not the adequate causes of it. And also that there is a sensitive nature in every animal, besides the vegetative.

6. Whether the vegetative nature be any other than the fiery or solar, is to man uncertain. But it is most probable that

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that it is the same nature, though it always work not to actual vegetation, for want of prepared matter. But that the Sun and fiery nature is *eminenter vegetative*, and therefore that vegetation is not above the nature of fire, (or the Sun) and so may be an effect of it.

7. In the production of vegetatives by generation it is evident, that as the fiery active nature is the nearest cause efficient, and the passive is the matter and recipient. So that this igneous nature generateth as in three distinguished subjects, three several ways. 1. As in *Parentibus & semine*, into which God *ab origine* in the creation, hath put not only a spark of the active virtuous fiery nature in general, but also a certain special nature, differencing one creature from another. 2. The Sun and superiour globes of the fiery nature, which cast a paternal, though but universal influx, upon the foresaid semen. 3. The *calor naturalis telluris*, which may be called, as Dr. Gilbert and others do, its soul or form; which is to the seed as the *anima matris* is to the infant. And all these three, the fiery nature of the semen, of the Sun, and of the *calor naturalis telluris*, are generally the same: and by their agreeableness do meet in co-operation for generation.

8. Herein all three as conjunct are the cause of Life, as Life, the Sun, the seed, and the *calor telluris*, communicating conjunctly what in their natures they all contain: that is, an active nature, having a power by motion, light and heat, to cause vegetation and its conjunct effects. But the *calor & motus solis*, and the *calor telluris*, are but universal causes of life as life: but the *virtus seminalis* is both a cause of life in genere, and a specifying cause of this or that sort of Plants in specie: the reason why e.g. an Oak, an Elm, a Rose-tree, and every plant is what it is in specie, being to be fetch'd from the seed alone, and the Creator's will.

9. Though the seed be the chief or only specifying cause, (why this is *Adeantum*, and that *Betonica*, and that *Calendula*, &c.) yet the Sun and Earth, the universal causes, do contribute much more to the life as life, than the seed it self.

10. This fiery, or solar active nature, is so pure, and above the full knowledge of mortals, that we have no certainty at all, whether in all this generative influx, it communicate to vegetatives from it self a pre-existent matter, and so draw it

it back to it self again by circulation) or whether it do only by the substantial contact of its active streams, cherish, and actuate, and perfect the substance which it findeth in *femine & materia passiva*; or whether *per influxum virtutis*, it operate only by that which is commonly called *Quality*, without any communication or contact of substance.

11. In all this operation of the *Solar* or *fiery nature* in generation, it is *quid medium*, between the *passive matter* and the *animal nature*, and is plainly an *image* of the *animal nature* and its operations: so like it, that it hath tempted many to ascribe all animal operations only to the *Solar* or *fiery nature*, and hath caused wise men to doubt whether this nature be to be numbred with things corporeal or incorporeal; and to place it between both, as participating in several respects of both.

12. If the *sensitive nature* be really above, or specifically different from the *fiery*, we may, in what is said, conjecture much at the order of the generation of things sensitive, *viz.* by a three-fold cause co-operating, *one specifying*, and *two universal and cherishing*. The *specifying* is the *virtus seminalis maris & feminae* conjunct, and of neither alone, (the same God which bless'd the single seed of a plant with the gift of multiplication, bless'd only the conjunct seeds of male and female *animals* with that gift :) The superiour universal cause is either some *anima universalis ejusdem naturae*, or God immediately. By an *Anima universalis* I mean not an *anima totius mundi*, but of that superiour vortex or part which this earth belongs to. Either this is the *Sun*, or some invisible soul. If it be the *Sun*, it is not by its simple fiery nature before mentioned; because *sensation* seemeth to be somewhat *totâ specie*, different from *motion*, *light* and *heat*: and then it must prove that the *Sun* is compound, and hath a superiour form and nature, which either *formaliter* or *eminenter* is sensitive; and that by this it is that it animateth inferior sensibles. But of this we mortals have no certainty: It seemeth very improbable, that a worm or flea should have a nature superiour to any that the *Sun* hath: but probabilities are not certainties: there are things highest and things lowest in their several kinds. But remember, that if it should be the *Sun*, it is by that nature superiour to fire,

by which it doth it: The *maternal universal Cause* of the *sensitive life* is the Mother. Whether the *spirits* of a *sensitive Creature* have more in them than the *spirits* of a *Plant*; and do more by nutrition, than cause *Vegetation*; whether they nourish *sensitive Life* as such, is doubtfull: But if they do so, they be but an *universal* and not a *specifying* Cause; that is, the Cause of *Life* as *Life*, but not of the *vita bovis, equi, canis, felis, aquila, quæ talis*. And therefore if the late-discovered trick of passing all the blood of one *animal* into another, be prosecuted to the utmost tryal, possibly it may do much to the advantage of *Life* and *Sense* as such; but never to the alteration of the *species*, to turn a *Dog* into a *Swine*, or any other sort of *Animal*.

13. Whether the *sensitive* nature be most refined-corporeal, or totally incorporeal, is past the reach of man to be assured of.

14. The foresaid difficulty is greater here than in the *Vegetative Generation*, viz. Whether in the multiplication of *sensitive souls*, there be an addition of substance communicated from the *Universal Causes*? or a greater quantity or degree of matter (*physical* or *metaphysical*) propagated and produced into existence by generation, than there was before? It seemeth hard to say, that a pair of *Animals* in *Noah's Ark*, had as much matter or substance in their souls as the millions since proceeding from them: But whether such souls have quantitative degrees? or by what terms of gradation the souls of millions are distinct from one? besides the *number*? or whether God in the blessing of multiplication, hath enabled them to increase the quantity of matter which shall serve for so many more forms? are things which we cannot fully understand.

15. In the like manner we may rise up, and conceive of the Generation of Mankind. We are sure that he hath an *intelligent nature*, much nobler than the *sensitive*. And we know that *homo generat hominem*: And we know that in his Generation there is an *Universal Cause*, and a *specifying Cause*: (for though there be but one *species* of men, yet there are more of *Intelligences*; and that one may have an *Universal Cause*, producing that and other effects, and an *Univocal special Cause*.) We know that because he is Generated, the

specifying

specifying Cause, is the fecundity or propagating power of the Parent, generating a *separable seed*; which seed (in conjunction as aforesaid, & *suppositio supponendi*) is *semen hominis*, and is man *feminally* and *virtually*, but not *actually*: that is, Hath both Passive and Active Power, and virtue, by reception of the influx of the *universal Cause*, to become a man. The universal inferior or feminine Cause, is the Mothers Body; and Soul, or the whole Mother, in whom the Infant is generated and cherished. I call it *Universal*: For it is only the *semen* that specieth: And therefore by a false or brutish *semen* a woman may produce a Monster. The *Universal Paternal Cause* is certainly *GOD ut prima*, and it is probable also *ut sola*: For he made Mans Soul at first by that immediate communication, which is called *Breathing it into him*: And the *Intellectual* nature (though specified into *Angels* and *Men*) is the nearest to *GOD* that we have any knowledge of: And therefore Reason will not teach us to look to any intermediate universal or superiour Cause; because there is no created *superiour Nature* to the *Intellectual*: And it's absurd to goe to the Inferior to be the Cause of the superior. If any will needs think, that under God, there is some *Universal Intellect* (not of the whole Universe, for that's plainly improbable, but of our Systeme or Vortex,) they must take it to be some *Angelical Intelligence*, as *Aristotle*, or the *Sun*, No man can prove either of these to have any such office. And for the *Sun*, it is certain that it is not possible, unless it self be an *Intelligence*: And though to humane Reason it seem very likely, that so glorious a corporeal Nature as the *Sun*, should not be destitute of as noble a *form*, as a lump of Clay, a humane body doth possess, that so there may be a proportion in Gods works between the nobility of matter and form; yet all this to man is utterly uncertain; nor doth any man know whether the *Luminaries* are animated with either *sentient* or *intelligent* Souls, or not. He that most confidently asserteth either, and scorneth the Contradictor, doth but tell you, that he is ignorant of his ignorance. But if it should prove true, as many of the Fathers thought, and *Mammertus ubi supra* asserteth, that *Angels* have fiery Bodies which they animate, and so that the *Sun* is animated with an *Intelligence*, it would

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not follow that as *fiery* or as *sensitive*, but only as *intellective*, it were a subordinate universal Cause of compleat humane Generations, and that *Sol & Homo generant hominem*; (save only *quoad Corpus*, which is but *secundum quid*.) But that God is the Universal Cause is unquestionable, whether there be any subordinate or not.

16. And here it is no wonder if the doubts arise which were in the cases of the forementioned Generations. Whether God as the universal cause produce new metaphysical matter for new forms? Whether millions of Souls since generated, have not more such metaphysical matter, than the soul of Adam and Eve alone? How Souls may be said to have more or less such matter or substance? Whether he educe all Souls *è virtute & fecunditate primarum*, by giving them a power without any division or diminution of themselves, to bring forth others by multiplication? and so cause his Creature to participate of his own fecundity, or power of causing Entities, &c. But such difficulties as these, which arise not from uncertainties in Theology, but are the meer consequents of the imperfection of humane Intellects, and the remoteness, depth, and unrevealedness of these mysterious works of God, should turn no man from the holding of other plain revealed truths. As that *man generateth man*; that God is the chief specifying Cause by his first making of man, and giving him the power and blessing of propagation, which he still maintaineth, and with which he doth concur: That Man is the second specifying Cause in the exercise of that power of Generation which God gave him. That God is the chief universal Cause; and to the production of an Intellectual nature as such, doth unspeakably more than man. That the mother as cherishing the *sæmen utriusq; Parentis*, is the maternal universal Cause, &c. We know not fully how it is that one Light causeth a thousand, without division or diminution of it self: and what it is that is caused *de novo*. It is easie to say, that it is but the motion of one part of the atomes or *materia subtilis* moving another, which was all pre-existent: But few men that can see through a smoke or dust of atomes, will believe, that the Sun and other fiery bodies, which shew themselves so wonderfully to us by Motion, Light and Heat, have no peculiar Nature, Power or Virtues

Virtues to cause all this, but meer magnitude, and figure: And that those Corpuscles which have so many hundred degrees of magnitude, and figures; should not fall into as many hundred such Bodies as we call Elements, rather than into two or four.

Suppose (which we may *ad verum exquirendum*) that there were no more Fire in the Universe than one Candle: It having the same nature as now it hath, that Candle would turn Cities and all combustible matter into Fire. But of the Generation of man *quoad animum*, I referre the Reader to *Sennertus* his *Hypomnemata* (to omit all others)

And now I would know what there is in Generation that should be against the Immortality of the Soul? will you say, it is because the Soul hath a Beginning? I have answered before, that so have all Creatures: Is it because it proveth the Soul material? 1. If it did, I have shewed that you your selves hold a perpetuity of matter: 2. But it doth not so. If you say, that *Incorporeal Spirits generate not*: I answer, That is but a naked, unproved assertion. If you say, that Angels do not: I answer, that 1. that is not because they are *unable* or *unapt* if God thought it fittest for them: nor 2. can any man prove *de facto* whether they do or not. Christ saith, *They marry not*: but he saith not, whether they at all propagate their *species* or not: I know the negative is taken for certain; and I say not that it is not true, but that it is not certain nor at all known, and therefore an unfit supposition to argue from, against the Immortality of the Soul. And I must confess, that for my part, as I have oft read, *Forme se multiplicant*, and that the Fire can more multiply or encrease it self than Earth, and as I know that the more noble any Nature is, the more like it is to God, and therefore more potent, more active, more fecund and productive; so I should farr rather think that the Angelical Nature can propagate it self than the Humane, if God had not told me the later, and said nothing *pro* or *contra* of the former. And therefore make no doubt, but if it do not, (which no man knoweth) it is not because things material are more able; but for other reasons unknown to us. Whether because

Nemesius de Anima (which goeth under the name of Greg. Nyssen.) while he endeavourith to prove the pre-existence of Souls, doth thus peremptorily conclude [*Si animæ ex ortu sunt mutuo, ratione providentiæ sunt, & caducæ sunt ut cætera quæ ex propagatione generis oriuntur: si sunt ex nihilo, Creatio hæc est, neq; verum est, cessavit Deus ab omnibus operibus suis: Non ergo nunc animæ sunt: But there is no appearance of a just proof in any thing that he saith, against either of the Opinions which he opposeth.*]

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not follow that as *fiery* or as *sensitive*, but only as *intellective*, it were a subordinate universal Cause of compleat *humane Generations*, and that *Sol & Homo generant hominem*; (save only *quoad Corpus*, which is but *secundum quid*.) But that God is the *Universal Cause* is unquestionable, whether there be any subordinate or not.

16. And here it is no wonder if the doubts arise which were in the cases of the forementioned *Generations*. Whether God as the *universal* cause produce new-metaphysical matter for new forms? Whether millions of Souls since generated, have not more such metaphysical matter, than the soul of *Adam* and *Eve* alone? How Souls may be said to have more or less such *matter* or *substance*? Whether he educe all Souls *è virtute & fecunditate primarum*, by giving them a power without any division or diminution of themselves, to bring forth others by multiplication? and so cause his Creature to participate of his own *fecundity*, or power of causing Entities, &c. But such difficulties as these, which arise not from uncertainties in Theology, but are the meer consequents of the imperfection of humane Intellects, and the remoteness, depth, and unrevealedness of these mysterious works of God, should turn no man from the holding of other plain revealed truths. As that *man generateth man*; that God is the chief *specifying Cause* by his first making of man, and giving him the power and blessing of propagation, which he still maintaineth, and with which he doth concur: That Man is the second specifying Cause in the exercise of that power of Generation which God gave him. That God is the chief *universal Cause*; and to the production of an *Intellectual nature* as such, doth unspeakably more than man. That the mother as cherishing the *somen utriusq; Parentis*, is the *maternal universal Cause*, &c. We know not fully how it is that one Light causeth a thousand, without *division* or *diminution* of it self: and what it is that is caused *de novo*. It is easie to say, that it is but the *motion* of one part of the atomes or *materia subtilis* moving another, which was all pre-existent: But few men that can see through a smoke or dust of atomes, will believe, that the Sun and other fiery bodies, which shew themselves so wonderfully to us by *Motion*, *Light* and *Heat*, have no peculiar *Nature*, *Power* or *Virtues*.

Virtues to cause all this, but meer magnitude, and figure: And that those Corpuscles which have so many hundred degrees of magnitude, and figures, should not fall into as many hundred such Bodies as we call Elements, rather than into two or four.

Suppose (which we may *ad verum exquirendum*) that there were no more Fire in the Universe than one Candle: It having the same nature as now it hath, that Candle would turn Cities and all combustible matter into Fire. But of the Generation of man *quoad animam*, I referre the Reader to Sennertus his *Hypomnemata* (to omit all others)

And now I would know what there is in Generation that should be against the Immortality of the Soul? will you say, it is because the Soul hath a Beginning? I have answered before, that so have all Creatures: Is it because it proveth the Soul material? 1. If it did, I have shewed that you yourselves hold a perpetuity of matter: 2. But it doth not so. If you say, that *Incorporeal Spirits generate not*: I answer, That is but a naked, unproved assertion. If you say, that Angels do not: I answer, that 1. that is not because they are *unable* or *unapt* if God thought it fittest for them: nor 2. can any man prove *de facto* whether they do or not. Christ saith, *They marry not*: but he saith not, whether they at all propagate their *species* or not: I know the negative is taken for certain; and I say not that it is not true, but that it is not *certain* nor at all known, and therefore an unfit supposition to argue from, against the Immortality of the Soul. And I must confess, that for my part, as I have oft read, *Formæ se multiplicant*, and that the Fire can more multiply or encrease it self than Earth, and as I know that the more noble any Nature is, the more like it is to God, and therefore more *potent*, more active, more *secund* and productive; so I should farr rather think that the Angelical Nature can propagate it self than the Humane, if God had not told me the later, and said nothing *pro* or *contra* of the former. And therefore make no doubt, but if it do not, (which no man knoweth) it is not because things material are more able; but for other reasons unknown to us. Whether because

Nemesius de Anima (which goeth under the name of Greg. Nyssen.) while he endeavours to prove the pre-existence of Souls, doth thus peremptorily conclude [Si animæ ex ortu sunt mutuo, ratione providentiæ sunt, & caducæ sunt ut cætera quæ ex propagatione generis oriuntur: si sunt ex nihilo, Creatio hæc est, neque verum est, cessavit Deus ab omnibus operibus suis: Non ergo nunc animæ sunt: But there is no appearance of a just proof in any thing that he saith, against either of the Opinions which he opposes.

God will have this lower World, to be the *Nidus vel Matrix Calorum*, and the Seminary of Heaven, and all multiplication to be here, or what it is, we know not.

But if it be on the other side concluded, that the whole substance of a Soul doth proceed directly and immediately from God, it doth make no great alteration in this case, or any of the coincident cases about humane propagation: if you consider, 1. That it is impossible that there should be any substance which is not totally from God; either immediately, or mediately: And that what is said to be *mediately* from Him, hath in it as much of his Causation as if there were no *medium*: For God is not a partial Cause, but a total *in suo genere*; and he is as *near* to the effect as if there were no second Cause. 2. That the *Somatists* themselves say, that, in the Generation of Plants and Animals (which they suppose to be totally Corporeal) there is not the least degree of substance produced *de novo*, and therefore there is none, but what was totally of God, and the Parents do but cause instrumentally the uniting of matter *præ-existent*. Therefore if in the Generating of Man, the Parents do but instrumentally cause the uniting of substance which is totally from God, though not *præ-existent*, it little differenceth the Case as to the consequents. 3. Especially considering that what God doth, he doth by an established Law of Nature: As in his making of the World he made the Sun a *Causa Universalis* constantly to send forth the emanation of Light, Heat, and moving force upon passive matter, and thereby to produce effects diversified by the preparations and reception of that matter; as to soften Wax, to harden Clay, to make a Dunghill stink, and a Rose smell sweet, to produce a poisonous and a wholesome Plant, a Nightingale and a Toad, &c. and this without any dishonour to the Sun: So if God the Father of Spirits, the Central efficient of Souls, have made it the original Law of Nature, that he will accordingly afford his communicative Influx, and that in Humane Generations, such and such Preparations of matter, shall be as Receptive of his emanations for such and such Forms, or spiritual substances, and that he will be herein but an *Universal Cause of Souls* as Souls, and not of Souls as clean or unclean; and

and that this shall depend upon the preparation of the Recipient (whether it be the Body, or a sensitive foregoing Principle) (still keeping at his pleasure, as a Voluntary Agent, the suspension or dispose of the effect), this would make no great alteration, neither as to the point of original sin, nor any other weighty consequent.

OBJECTION XIII.

O *Mne quod oritur interit : That which is not eternal as to past duration, is not eternal as to future duration : But the Soul is not eternal as to past duration : Ergo.*

Ans. I confess this argument will prove that the Soul is not mortal *ex necessitate sua natura*, without dependance on a Voluntary preserver. And therefore *Cicero* after most other Philosophers, who useth the *Major* for a contrary Conclusion, mistook in this, that he thought the Soul was as *natural* an Emanation from God as the beams or light is from the Sun : and therefore that it was naturally eternall both *à parte ante* & *à parte post* : which made *Arnobius* and other Ancients argue as much against the *Platonists* Immortality of the Soul, as against the *Epicureans* Mortality, so that (as I said before) one would think that they were heretical in this point that doth not make them well. But it is only this *natural Eternity* which they confute : And when the Philosophers say, that *Omne quod oritur interit*, they can mean, or at least prove no more but this, that it is not *Everlasting ex necessitate natura*. But yet 1. It may be in its nature fitted to be perpetual. 2. And by the will of the Creator made perpetual. Every Creature did *oriri de novo* : and yet every one doth not *interire*.

OBJECT.

OBJECTION XIV.

Would you see Physical Arguments for the Soul's Incorporeity and Immortality? Among a multitude that have done it, I desire you to read Plotinus, En. 4. l. 7. of the Immort. of the Soul; whose arguments I pretermis, because I would not be tedious in transcribing that which is already so well written (abating their peculiar Contents.)

Vid. & Savonarol. l. 1. c. ult.

AMong all your Arguments for the Soul's Immortality, there are none but Moral ones.

Ans. Morality is grown so contemptible a thing, with some debauched persons, that a very argument is invalidated by them or contemned, if they can but call it *Moral*. But what is *Morality* but the *modality* of *Naturals*? And the same argument may be *Natural* and *Moral*. Indeed we call that a *Causa Moralis* oft-times which doth not necessitate the effect: And yet sometimes even moral Causes do infallibly and certainly produce the effect. But *causation* and *argumentation* are different things, and so is an *effect* and a *Logical consequence*. Will you call the consequents of Gods own Wisdom, Justice, Veracity, Goodness, &c. uncertain as coming from a *Moral Cause*? The Soul is an Intellectual free agent, and adapted to Moral operations; And this is its excellency and perfection, and no disparagement to it at all. And if you will better read them over, you will finde that my Arguments are both Physical and Moral: For I argue from the Acts or operations of the Soul to its Powers and Nature; And from its Acts and Nature to its ends, with many such like, which are as truly Physical *medis*, as if I argued from the nature of Fire and Earth, that one if not hindered will ascend, and the other descend. And other men have given you other Arguments in their Physicks and Metaphysicks.

OBJECTION XV.

YOU seem to confess that you cannot prove the endless duration of the Soul by any Argument from Nature alone; But only that it shall live another Life which you call a Life of Retribution.

Ans. I told you, that a great probability of it, I thus prove: God hath made the Soul of a Nature not corruptible, but

but apt to perpetual duration: Ergo, he thereby declareth his will, that he *intendeth* it for perpetual duration: because he maketh nothing in vain, either for substance or quality. It may be some other will think that this argument will inferre not only a *probability* but a *certainty*.

And if you go back to your objection of *Materiality*, I now only adde, that *Aristotle* and his followers, who think that the Heavens are corporeal, yet think that they are a *quinta essentia* and simple, and incorruptible, and therefore that they shall certainly be everlasting: And he taketh the the souls of Brutes to be *analogous* to the matter of the Stars; and so to be of that everlasting *quintessence*: And can you in reason say less of Rational Souls?

2. It is sufficient, that I prove by natural evidence a Life of Retribution after this, which shall fully make the miserable ungodly ones repent tormentingly of their sin, and fill the righteous with such Joyes as shall fully recompense all their labour and suffering in a holy life: And that I moreover prove that *duration* of this life, and all the rest, by *supernatural evidence*.

OBJECTION XVI.

BOTH Soul and Body are like a Candle in fluxu continuo; and we have not the same substance this Week or Year as we had the last, there being a continual consumption or transiſion and accretion: Ergo, being not the same, we are incapable of a Life of future Retribution. Will you reward and punish the man that is, or the man that was?

Ans. It is a foolish thing to carry great and certain Truths into the dark, and to argue against them a *minus notis*, from meer uncertainties. As to your simile, I confess that the Oyl of your Candle is still wasting, so is the wick; but not that *new* is added to make it another thing, unless it be a Lamp. I confess, that the *lucid flame* which we call the flame is still passing away. But whether the *fiery Principle* (in its essence not visible, but only in its Light) be not still the same till all the passive matter be consumed, is more than

Cccc

than you know. So also if you argue from the Vegetative life of a Tree: Whether the *same Principle* of Vegetation (enlarging it self) continue not to the end to individuate the Tree, though all the passive Elements (Earth, Water, and Air) may be *in fluxu* and a transient State? It is certain, that some fixed Principle of Individuation there is, from whence it must be denominated the *same*. The water of the hasty River would not be called the *same River*, if the Channel which it runs in were not the same: Nor your Candle be called the *same Candle*, if some of the first Wick or Oyl at least did not remain, or the *same* fire continue it, or the *same Candlestick* hold it. And what is it in the Tree which is still the same? or what in the Bird that flyeth about, which is still the same? when you have searched all, you will finde nothing so likely as the vital Principle, and yet that *something* there must be.

2. But doth not the light of Nature, and the concurrent sense and practice of all the World confute you? and tell you that if you cannot understand what the Individuating Principle is, yet that certainly some such there is and doth continue. Why else will you love and provide for your own Children, if they be not at all the same that you begat, nor the same this year as you had the last? Why will you be revenged on the Man that did beat you, or hang the Thief that robbed you, or do Justice on any Murderer or Malefactor, seeing that it is not the same man that did the deed? If he transpire as much as *Sancturus* saith, and his substance diminish as much in a day as *Opicinus* saith, certainly a few dayes leave him not the same as to those transitory parts. Surely therefore there is something which is still the same. Else you would deny the King his title, and disoblige your selves from your subjection, by saying that he is not at all the same man that you swore Allegiance to, or that was born Heir of the Crown. And you would by the same reason forfeit your own Inheritance. Why should uncertain Philosophical whimsies besool men into those speculations, which the light and practice of all the world doth condemn as madness. But arguing *ab ignotis* will have no better success. Of the individuation of Bodies in the Resurrection I spake before.

† The summe of their Reasons, who thinke that Bodies at the Resurrection are Identified only by the Souls identity, you may see in Thom. Whites Theolog. Institut. To. 2. li. 3. Lect. 4. p. 339. 340.

OBJECT.

OBJECTION XVII.

If the Soul be a substance, we must confess it not annihilated: But it is most like to proceed from some Element of Souls, or Universal Soul, either the Anima Mundi, or rather the Anima Solis, vel hujus systematis: And so to be reduced to it again, and lose its individuation, and consequently to be incapable of Retribution.

Read Plotinus in Ennead. 4. pag. 374. (Ed. Bask.) de individuatione Animarum. At also the following pages, proving that our Souls are not parts of the Anima Mundi. Et sect. 8. pag. 377. Quomodo animæ differant: & quomodo sint immortales in forma propria restant?

Answer. 1. That the Soul which we speak of is a substance is past all controversy: For though, as I have shewed, there is truly an order or temperament of the parts, which he that listeth may call the form, the life, the soul, or what he please; yet no man denyeth but that there is also some one part which is more subtle, pure, active, potent, and regnant than the rest; and this is it (whatever it is) which I call the Soul. We are agreed of the Thing; let them wrangle de nomine who have nothing else to doe.

2. That this substance (no substance else) is not annihilated, as I have said, is past dispute.

3. Therefore there is nothing indeed in all this business which is liable to Controversie, but this point of Individuation, which this Objection mentioneth; (and that of action and operation following.) And I must confess that this is the only particular, in which hereabouts I have found the temptation to error to be much considerable. They that see how all waters come from the Sea, and how Earth, Water, Air, and Fire, have a potent inclination of union, and when the parts are separated, have a more aggregation, may be tempted to think it a probable thing, that all Souls come from, and return unto a Universal Soul or Element of which they are but particles. But concerning this, I recommend to the sober Reader these following Considerations.

1. There is in Nature more than a probability that the Universe hath no Universal Soul (whatever particular Systems or Globes may have). For we finde that Perfection lyeth so much in Unity, and as all things are from One, so as they go out from One, they go into Multiplicity, that I have great cause to think, that it is the Divine Privilege

Read the Note in the Margin of the last Leaf.

to be *Unicus Universalis*. He is the *Unicus Universalis* in Entity, Life, Intelligence, &c. As he hath made no one Monarch of all the Universe (no nor of all the Earth) nor no one Head of all the Church, that is not God (whatever the *Roman* Vice-god say) nor hath given any one a *sufficiency* hereto; (whatever a self-Idolizer may imagine of himself;) so he hath not given away or communicated that Prerogative, which seemeth proper to the Deity, to be an *Universal Minde*, and consequently an *Universal Parent*, and King, yea more, to be *Omnia in Uno*. Having no sort of proof that there is any such thing, finding it so high and Divine a Prerogative, we have little reason to believe that there is any such thing at all in being.

2. If you mean therefore no more than an *Universal Soul* to a particular Systeme, or *Vortex* in the World, that *Universal* will be it self a *particular Soul*, Individuated, and distinct from other Individuals. And indeed those very Elements that tempt you, might do much to undeceive you. There is of Fire a *specificall* Unity, by which it differeth from other Elements; but there is no universal aggregation of all the parts of Fire. The Sun which seemeth most likely to contend for it, will yet acknowledge, individual Starrs and other parts of Fire, which shew that it is not the whole. The Water is not all in the Sea: we know that there is much in the Clouds, whatever there is elsewhere (above the Clouds). We have no great cause to think, that this Earth is *Terra Universalis*: I confess, since I have looked upon the Moon through a Tube, and since I have read what *Galileus* saith of it, and of *Venus*, and other Planets, I finde little reason to think that other Globes are not some of them like our Earth. And if you can believe an *Individuation* of *Greater Souls*, why not of *Lesser*? The same reasons that tempt you to think that the Individuation of our Souls will cease, by returning into the *Anima Systematicum vel Solis*, may tempt you to think that the *anima Systematicum* may all cease their Individuation by returning into God (and their *existence* too.)

3. If this were left as an unrevealed thing, you might take some liberty for your Conjectures. But when all the Twenty Arguments which I have given, do prove a continued

tinued Individuation and Retribution, it is deceitful and absurd to come in with an unproved dream against it, and to argue, *ab ignoto*, against so many cogent arguments.

4. And we have proved supernatural revelation to second this, which is evidence more than sufficient to bear down your unproved conjectures.

5. If it had been doubtful whether the souls *individuation* cease, (and nothing of all the rest is doubtful) yet this would not make so great a difference in the case as some imagine; for it would confess the *perpetuity of souls*, and it would not overthrow the proof of a Retribution, if you consider these four things.

1. That the parts are the same in union with the whole, as when they are all separated. Their *nature* is the same, and as *Epicurus* and *Democritus* say of their atoms, they are still distinguishable, and are truly *parts*, and may be *intellectually* separated: the same individual water which you cast out of your bottle into the sea, is somewhere in the sea still; and though contiguous to other parts, is discernable from them all by God. The *Hecceity*, as they say, remaineth.

2. That the love of individuation, and the fear of the ceasing of our individuation, is partly but put into the creature from God *pro tempore*, for the preservation of individuals in this present life. And partly it is inordinate, and is in man the fruit of his fall, which consisteth in turning to SELFISHNESS from GOD. And we know not how much of our recovery consisteth in the cure of this *selfishness*; and how much of our perfection in the cessation of our individuate affections, cares and labours. Nature teacheth many men by Societies, to unite as much as possible, as the means of their common safety, benefit, and comfort: and earth, water, air, and all things, would be aggregate. Birds of a feather will flock together. And love, which is the uniting affection, especially to a friend who is fit for union with us in other respects, is the delight of life. And if our souls were swallowed up of one common soul, (as water cast into the sea is still moist and cold, and hath all its former properties, so) we should be still the same; and no man can give a just reason why our sorrows or joys should be altered ever the more by this.

3. And God can either keep the ungodly from this union for a punishment, or let them unite with the infernal spirits, which they have contracted a connaturality with; or let them, where ever they are, retain the venom of their sin and misery.

4. And he can make the Resurrection to be a return of all these souls, from the Ocean of the universal nature, into a more separated individuation again. I only say, that if it had been true, that departing souls had fallen into a common element, yet on all these reasons, it would not have overthrown our arguments for a life of full retribution. God, that can say at any time, [This drop of water in the Ocean is the same, that was once in such a bottle] can say, This particle of the universal soul, was once in such a body, and thither can again return it. But the truth is, no man can shew any proof of such a future aggregation.

And to conclude, the Scripture here cleareth up all the matter to us, and assureth us of a continued Individuation yet more than Nature doth, though the natural evidences before produced are unanswerable.

And as for the similitude of Light returning to the Sun, it is still an arguing *à minus noto*: we know not well what it is: we know not how it returneth: and we know not how the particles are distinguishable there. They that confess souls to be indivisible (though the individuals are all numerically distinct) must on the same ground think that two or many cannot by union be turned into one, as they hold that one cannot be turned into two, or into several parts of that one divided.

OBJECTION XVIII.

THe Platonists, and some Platonick Divines, have so many dreams and fopperies about the soul's future state, in arrival and ethereal vehicles, and their durations, as maketh their doctrine the more to be suspected.

Ans. 1. Whether all souls hereafter be incorporate in some kind of bodies, which they call vehicles, is a point which

which is not without difficulty. A sober Christian may possibly doubt, whether there be any incorporeal simple essence in a separated existence besides God alone. Those that doubt of it, do it on these grounds. 1. They think, that absolute simplicity is a divine incommunicable perfection. 2. They think that Christ is the noblest of all creatures; and that seeing he shall be compound of a humane *Soul* and *Body*, (though glorified and spiritual) to eternity, therefore no Angel shall excell him in natural simplicity and perfection. 3. Because it is said that *we shall be equal with the Angels*: and yet we shall, (at the Resurrection) be compounded of a soul and body. 4. Because it is said, that *He made his Angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire*. 5. Because the ancient Fathers, who first thought Angels to be subtil bodies, were confuted by those (as *Mammertus* forementioned) who asserted them to be *fiery bodies*, animated with incorporeal souls. 6. Because they read of the Devils dwelling in the *air*, as one *cast down*: therefore they think that he hath an *aery body*, instead of an *ethereal* or *fiery*. 7. Because they see the Sun so glorious a creature, in comparison of a body of flesh: therefore they think that the symmetry and proportion among God's works requireth, that *bodies* and *forms*, or souls, be suitable. 8. Because they know not what else becometh of the *sensitive soul* of man, when he dieth; which they take to be but a *subtil body*: and therefore think it goeth as a body or vehicle with the rational soul. 9. Because they mistake that difficult Text, *2 Cor. 5. 1, 2, 8.* think by the 7 and 8 verses, that it speaketh of the instant after death; and thinking by the first and second verses, that (as *Beza* and most think) it speaketh of a celestial body as our cloathing, and not of a meer state of glory to the soul.

Plotinus his Ennead. 4. de Anima, hath a great deal of doctrine in it, much wiser and wholesome than that of Epicurus and the Atomists.

I name their reasons, that you may be charitable in your censures; but the truth is, they talk of unrevealed or uncertain things, which do but trouble the heads of Christians to no purpose, who may live better, and spend better, by following the naked precepts of Christianity, and hoping for such a glory as Christ hath plainly described, without prying into that which doth less concern them to be acquainted with.

2. And

2. And Satan knoweth that *over-doing* is one way of *undoing*. Thus men on all extremes do harden one another. As in these times among us it is notorious, that the men of one extreme in Church affairs do harden the other, and the other harden them. And as Fanaticism riseth from the disliking of sensuality and prophaneness; incautious, and sensual and prophane men run into hell to avoid fanaticism; even so the brutish grossness of the *Somatists* driveth some Philosophers into *Platonick* dreams, and the *Platonick* notions harden the *Epicureans* in a far worse way. *Lactantius*, *de ira Dei*, cap. 13. thinks, that *Epicurus* was moved to his opinion against Providence, by seeing the hurt that good men and Religious endure from the worse sort here in this world. But why should you run out on one side the way, because other men run out on the other? why do you not rather argue from the doctrine in the *suber mean*, that it is true; than from the *extreams* that the truth is falshood? When reason will allow you to conclude no more than that those *extremes* are falshood. But surely I had rather hold *Plato's Anima mundi*, or *Aristotle's Intellectus agens*, and his *moving Intelligences*, than *Epicurus* his *Atoms* and *motion* only. And I had rather think with *Alexander Arphad.* that *omnis actio corporis est ab incorporeo principio*; yea, or the *Stoicks* doctrine of *Intellectual Fire* doing all; than *Cassendus* his doctrine, that no incorporeal thing can move a corporeal, or that *Atoms* and their motion only do all that we find done in nature.

When I look over and about me, I find it a thing quite past my power to think, that the glorious parts above us are not replenished with much nobler creatures than we. And therefore if the *Platonists*, and the ancient *Platonick* Fathers of the Church, did all think that they lived in communion with Angels, and had much to do with them, and that the superiour intelligences were a nobler part of their studies than meer bodies, they shall have the full approbation of my reason in this, though I would not run with them into any of their presumptions, and uncertain or unsound conceits.

Saith *Aeneas Gaeus*, pag. 778. when he had told us that *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, *Plotinus* and *Numenius* were for the passing of

of men's souls into bruits, but Porphyry and Jamblicus were against it, and thought that they passed only into men, *Ego quidem hac ipsa de causa filium aut famulum ob id quod commiserint peccatum puniens, antequam de ipsis supplicium sumam, pramonco, ut meminerint ne posthac unquam in eadem mala recurrant. Deus autem quando ultima supplicia decernit, non edocet eos qui penarum causas, sed scelerum memoriam omnem tollet? vide pag. 382.* For this reason and many others, we assume not their conceit of the soul's pre-existence, and think all such unproved fancies to be but snares to trouble the world with. We think not that God punisheth men for sin in another world, while he totally obliterate the memory of the other world and of their sin: When he hath told us that *In Adam all die*, and *By one mans disobedience many are made sinners*, and so condemnation passed upon all, *Rom. 5.* Nor will we with Origen thus tempt men to look for more such changes hereafter, which we can give them no proof of. Nor will we distribute the Angelical Hierarchy into all the degrees, which the *pseudo-Dionysius* doth; nor with the *Gnosticks*, *Basilidians*, *Saturninians*, *Valentinians*, and abundance of those antient Hereticks, corrupt Christianity with the mixture of fanatick dreams, about the unrevealed Powers and worlds above us, either *worshipping Angels*, or prying into those things which be both not seen, (and are not revealed) *vainly puff'd up by his fleshly mind*, (or without cause puff'd up by the imagination of his own flesh, as Dr. Hammond translateth it) *Col. 2. 18.* Nor will we make a Religion with *Paracelsus*, *Hehmen*, the *Rosicrucians*, or the rest, described by *Christ. Beckman*, *Exercit. of the Philosophical whimsies of an over-stretch'd imagination.* And yet we will not reject the saying of *Athenagoras*, *Apol. pag. 57. Magnum numerum Angelorum & Ministrorum Dei esse satemur, quos opifex & architectus mundi Deus Verbo suo tanquam in classes ordinavit, centuriavitque, ut elementa, calorem mundum, & quæ in mundo sunt, vicesque & ordinem omnium moderarent.* Though we may adde with *Jamblicus Africanus* that *Whether the Angels meddle with the government of the world of sublified creatures, is a difficult question.*

OBJECTION XIX.

See Plotin. Ennead. 4.
l. 3. p. 185. shewing,
that in separated souls
Reason is so powerful,
that it ex tempore
conceiveth all things
propounded by the In-
tellect; and that souls
in Heaven converse
without voice, but
demons and souls that
are in the air converse
by voice.

Vid. Porphy. de oc-
casion. de Passioni-
bus Animæ & corp.

IF the soul do continue individuate, yet its actions will not be such as they are now in the body, because they have not spirits to act by: And as Gassendus thinketh, that the reason of oblivion in old men, is the wearing out of the vestigia of the former spirits, by the continual flux or transition of matter; so we may conceive that all memory will cease to separated souls, on the same account: and therefore they will be unfit for Rewards or Punishments, as not remembering the cause.

Ans. 1. If Gassendus his opinion were true, men should forget all things once a year, if not once a month, considering how many pounds of matter are spent every 24 hours. And why then do we better, when we are old, remember the things which we did between nine or ten years old, and twenty, than most of the later passages of our lives, (as I do for my part very sensibly.)

2. What is *mans memory* (for with bruits we meddle not) but *scientia præteritorum*? Is not remembering a knowing of things past? Surely we may perceive that it is; and that it is of the same kind of action with the knowing of things present. And therefore we may make not memory a third faculty, because it is the same with the understanding.

3. We have little reason to think, that the surviving soul will lose any of its essential powers, and grow by its change not only impotent, but another thing. Therefore it will be still an intelligent power. And though remote actions and effects (such as writing, fighting, &c.) are done by instruments, which being removed we cannot do them without; yet essential acts are nothing so, (which flow immediately from the essence of the agent, as light, heat and motion of the fire.) If there be but *no objects*, these will be performed without such instruments: Nor will the Creator, who continueth yet an active intelligent power, continue it so in vain, by denying it necessities for its operations. There is like to be much difference in many respects, between the soul's actions here and hereafter: but the acts flowing from its essence immediately, as knowledge, volition, complacency, (called

(called *Lous*) and *Displacement*, &c. will be the same. How far the soul here doth act, without any idea or instrument, I have spoken before. And the manner of our acting hereafter, no man doth nowfully understand: But that which is essentially an *intellectual volitive power*, will not be idle in its active essence, for want of a body to be its instrument. If we may so far ascribe to God himself such Affections or Passions, as the ingenious Mr. Samuel Parker, in his *Tentam. Phil. l. 2. c. 8. p. 333*, &c. hath notably opened, we have no reason to think that *scientia præteritorum* is not to be ascribed to a soul, when it is separated from the corporeal spirits.

Or if the soul out of the body were as liable, as it is by diseases of the body while it is in it, to the loss of memory, yet all those arguments which prove the Life of Retribution hereafter, do fully prove that God will provide it a way of exercise, and prevent all those hinderances of memory, which may make his Judgment and Retribution void. Again, therefore I say, To argue *ab ignotis* against clear evidence, in matters that our own everlasting joy or sorrow is concerned in so deeply, is a folly, that no tongue can express with its due aggravations.

Floria. ubi sup. p. 391. sect. 26. sheweth, that Memory is more pertinent to the soul than the body, and oft without the body. Et sect. 29, &c. Et c. 31, 32. the difference between the sensitive and rational memory. Et l. 2. he sheweth, that the soul in heaven forgetteth these trifles, not through ignorance, but contempt.

OBJECTION XX.

THe belief of the immortality of souls doth fill men with fears, and drive them to superstition, and trouble the peace of Kingdoms by unavoidable sects, in the prosecution of those things, which are of such transcendent weight, when otherwise men might live in quietness to themselves and others, and in promoting of the publick good.

Answer. This is the maddest objection of all the rest; but in our days there are men found who are no wiser than to make it. I have answered it fully in divers popular Tractates, as that called, *A Saint, or a Brain*, &c.

The greatest and best things are liable to the worst abuses. Thus you may argue against Reason, that it doth but fill men's brains with idle words, and enable them to do mischief, and to trouble the world, and to live themselves

Sic ille (Strabo) Deum opere magno liberat, & me timore: Quis enim potest cum existimer à Deo securari, non & dies & noctes divinum numen horrere? & liquid adversi acciderit, (quod cui non accidit) extimescere ne id pure evenierit. Cic. Acad. quæst. l. 4.

in cares and fears, &c. Upon many such reasons, *Cotta, in Cic. de Nat. Deor.* doth chide God for making man a rational creature, and saith, he had been happier without it. And were it not for this wit and reason, we should have none of these evils which you have here now mentioned. Why then is not reason as well as Religion on that account to be rejected?

On the same reason, Philosophy and Learning may be accused, (as it is with the *Turks* and *Moscovites*.) What abundance of sects, and voluminous contentions, and tired consuming studies have they caused? witness all the volumes of Philosophers and School-men.

On the same account you may cry down Kings, and Civil Government, and Riches, and all that is valued in the world: for what wars and bloodshed hath there been in the world for Crowns and Kingdoms? what hatred and contention for honour and wealth? If you could make all men swine, they would not stir for gold or pearls; or if they were dogs, they would not fight for Kingdoms: and if they be blind and impious worldlings, they will not be zealous about Religion, unless to *dis-spirit* it, and to reduce it to the service of their fleshly interest, (which is the hypocrites zeal.) No man will contend for that which he valueth not.

But, 2. Consider, that though dogs will not fight for Crowns, they will fight for bones, and some times need men of reason to save them off. And though swine fight not for gold, they will fight for drass, and burst their bellies if they be not governed. And though unbelievers and Atheists trouble not the world to promote Religion, they set Families, Towns, and Countries, and Kingdoms together by the ears for their worldly pelf, and fleshly interest. Enquire whether the wars of the world be not most for carnal interest, (even where Religion hath been pretended:) and hearken in *Westminster-hall*, and at the *Assizes*; whether most of the contentings there are such as are caused by Religion, or by the love of the world and of the flesh. And where Religion seemeth to be a part of the cause, it is the Atheists and ungodly that are commonly the chief contenders; who think it not enough to hope for no life to come themselves, but

but they cannot endure other men that do it, because they seem wiser, and better, and happier than they, and by their holiness gall their consciences and condemn them.

3. The extremity of this objections impudency appeareth in this above all; that it is most notorious, that there is no effectual cure for all the villanies of the world but true Religion; and shall the cure be made the cause of that disease?

1. Read and Judge in Nature and Scripture, whether the whole matter of Religion be not perfectly contrary to the vices of the world. Will it trouble Kingdoms, or disquiet souls, to love God above all, and to honour and obey him, and be thankful for his mercies, and to trust his promises, and to rejoice in hope of endless glory : and to love our neighbours as our selves, and to do no injustice or wrong to any : to forbear wrath and malice, lust, adultery, theft and lying, and all the rest expressed in this treatise. 2. Is it not for want of Religion that all the vices and contentions of the world are ? Would not men be better subjects, and better servants, and better neighbours, if they had more Religion ? Would not they lie, and deceive, and steal, and wrong others less ? Do you think he that believeth a life to come, or he that believeth it not, is liker to cut your purse, or rob you by the high way, or bear false witness against you, or be perjured, or take that which is not his own, or any such unrighteous thing ? Is he liker to live as a good subject or servant, who looketh for a reward in heaven for it, or he that looketh to die as a beast doth ? Is he liker to do well and avoid evil, who is moved by the off-spring hopes and fears of another life, or he that hath no such hopes and fears, but thinketh that if he can escape the Gallows there is no further danger ? Had you rather your servant, that is trusted with your estate, did believe that there is a life to come, or that there is none ? Nay, why doth not your objection militate as strongly against the thief's believing, that there will be an Assize ? For if the belief of an Assize did not trouble him, he might quietly take that which he hath a mind to, and do what he list : but this fills his heart with fears and troubles. 3. Compare those parts of the world (*Brasil and Souldania, &c.*) which believe not a life to come, (if any such there be) with those that do, and see which

belief hath the better effects. 4. What is there of any effectual power, to restrain that man from any villany which he hath power to carry out, or policy to cover, who doth not believe a life to come. 5. And if you believe it not, what will you do with Reason, or any of your faculties, or your time? How will you live in the world, to any better purpose, than if you had slept out all your life? What talk you of the *publick good*, when the denying of our final true felicity, denyeth all that is truly Good, both publick and private.

But so sottish and malignant an objection deserveth pity more than confutation. Whatever Religious persons did ever offend these men with any reall Crimes, I can assure them, that the Cure had been to have made them *more Religious* and not less; And that the true Belief of a Life to come, is the end, the motive, the poise of all wise and regular actions, and of Love and Peace, of right Government and obedience, and of justice, mercy, and all that is lovely in the world.

An OBJECTION about the Worlds Eternity.

HAVING said thus much about the point which I thought most considerable, I shall answer an Objection about the Worlds Eternity, because I perceive that it sticks with some.

Obj. We finde it the harder to believe the Scripture, and the Christian Doctrine, because it asserteth a thing which Aristotle hath evinced to be so improbable, as is the Creation of the World within less than 6000 years. Whence no natural reason can be brought to, prove that the World is not eternall.

Ans. 1. It is you that are the affirmers, and therefore on whom the natural proof is incumbent. Prove if you can that the World is eternal. Were it not tedious, I should by examining your reasons shew that they have no convincing force at all.

2. There is so much written of it, that I am loth to trouble the Reader with more. I new only againe referre

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the Reader to *Raymundus Lullius*, desiring him not to reject his arguments if some of them seem not cogent, seeing if any one of all his multitude prove such, it is enough.

3. I now only desire that the Controversie between the Christian and the Infidel may be but rightly stated. And to that end do not charge Christianity with any School-mans or other confident persons private opinions, nor suppose Christ or Scripture to determine any thing, which they do not determine. 1. Christianity and Scripture do not at all determine, whether the whole Universe was created at the same time when this our Heaven and Earth was: But only that the Systeme or World, which we belong to, the Sun, and Moon, and Starrs, and Earth were then created. Nay, a great part of the ancient Doctors, and of the most learned late Expositors on *Gen. 1.* do expound the Heavens which God is said to create as being only the visible Heavens, and not including the Angels at all. And others say, that by [*In the beginning*] is meant *ab initio rerum*, and that the *Heavens* there meant being the Angelical Habitations, and the Earth as without form, were both *ab initio rerum* before the six dayes Creation, which began with the making of Light out of the pre-existent Heavens or Chaos. I think not this opinion true; but this liberty Christian Doctors have taken of differing from one another in this difficult point. But they utterly differ about the time of the creation of Angels (on *Gen. 1.* and on *Job 1.*) and consequently whether there were not a World existent, when *this World* was created.

2. Or if any that seeth more than I, can prove the contrary, yet it is certainly a thing undetermined by Scripture and in the Christian Faith, whether there were any Worlds that had begun and ended before this was made: That God is the maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things visible and invisible, is most certain: But whether this Heaven and Earth, which now is, was the first which he hath made, is a thing that our Religion doth not at all meddle with. They that with *Origen* affirm, that there were antecedent worlds, are justly blamed on one side, not for speaking things false, but things uncertain and unrevealed, and for corrupting Christianity by a mixture of things alien and doubtfull. And those

Some think, because they read much in Plato of the making of the World, that his opinion was not for its eternity; but I doubt they are quite mistaken. Alcinous in li. de doct. Plat. saith too truly, [Cum vero mundum Plato genitum inquit, haudquaquam sic eum sensisse credendum est, ut aliquod olim tempus ante mundum precellerit; Verum quia semper in generatione perdurat, indicatq; substantiam suam causam praestantiorum. Animam praeterea mundi, quae semper existit, haud officit Deus; sed ornat: eaq; ratione eam facere nonnunquam asseritur, quod excitat eam, & ad seipsum ejus mentem velut ex profundo quodam somno convertit, &c.

those who affirm that there were no antecedent worlds, are as much culpable on the other side, if not more, on the same account and upon further reasons. On the one side, we know that God needeth nothing to his own felicity, but is perfectly sufficient for himself; and that he createth not the World *ex necessitate nature* as an agent which acteth *ad ultimum posse*. And on the other side we know, that though he hath a Goodness of self-perfection, unspeakably more excellent than his Benignity as Related to man (not that one Property in God is to be said more excellent than another in it self, but that *quoad Relationem* there is an infinite difference between his Goodness in Himself, and his Goodness only as Related to his Creatures, and measured by their interest), yet we confess that his Fecundity, and Benignity is included in his own Goodness; and that he delighteth to do Good, and is communicative; and that he doth Good *ex necessitate voluntaria, ex natura perfectione*, without coercion; it being most necessary that he do that which his Infinite wisdom saith is best: (which made *Tb. White de Mundo* say, that God did necessarily make the World, and necessarily make it in time, and not ab eterno, and yet all this most voluntarily, because he doth necessarily do that which is best in the judgement of his Wisdom.) And we deny not that if a man will presume to give liberty to his Reason to search into unrevealed things, that it will seem to him very improbable, that he who is *Alm purus*, of Infinite Power, Wisdom and Goodness, and who now taketh pleasure in all his works, and his delights are with the Sons of men, should from all Eternity produce no Creature till less than 6000 years ago; when a thousand years with him are but as a day; and that he should resolve to have Creatures to all Eternity, who as to future duration shall be so like to Himself, when from all Eternity he had no Creature, till, as it were, five or six dayes agoe! Christians are apt to have such thoughts as these as well as you, when they look but to rational probabilities. But they hold that all these matters, whether there were antecedent worlds, and how many, and of what sort, and of what duration, whether this was the first, are matters unrevealed, which they ought not to trouble the world or themselves with prying into, or contending about: And they
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finde that they are unfruitfull speculations, which do but overwhelme the minde of him that searcheth after them; when God hath provided for us in the Christian Faith, more plain, and sure, and solid, and wholsom food to live upon.

3. And if it be unrevealed in Scripture, whether before this there was any other World, we must confess it unrevealed, whether there were any emanant or created Entity, which God did produce from *all Eternity* considered *quoad durationem* only. For the Scripture saith no more of one than of the other. And if there were *one moment* (dividing Eternity only imaginarily) in which there had been *nothing but God*, we must equally confess an Eternity in which there was nothing but God: because Eternity hath no beginning.

4. But Christianity assureth us of these two things, 1. That certainly there is no Being besides God but what was created, produced or totally caused by Him: And that if any Creature were eternal as to duration, yet it is *after God* in order of being as caused by Him, as the shadow is after the substance; and as the beams and light are after the Sun; or rather as the leaves would be after the life of the Tree, if they were conceived to be both eternal: One would be an eternal Cause, and the other but an eternal Effect. 2. It is certain, that this present World containing the Sun, and Moon, and Heavens, and Earth, which are mentioned *Genes. 1.* is not from Eternity. And indeed Reason it self doth make that at least very probable, as Revelation makes it certain. Which will appear when I have opened the Philosophers opinions on the other side.

2. Among your selves there are all these differences, (and so we have several Cases to state with you). 1. Some think that this present Systeme of *compounded beings* is from Eternity. 2. Others think, that only the Elements and Heavens, and all simple Beings are from Eternity. 3. Others think that *Fire* or *Ether* only as the Active Element is from Eternity, or the incorruptible matter of the Heavens. 4. Others think that matter and motion only were from Eternity. 5. Others think, that only spiritual purer beings, Intelligences or Mindes were from Eternity, and other things

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Lumine naturæ non constat quod Angeli facti sint in tempore, & non fuerint ab æterno: Nam imprimis per lumen naturæ cognoscimus, exemplo Solis & luminis, effectum posse coævum esse suæ causæ: unde nulla repugnantia est, ex parte Dei vel ex parte Creaturæ, ut hæc sit Deo coæva. Schibler Met. de Angel. See also Durandus Ariminensis, Aquinas, Pererius, Suarez, &c.

produced immediately by them. 6. And there have been those Heathen Philosophers, who held that *only God* was from Eternity.

Among all this variety of opinions, why should any one think the more doubtfully of Christianity, for denying some of them, which all the other deny themselves? Is it a likely thing that any individual mixt body should be eternall, when we know that mixt bodies incline to dissolution? and when we see many of them *oriri & interire* daily before our eyes? And if Man and Beast as to each individual have a beginning and end, it must be so as to the *beginning* of the species; for the species existeth not out of the Individuals, and some individual must be first; (And as Bp. Ward argueth against Mr. Hobbs, If the World be eternal, there have infinite dayes gone before, e. g. the birth of Christ: and then the whole is no greater than the parts, or infinity must consist of finite parts.) The Heavens and the Earth therefore which are *compounded beings*, by the same reason are lyable to dissolution, as man is; and therefore had a beginning. So that the truth is, there is no rational probability in any of your own opinions, but those which assert the Eternity of some Simple Beings, as *Matter* or *Intelligences*, or an *Anima Universalis*. Now consider further, that if ever there was a moment when there were no Individuals, or mixt Beings, (but only some universal Soul or Matter) then there was an *Eternity* when there was nothing else: (For Eternity hath no beginning): And then will it not be as strange to your selves, to think that God should from all Eternity delight himself in *Matter* unformed (if that be not a contradiction) or in an *Anima simplex & unica*, without any of all the variegated matter, and beings which we now finde besides in Nature, as that he should eternally content himself with Himself alone? If all individuals of compound beings were not from Eternity, what was? Either the Egge or the Hen must be first: (as the old instance is.) If you will come to it, that either *Anima unica*, or *Atoms* unformed were eternal, why should not God as well be without these, as be without the *formed Worlds*?

What shall a presumptuous minde now say to all these difficulties? why return to modesty: Remember that as the Bird

Read in Bib. Pat. the dispute of Zachary Mitilene with Ammonius and a Physician about the Worlds Eternity.

How nearly the Manichees opinion agreed with the Platonists, see in Nemesius de Anim. pag. 487, 488, &c.

Bird hath wit given her to build her nest, and breed her young as well as man could do it, and better, but hath no wit for things which do not concern her; so man hath reason for the ends and uses of reason, and not for things that are not profitable to him; and that such looks into Eternity about things unrevealed, do but over-whelm us, and tell us that *they are unrevealed*, and that we have not one reason for such employments.

And what is the end of all that I have said? Why to tell you that our Religion doth not only say nothing of former worlds, but, 2. that it also forbiddeth us to say, Yea or Nay, to such questions, and to corrupt our minds with such presumptuous searches of unrevealed things. And therefore that you have no reason to be against the Scripture on this account; for it doth not determine any thing against your own opinion, if you assert not the eternity of this present world or system; but it determineth against your presumption, in meddling with things which are beyond your reach.

And withall it giveth us a certainty, that as in one Sun there is the *Lux, Radii & Lumen*; so in one God there is *Father, Son, and holy Spirit*; eternally existent and self-sufficient; which quieteth the mind more than to think of an eternity of an *Anima or Materis*, which is not God.

All this I have here annexed, because these Philosophical self-deceivers are to be pitied, and to have their proper help: And I thought it unmeet to interrupt the discourse with such debates, which are not necessary to more sober Readers, but only for them who labour of this disease: and I know that when they read the first leaf of the book, which proveth that man hath a Soul or Mind, they will rise up against it with all the objections which *Gassendus, Mr. Hobs, &c.* assault the like in *Cartesius* with, and say, *You prove not this Mind is any thing but the subtiler part of Matter, and the temperament of the whole*: To whom I now answer, 1. That it is not in that place incumbent on me, nor seasonable to prove any more than I there assert. 2. But I have here done it for their sakes, more seasonably, though my discourse is entire and firm without it.

And I desire the unbelieving Reader to observe, that I

Nor do I here press you with the authority of a Hermes, Zoroaster, or Orpheus, as knowing how little proof is given us, that the writings were theirs which are ascribed on them: and giving some credit to Porphyry himself, who in the life of Plotinus telleth us, that there were then [Ex antiqua Philosophia egressi] heretici, Adelphii Acylinique sectatores, qui Alexandri Lybici Philocomi, Demonstrati, & Lydi plurimos libros circumferebant, & revelationes quasdam Zoroastris, Zostriani, Nichotei, Allogenis, Mesi, aliorumque ejusmodi palam ostendentes, & deciperunt multos, & ipsi decepti jam fuerant:

—Ego vero Porphyrius argumentationibus multis ostendi, librum Zoroastri ab illis inscriptum adulterinum novumque esse, & ab eis confictum qui struebant hæresin: ut institutiones suæ esse Zoroastri veteris crederentur. And be upon Plotinus wrote his Book against the Gnosticks.

am so far from an unnecessary incroaching upon his liberty, and making him believe that Christianity condemneth all those conjectures of Philosophers which it asserteth not it self, that I have taken the liberty of free conjecturing in such cases my self, not going beyond the evidence of probability, or the bounds of modesty: and that I think them betrayers of the Christian cause, or very injurious to it, who would interest it in matters with what it medleth not; and corrupt it, by pretending that it condemneth all the opinions in Philosophy which themselves are against. Nor am I one that believe that Christianity will allow me that zeal, which too hastily and peremptorily condemneth all, that in such points do hold what I dislike. I do not anathematize as Hereticks all those, who hold those opinions which either Stephanus, or Guilielm. Episc. Parisiensis condemned in their *Articul. Contra varios in fide errores*: though I think many of them dangerous, and most very audacious. e. g. *Quod intelligentia matrix cæli fuit in animas rationales, sicut corpus cæli influit corpus humanum: Quod scientia intelligentie non differt a substantia ejus. Quod intelligentia sola voluntate movet cælum: Quod omne quod non habet materiam est æternum. Quod intellectus non est forma corporis nisi assistens: Quod anima separata non patitur ab igne: Quod anima separata manet animal vivum, &c.* I can more charitably bear such opinions than those that so severely then condemned them. Though yet I think that in this age, it is one of the devils chief deligns, to assault Christianity by false Philosophy.

Pretend not then your by-opinions to prejudice you against Christianity in the main: much less against those natural verities, which all wise, and sober, and honest Philosophers are agreed in. When Xenocrates, *de morte*, (translated by Ficinus) had in the name of Socrates, told Axiocbus what Gobrias told, of an inferior place whither souls went at death, and of their judgment, and of the torment, *Ubi homines impii omniformibus suppliciis cruciati perpetua punitione vexantur,*

vexantur, he disclaimeth the imposition of the belief of so much, but selects this certainty, *Ego ratione constans hoc solum plane firmiterque cognosco, animam omnem immortalem existere, & eam, quæ pura ex iis locis abierit, sine tristitia vivere; Quamobrem siue sursum siue deorsum tendas, Axioche, beatum fore te oportet, si modo pie sancteque vixeris.* N.B. And he holds to this, [*Non in mortem, sed in ipsam immortalitatem migras: neque bonis privaberis, sed integra bonorum possessione fruere: nec voluptates mortali corpori mixtas percipies amplius, sed omni prorsus tristitia vacuas: Illuc inquam proficisceris ex hoc carcere liber, ubi quæta omnia, & à tristitia senectutisque semota. Ubi exultatio sancta, vitæque malorum nescia, & tranquilla pace nutrita, naturam rerum speculans, & arcana Philosophiæ contemplans; haud sano ad turba theatricæ gratiam, sed ad perspicua veritatis objectum.*]

If you are not wise enough to be Christians, why will you not be as wise and honest as the better sort of Heathens? Must we have so much ado to reason debauched hypocrites and apostates, to that which nature taught so many, who yet did but in part improve it? Believe this much which a *Xenocrates* or *Socrates* could teach you, and live accordingly, and you will not be blinded and deceived with so many beastly lusts, which hinder your belief, and will drown you in perdition. Or rather come to Christ, who will better cure those lusts than *Socrates* or *Plato*, or any Philosopher could do. But alas, *Epicurus* had more Court and Country disciples than the manly sort of Philosophers, however the wise men vilified him in the Schools: And his Apostles, while they condemn the doctrine of incorporeal spirits, do so often animate themselves with those corporeal spirits, which the hearers of Christ's disciples thought they had drunk in, *Act. 2.* That they are more fool-hardy and pot-confident than their wiser adversaries; and get that with audacity, that I say not impudency, which others lose by humble modesty: for (saith *Cicero*, *de fin. l. 2. p. 100.*) *Est tanti Philosophi tamque nobilis, audaciter sua decreta defendere.*] And his doctrine so befriendeth sin, that sin will befriend it; and then it is not like to want entertainment. For as *Cicero*, *ibid.* *Qualis est ista philosophia, quæ non interitum afferat pravitatis, sed sit contempta mediocritate vitiorum?* — In magnis inter-

dum versatur angustiis, ut hominum conscientia remota, nihil tam turpe sit, quod voluptatis causa non videatur esse salutaris. Deinde ubi erubuit (vis enim est permagna natura) confugit illuc ut neget accedere posse quidquam ad voluptatem nihil dolentis. -- Lazuriam non reprehendit, modo sit vacua infinita cupiditate & timore. Hoc loco discipulos querere videtur, ut qui Asoti esse velint, Philosophi fiant.

I have cited more out of Cicero than any other in this Treatise, and yet when I think how far our Apostates are below him, seeing they despise the words of Christ, I will once more use the words of Cicero, to convince them, shame them or condemn them. Tuscul. Qu. l. i. pag. 229. [Quorsum igitur hæc spectat oratio? Quæ sit illa vis & unde sit intelligendum puto. Non est certe nec cordis, nec sanguinis, nec cerebri, nec atomorum: Anima sit animus, ignisve nescio: (He doubted whether the Platonists or Stoicks were in the right) nec me pudet ut istos fateri me nescire quod nesciam: Illud, si ulla alia de re obscura, affirmare possem, siue anima, siue ignis, sit animus, cum jurarem esse divinum. N. B. (Cicero dare I wear that the soul is divine, though he doubt of the immateriality: and our Apostates deny both.) And reciting its operations, he saith, p. 239. Prorsus hæc divina mihi videtur vis, quæ tot res efficiat ac tantas. -- Vigere, sapere, invenire, meminisse; ergo animus, qui, ut ego dico, divinus, ut Euripides audent dicere, Deus est: & quidem si Deus aut anima aut ignis est, idem est animus hominis. -- Sin autem est quidam natura ab Aristotele inducitur primum, hæc & Deorum est & animorum. -- Animorum nulla in his terris origo inveniri potest: nihil enim est in animis mixtum, atque concretum, aut quod ex terra natum atque fictum esse videatur: nihil ne aut humidum quidem, aut stabile, aut igneum: his enim in naturis nihil inest quod vim memoria, mentis, cogitationis habeat; quod & præterita teneat, & futura provideat, & complecti possit præsentia; quæ sola divina sunt: nec invenietur unquam unde ad homines venire possit, nisi à Deo. Singularis est igitur natura quædam, atque vis animi se junctia ab his usitatis notisque naturis: itaque quicquid est illud quod sentit, quod sapit, quod vult, quod viget, calescit & divinum est, ob eamque rem æternum sit necesse est: nec vero Deus ipse qui intelligitur à nobis, alio modo intelligi potest, nisi Mens soluta quædam, & libera, segregata ab omni

concretionem mortali, omnia sentiens, & movens, ipsaque prædita
mōtu sempiterno; hoc è genere atque eadem è natura est humana
mens. (So that though he suspected it to have some pure
materiality, it was but such as he thought God had, and
consisted with its eternity.) *Ubi igitur aut qualis ista mens?*
(scil. Deus) *ubi tua, aut qualis? potesne dicere? An si omnia ad
intelligendum non habeo, quæ habere vellem, ne iis quidem quæ ha-
beo, mihi per te uti licebit? Non valet tantum animus, ut sese ipse
videat: At ut oculus, sic animus sese non videns alia cernit.---*

Page 226. he saith of them that plead for the souls morta-
lity, [*Præclarum nescio quid adepti sum, qui didicerunt se, cum
tempus mortis venisset, totos esse perituros. — Quid habet ista
res aut letabile aut gloriosum? sed plurimi contra nituntur,
animosque quasi capite damnatos morte multant: neque aliud
est quidquam cur incredibilis his animorum videatur eternitas,
nisi quod nequeunt qualis animus sit vacans corpore intelligere,
& cogitatione comprehendere: Quasi vero intelligant qualis sit
in ipso corpore! quæ confirmatio! quæ magnitudo! qui locus.---*
*Hæc reputent isti qui negant animum sine corpore se intelligere
posse: videbunt, quem in ipso corpore intelligant! Mihi quidem
naturam animi inveni, multo difficilior occurrit cogitatio,
multoque obscurior, qualis animus in corpore sit, tanquam aliene
domi, quam qualis cum exierit, & in liberam cælum, quasi in
domum suam venerit. Si enim quod nunquam vidimus, id quale
sit intelligere non possumus. Certe & Deum ipsum, & divinum
animum corpore liberatum, cogitatione complecti non possumus.---*

Page 225. Atque ea profecto tunc multo puriora, & dilucidiora
cernentur, cum, quo natura fert, liber animus pervenerit— Cum
nihil erit præter animum, nulla res abjecta, impediet, quo minus
percipiat, quale quidque sit: Quamvis copiose hæc diceremus, si res
postularet, quam multa, quam varia spectacula, animus in locis
cælestibus esset habiturus.---

Page 210, 211. Ipsi majorum gentium dii qui habentur, hinc
à nobis profecti in cælum reperientur: — multis de diis præva sen-
tiant: id enim vitioso more effici solet: omnes tamen esse vim &
naturam divinam arbitrantur: nec utro id collocatio hominum,
aut consensus efficit: non insensibilis opinio est confirmata; non le-
gitur, omni aetate in re consensus omnium gentium lex naturæ
putanda est. — Hæc ita sentimus naturæ duos, nullæ ratione, nul-
laque doctrina: Maximum vero argumentum est naturam ipsam
de

de Immortalitate animorum tacitam judicare, quod omnibus cura sunt, & maxime quidem, quæ post mortem futura sint. N. B. — Abiit ad deos Hercules: Nunquam abiisset nisi cum inter homines esset, eam sibi viam munivisset. Quid in hac Republica tot tantosque viros ad Rempublicam interfectos cogitare arbitramur? Iudicemus ut finibus nomen suum quibus vita terminaretur? Nemo unquam sine magna spe immortalitatis se propatria offerret ad mortem. — Nescio quomodo inberet in mentibus quasi seculorum quoddam augurium futurorum; idque maximis ingenii, altissimisque animis & existit maxime & apparet facillime: Quo quidem dempto quis tam esset amens, qui semper in laboribus & periculis viveret?

This maketh me think of Augustines saying, Si anima mortalis est, Epicurus in animo meo palmam habet. Confess. l. 6. c. ult.

Quod si omnium Consensus (inquit Cic. ib.) natura vox est, Omnesque qui ubique sunt consentiunt esse aliquid quod ad eos pertineat qui è vita cesserunt, nobis quoque idem existimandum: Est si, quorum aut ingenio aut virtute animus excellit, eos arbitramur quia natura optima sint, cernere natura vim maxime; verisimile est cum optimus quisque maxime posteritati serviat, esse aliquid cujus in post mortem sensum sit habiturus. Sed, ut deos esse natura opinamur, qualesque sint ratione cognoscimus: sic permanere animos arbitramur consensu omnium nationum. N. B. Quam in sede, qualesque sint, ratione descendendum est.

PAG. 232. Hæc igitur & alia innumerabilia cum cernimus, possumusne dubitare, quin hic præsit aliquis vel Effector, si hæc nata sunt ut Platonivideretur, vel si semper fuerint ut Aristoteli placet, moderator tanti operis & muneris? sic mentem hominis, quamvis eam non videam, ut Deum non vides, tamen ut Deum agnosco ex operibus ejus, sic ex memoria rerum & inventione & celeritate motus, omnisque pulchritudinis virtutis vim divinam mentis agnosco. In quo igitur est locus? — Ubi ubi sit animus, certe quidem in te est. Quæ est ei natura? Propria puto & sua. Sed fac igneam, fac spirabilem! Nihil ad id de quo agimus: Illud modo videto: ut Deum noris, etsi ejus ignores & locum & faciem: sic Animum tibi tantum notum esse oportere, etiamsi ejus ignores & locum & formam: In animi autem cognitione dubitare non possumus, nisi plane in physico plumbei sumus, quin nihil sit animis adnotum, nihil concretum, nihil

nihil copulatum, nihil coagmentatum, nihil duplex. Quod cum ita sit, certè nec secerni, nec dividi, nec descripi, nec distrabi potest; nec interire igitur. Est enim interitus quasi discessus & secretio, ac direptus earum partium, quæ ante interitum junctione aliqua tenebantur. Hic & talibus adductus Socrates, nec patronum quæsit ad iudicium capitis, nec iudicibus supplex fuit, addibuitq; liberam contumaciam, à magnitudine animi ductam, non à superbia: & supremo vitæ die de hoc ipso multa differuit, & paucis ante diebus, cum facile posset educi è custodia, noluit: Et cum penè in manu jam mortiferum illud teneret poculum, locutus ita est, ut non ad mortem trudi, verum in Cælum videretur ascendere. Ita enim censebat, itaq; differuit; Dnas esse vias, duplicesq; cursus animorum è corpore excedentium: Nam qui se humanis vitiis contaminassent, & se fetus libidinis dedissent — in devium quoddam iter esse, seclusum a Concilio deorum. Qui autem se integros castosq; servavissent, quibusq; fuisset minima cum corporis contagio, seseq; ab his semper sevocassent, essentq; in corporibus humanis, vitam imitati deorum, his ad illos a quibus essent profecti reditum facilem patere. — Cato autem sic abiit e vita, ut causam moriendi natum se esse gauderet. Vetat enim Dominus ille in nobis Deus missu hinc nos suo demigrare. Cum vero causam justam Deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, sepe multis; ne ille mediis fidius vir sapiens latus ex his tenebris in lucem illam excesserit: nec tamen illa vincula carceris ruperit; leges enim vetant.

Pag. 227. Licet concurrant Plebei omnes philosophi (sic enim ii qui à Platone & Socrate, & ab illa familia dissident, appellandi videntur) non modo nihil unquam tam eleganter explicabunt, sed ne hoc quidem ipsum quàm subtiliter conclusum sit, intelligent. Sentit animus se moveri: quod cum sentit, illud una sentit, se vi sua, non aliena moveri: nec accidere posse, ut ipse unquam à se deseratur: Ex quo efficitur æternitas.

I have been tedious, and will therefore only adde his application, Pag. 233, 234. Tota Philosophorum vita, commixtio mortis. Nam quid aliud agimus cum à voluptate, id est à corpore, cum à re familiari, quæ est ministra & famula corporis, cum à Repub. Cum à negotio omni sevocamus animum?

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Quid

In defence of the Soul's Immortality, &c.

Quid inquam tum agimus, nisi animum ad seipsum, advocamus? secum esse cogimus? maximeq; à corpore abducimus: discernere autem à corpore animum, nec quidquam aliud est, quam emori discere. Quare hoc commentemur, mihi crede; disjungamusq; nos à corporibus, id est, consueamus mori. Hoc & dum erimus in terris erit illi caelesti visus simile. Et cum illuc ex his vinculis emissi feremur, minus tardabitur cursus animorum: Quo cum venerimus, tum deniq; vivemus: Nam hæc quidem vita, mors est, quam lamentari possem, si liberet.

And how the Somatists were then esteemed, he addeth, [*Cætævæ veniunt contradicentium, non solum Epicuræorum, quos equidem non despicio; sed nescio quomodo, doctissimus quisq; contemnit.* And among Christians they will never recover their reputation.

I know that some doubting Christians are ready to say as Cicero's Auditor, who saith, that he had often read Plato; *sed nescio quomodo dum lego assentior; cum posui librum, & mecum ipse de Immortalitate Animorum capi cogitare, assensio omnis illa elabatur.* But this is because the truth is not sufficiently concocted, nor the conjoynd Frame of Evidences entirely and deeply printed on the minde; and so diversions alienate the minde from the just apprehension of some of those Evidences which it had formerly had a glimpse of, and leave it open to the contrary suggestions. He that is surpris'd when his Prospective Glasse or Telescope is not with him, will not see those things which by their help he saw before. And the remembrance of former convictions in the generall, will hardly satisfie a man against his present different apprehension, though he be conscious that he had then more help than now. I have found my self a far clearer apprehension of the certainty of the Life to come, and of the truth of the Gospel, when I have come newly from the serious view of the entire frame of convincing Evidences, than I can have at other times, when many particulars are out of the way, or much worn off my apprehensions.

These passages I have cited out of Heathens, to convince or confound those that under the Gospel, with their hearts, tongues or lives, deny those truths which the light of Nature hath so far made clear. Remembring both those Symbols

bols of Pythagoras, *De rebus divinis atq; lamiis nō loquari*,
et de Delicribusq; divinis, nihil tam mirabile dicitur, quod non
debeas credere: and his Verse (translated by Nicinus),

Corpore deposito cum liber ad aethera perges,
Evades hominem: facinus deus aetheris almi.

Alcinous reciting Plato's reasons for the Immortality of the Soul; cap. 25. mentioneth seven reasons, 1. *Anima cui-cumq; adest, Vitam affert, atpote illi naturaliter insitam: Quod vero vitam praestat, mortem minime suscipit: Ergo immortale existit.* 2. *Anima cum per corporis sensus ad illa quae sensibilia sunt descendit, angitur et turbatur; nec similis esse potest illi- us cuius praesentia turbatur.* 3. *Anima ipsa natura corpori do- minatur. Quod autem natura sua regit, et imperat, divini- tati cognatum: Ergo anima Deo proxima immortalis est, &c.* And because it may be objected, that by the first reason, the Souls of Brutes would be immortal, he answereth that, but so doubtfully and darkly as is not worth the reciting. But though Alcinous incline to the negative (of the Immor- tality of the *Anima brutorum*) Porphyrius is peremptory for the affirmative, upon the supposition of their ratio- nality.

The Stoick Philosophers bear also as full a testimony against the Atheist and the deniers of humanity, as the rest: For though Cicero thank them for nothing, and rebuke them for denying the Souls eternity, and giving us but *Usuram*, or *cornicibus*, a longer and not an everlasting life, yet some of them seem to be of another minde, and the rest rather think that the Souls of men will participate in the Worlds periodical revolutions, than be at all anni- hilated or deprived of felicity. The paucity of their wri- tings which have come down to us, and the malice of the Epicureans with whom they were at the greatest odds; did make them represented as if they had held more un- reasonable opinions, and been more sower and inhumane than indeed they were. And some who of late times con- demn them for that in which they agree with the doctrine of Christ, do seem to mean Christianity, while they ex- claim against the severities of Stoicism, and mean the

Church while they name but the *Porcb.* Certainly, if *Cicero* himself, who is offended with their schisme, do represent their opinions aright, and if we may judge of the rest by his speeches of *Cato*, and by the writings of *Seneca*, *Epictetus* and *Antonine*, and if *Barlaam* hath truly collected their *Esicks*, there were no men that spake and lived so like Christians, who were strangers to Christ. He that would see the difference between them and the *Epicureans*, let him but read the *Præloquium* before his *Antoninus* of Mr. *Gataker* (that man of admirable Learning, Humility, and Piety, not to be named without love and honour, nor in this *Age* without tears): Of *Antoninus* himself he saith, [*Certe quæcumq; Dominus ipse Christus in concionibus collationibusq; suis Historia Evangelica insertis [de mali cogitatione etiam abstinenda, de affectibus vitiosis suppressendis, de sermone otioso non insuper habendo, de animo cum primis excolendo, & ad imaginem divinam effigendo, de beneficentia simplicissime exhibenda, de injuriis æquanimiter serendo, de admonitione & increpatione cum moderatione cautioneq; accurata exercendis, de rebus quilibet, adeoq; vita ipsa, uli res ratioq; poscit, nibili habendis, de aliis deniq; plerisq; pietatis, charitatis, æquitatis, humanitatis, officii quam exquisitissime obeundis exequendisq;] præcepta dedit; apud nostrum hunc eadem, perinde ac si illa lætasset ipse, in dissertationum commentationumq; harum congerie inpersa passim, nec sine vebementia et vivacitate insigni quæ in præcordia ipsa penitus penetraret. — Lector quivis sedulus advertet, ingenuus agnosceret.*

The sum of their doctrine, different from the *Epicureans*, he thus reciteth, (and by citations copiously proveth) [*Numen caeleste rerum humanarum curam gerere; nec universi tantummodo, sed hominum etiam singulorum, & rerum quoque singularum; rebus humanis præsto esse, generique humano, non ad bona vere sic dicta duntaxat, sed & ad vita hujusmodi commoda, & adminicula suppetitias ferre. Deum itaque ante omnia colendum; ad omnia invocandum, per omnia cogitandum, in omnibus agnoscendum & comprobandum, de omnibus laudandum & celebrandum; huic uni in omni negotio simpliciter obsequendum; ab ipso quicquid obtulerit animo prompto ac libenti excipiendum atque amplectendum, nihil melius, nihil convenientius,*

tim, nihil conducibilis, nihil opportunus, aut tempestivus, quam id, quicquid existat, quod ipse voluerit, existimandum: quocumque ducere visum fuerit, citra tergiversationem aut murmurationem, sponte sequendum; locum stationemque quemcumque is assignaverit, strenue tuendum, enixe tenendum, etiamsi mortem milies oppetere oporteret.] Hæc de Numine Stoici & erga munus effectum.

De homine & officiis — [Hunc & corditus diligere & curare & sustinere, injuriæque omni (ut quæ impietatis etiam notam inurat) abstinere; & beneficentia prosequi, nec sibi soli genitum censere se, aut vivere, sed in commune bonum ac beneficium, cunctis pro facultate viribusque semet exhibere, re ipsa, rei que beneficia conscientia, (nec hac etiam ipsa quadantenus reputata) citra vestem, aut mercedis spem commodive proprii intuitum, contentum agere; à beneficio uno præstito ad aliud transire, nec unquam benefaciendo defatisci, sed vitæ telam, tanquam vivendi fructus hic sit; benefactum si i. i. invicem continenter annexum, ita totum pertexere, ut nusquam interveniat hiatus ullus vel minimus; beneficii loco, quod benefeceris habentem; sibi que profuisse existimantem, si alii cuiquam usui esse poterit; nec extra se proinde quicquam vel laudis humane, vellucelli, aut aucupantem aut expetentem: Ad hæc nihil mentis cultu antiquius, nihil honesti studio prius aut pretiosius habere: ab eo denique quod officii sui esse norit, nulla vel vitæ, nedum alius rei cupiditatem, cupidine abducendum, nulla mortis cruciatuque illius, ne dum damni aut detrimenti formidine abigendum se permittere.] Hæc Stoicorum præcepta sunt —

When will the whole tribe of the Epicureans ever give the world such a Prince as *Antonine*? who taught the world, that a Prince should be a Philosopher, and that self-government, and a well-ordered mind and life, is the first point in the government and well-ordering of the Common-wealth; and that Monarchy may be so used, as to consist as well with the peoples interest and liberty, as the most accurate *Venetian* Democracy: The only hurt that ever he was charged to do being this, that he lived so well, that he seemed somewhat to hinder the succeeding lustre of Christianity, even in *Constantine* and *Theodosius* themselves.

And as for the Stoicks great doctrine of Virtues self-sufficiency

whether God or our
selves, Virtue or
Pleasure be chiefly to
be loved?

¶

Even in Friendship
with Men, it is com-
monly said, that we
must have more re-
spect to our friend
than to our selves.
And therefore Cicero
pleadeth, that Epicu-
rus's opinion is incon-
sistent with true
Friendship. However
that stand, I am sure
in our Love to God,
we must love him
more for himself, than
for our own ends and
benefit. Therefore it is,
that I distinguished
Love before, from
Obedience as such,
as being somewhat
more excellent, and
the final grace. And
Proclus (de Anim.
& Dæmone) discern-
ed this distinction,
when he saith, [Belli-
finis est iustitia: pa-
cis autem aliud quid-
dam excellentius bo-
num, & iustitia, scilicet, atque unio. Finis enim universæ virtutis est ut tradunt Pythagorici, Ari-
stotelesque confirmat; ut omnibus jam factis amicis, iustitia non ulterius egeamus, quando,
viz. sublarum fuerit, Meum, & Non-meum.] And if this be true of the Love of man, Much more of
the Love of God, which they also may do well to consider of, who most fear the separation of that In-
dividuation of souls, which consisteth in the distance that now we are at: For though doubtless
there will continue an Individuation, yet Union is so much of the felicity, perfection and delight of
souls, union, I say, with God, as we are capable, and with one another, that we should rather be
afraid lest we shall not be near enough, than lest too much nearness should confound us.

to felicity, which Plato and Aristotle also own against the
Epicurean felicity of Pleasure; it is undoubtedly a very great
and sacred Theological verity: But it implieth a higher
truth, which I have vindicated in this Treatise, viz. That
man hath an ultimate end above himself, and that God (for all
that he is perfect, and can receive no addition of felicity)
is both his own and our end, (though intendere finem is not
spoken univocally of God and man) and that his Goodness
is essential in himself, and as his own perfection, is, in the
order of our conceptions, much higher than his Benignity or
Goodness, as related to the good of man. I have read some late
self-esteeming Writers, (who love not to be named by way
of opposition) who have undertaken the defence of the
Epicurean heresie, that Pleasure is formally both man's fe-
licity, and his ultimate end: but their reasonings for it are
not half so handsome and adapted to deceive, as the dis-
course of Torquatus in Cicero, de finib. is; which indeed may
seem very plausible, till Cicero's excellent Answer is com-
pared with it. It is a fair pretence to say, That a good
man is pleased with nothing but that which is good, and
that true pleasure is to be found especially in virtue, and
that temperance and chastity should be more pleasant, than
excess and luxury; and yet that the best men, when they
do any great and excellent work, do therefore do it be-
cause it pleaseth them. But the truth is, that Bonum quia
bonum est obiectum voluntatis; good and appetibile are the
same: it is first good because it pleaseth us, but it pleaseth us,
because it is esteemed by us to be good. And the greatest
good should greatest please us, because it is first the greatest
good: And as God in himself is infinitely better than any
delight or felicity of ours, so is he therefore to be more
the object of our delight. And as the good of the world,

or of Kingdoms, or of thousands, is better than the pleasure of one individual person, so should it be better loved, and more delighted in. For if Good as Good be app-
 and delectable, then the greatest Good must have the greatest love and pleasure. And nature it self telleth us, that he that would not rather be annihilated than the world should be annihilated, or would not lose his life and honour, to save the life, and honour, and felicity of King and Kingdom, is no good member of Civil Society, but a person blinded by selfishness and sensuality. Therefore man hath something above himself, and his own pleasure, to seek and to take pleasure in. How far you can congruously say, that you take pleasure in your pleasure, and so make your own pleasure the object, yea, the only ultimate object of it self, I shall not now stay to enquire. But certain I am, that though our love, which is our complacency in the beloved object, is our *actus finalis*, yet is it not the *objectum finale* to it self, but God himself, the infinite Good, is that final Object; and the Publick Good is a more noble and excellent object than our own. And though it be truly our felicity to love God, yet we love him not chiefly because it is our felicity to love him, but because he is chiefly Good and Lovely; and then in the second instant, we love our own love, and delight even in our own delights. Indeed the sensitive life, as such, can seek nothing higher than its own delight: but the rational life is made to intend and prosecute that end, which reason telleth us is best, and to prefer that before our selves, which is better than our selves. And therefore the Epicurean opinion, which maketh Pleasure our highest end, doth shew that the Sect is sensual and brutish, and have brought their reason into servitude to their appetites and lusts. And nature it self doth abhor the notion, when it is brought into the light; and will hear him with some horror who shall speak out and say, [God is not to be chiefly loved for himself, nor as he is best in himself, nor as my ultimate objective end, but only to be loved next myself, as a means to my felicity or pleasure, as meat, drink, ease, and sport, and lust are. And virtue or holiness is not to be loved, chiefly for it self, that is, as it is the Image of God, and pleasing to him, but as it conduceth to my pleasure.] As Cicero excellently noteth, there is a great deal
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of difference between these two; [*To love virtue as virtue, and so to take pleasure in it because it is virtue;*] and [*To love virtue for pleasures sake, more than for its own:*] For he that doth so, must say as Cicero chargeth Epicurus plainly to say, that *Luxury is not to be discommended if it be not unpleasant*: for the end is the measure and rule to judge of all the means. If pleasure as pleasure be best, then to him that so continues it, to live more *pleasedly* in whoredom, and drunkenness, and theft, and murder, than in godliness and honesty, it will be better so to do: And *virtue*, and *lust* or wickedness, will stand in competition only in the point of pleasure. And then, which think you will have the greater party, and what a case would mankind be in? I am persuaded, that the well studying the excellent discourse of Cicero on this point, and the reasons which the *Stoicks* and the rest of the Philosophers give against the *Plebeian Philosophers*, (as Cicero calleth them) may much conduce to help many Divines themselves to a righter understanding of the same controversy, as in Theology they have otherwise worded it, *Whether God or our own felicity be most to be loved?* (And yet without running into the fanatick extreme, of separating the love of God and our selves, and calling men to try whether for his glory they can be willing to be damned.) Only when you read the Philosopher saying, that *virtue in and for it self* is to be loved as our felicity; elucidate it by remembring, that this is, because that virtue in it self is the Image of God, and by our *felicity* they mean the perfection of our natures, in respect of the end for which we were made. And that as the excellency of my *knife* or *pen* (yea, or my *horse*) is not to be measured by their *own pleasure* but their *usefulness to me*, because I am their end; so is it, as to man's perfection, as he is made for God, and related to him, (for all that he hath no need of us, seeing he can be pleased in us.) Thus this Philosophical controversy is coincident with one of the greatest in Theologie.

Though I have displeased many Readers, by making this Treatise swell so big, by answering so many objections as I have done, yet I know that many will expect that I should have made it much greater, by answering, 1. Abundance of particular objections from Scripture-difficulties: 2. And many

many discourses of several sorts of persons, who contradict some things which I have said. But I supersede any further labour of that kind, for the following reasons.

1. It would fill many volumes to do it, as the number and quality of the Objections do require. 2. Those that require it are yet so lazie, that they will not read this much which I have already written, as esteeming it too long. 3. They may find it done already by Commentators, if they will have but the patience to peruse them. 4. I have laid down that evidence for the main cause of *GODLINESS* and *CHRISTIANITY*, by which he that well digesteth it, will be enabled himself to defend it against abundance of cavils, which I cannot have time to enumerate and answer. 5. The scribbles of self-conceited men are so tedious, and every one so confident that his reasons are considerable, and yet every one so impatient to be contradicted and confuted, that it is *unlesse* to write against them, and it is *unprofitable* to sober Readers, as well as *tedious* to me, and *ingrateful* to themselves. To instance but in the last that came to my hands, an *Inquisitio in fidem Christianorum hujus seculi*, (the name prefixed I do much honour, that I will not mention it.) Page 3. he calleth confidence in error by the name of certainty, as if every man were certain that hath but ignorance enough to over-look all cause of doubting. Page 13. *He will not contend if you say, that it is by divine faith, that we believe the words to be true which are Gods; and by humane faith by which we believe them to be the words of God.* He saith, that Faith hath no degrees: but is *always* equal to it self: to believe is to assent, and to doubt is to suspend assent; Ergo, where there is the least doubt, there is no faith; and where there is no doubt, there is the highest faith; Ergo, Faith is *always* in the highest, and is *never* more or less: And yet it may be called small when it is quasi nulla, (that quasi is to make up a gap) in regard of the subject, or at least hardly yielded; and in regard of the object, when few things are believed. Page 26. He maketh the Calvinists to be *Enthusiasts*, (that is *Fanatics*) because they say, that they know the Scriptures by the Spirit: (as if subjectively we had no need of the Spirit, to teach us the things of God; and objectively the spirit of miracles and sanctification were not the notifying evidence or testimony of

the truth of Christ.) The same name he vouchsafeth them that hold, *That the Scripture is known by universal tradition to be God's word, and every mans own reason must tell him (or discern) the meaning of it.* And he concludeth, that if every one may expound the Scripture, even in fundamentals, then everyman may plead against all Magistrates, in defence of murder or any other crime, as a rational plea; and say, *Why should you punish me for that which God hath bid me do.* As if God would have no reasonable creature, but bruits only to be his subjects. As if a man could knowingly obey a Law, which he neither knoweth, nor must know the meaning of; and is bound to do he knoweth not what. And as if the Kings subjects must not understand the meaning of the fifth Commandment, nor of *Rom. 13. Honour thy father and mother*; and, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, and not resist.* Or as if Kings must govern only dogs and swine, or might make murder, adultery, idolatry and perjury, the duty of all their subjects when they pleased, because none must judge of the meaning of God's Law by which they are forbidden: or as if it were the only way to make men obedient to Kings and Parents, to have no understanding that God commandeth any man to obey them, nor to know any Law of God that doth require it: or as if all our *Pastors* and *Teachers* were not to be so useful to us as a sign-post; nor we were not to learn of them or of our Parents any thing, that God either by nature or Scripture ever taught us: or as if a child or subject, who is required to learn the meaning of his Ruler's Laws, to judge of them *judicio privata discretionis*, were thereby allowed to mis-understand them, and to say that they command us that which they forbid us; and because the King forbiddeth us to murder, he alloweth us to say, *You proposed it to my understanding, and I understand it that you bid me murder, and therefore you may not punish me.* As if he that is bound to judge by a bare discerning what is commanded him, and what forbidden, were allowed to judge, *in partem utramlibet*, that it is or it is not, as please himself. As if when the King hath printed his Statutes, he had forfeited all his authority by so doing, and his subjects might say, *Why do you punish us for disobeying your Laws, when you promulgated them to us as rational*

In defence of the Book's Humour, &c.
tional creatures to discern their sense? Will it profit the world
to write confutations of such stuff as this? or shall a man
that is not condemned to Stage-playing or Ballad-making,
thus waste his time? Do the people need to be freed from
such stuff as this? If so, what remedy, but to pity them,
and say, *Quis perdere vult Jupiter bonum autem populum
vult decipi, decipiatur.*

And yet to do no more wrong to the Scriptures, than to
Councils, and Bulls, and Statutes, and Testaments, and
Deeds, and Bonds, he concludeth, *Of all writings whatsoever,*
that by the meer words of the writer you cannot be certain of
his sense; though they be common words, and you take them in
the common sense. So that if any doubt arise about any words,
if I resolve it by writing I cannot be understood; but if I
spake the same syllables by word of mouth, it would
serve the turn. As if no man could be sure of the sense of
any Law, or Testament, or Bond, or Covenant, which is
committed to writing, nor of any exposition of them, if
once it fall under Pen or Press. As if God's writing the Ten
Commandments had left them unintelligible, in comparison
of his speaking them. Then farewell all Historical certainty.
Hath every single Priest himself any assurance of the sense of
the Council, the Canons, the Popes Decretals and Bulls, but
by the way of writing? And so the poor people must, in-
stead of the Church, believe only that Priest that orally
speaketh to them, though he have no certainty of the matter
himself. If this doctrine be made good once, it will spoil the
Printers trade, and the Clerks, and Courts of Record, and the
Post-Office too.

But, page 51. he maketh the consent of the universal Church
to be the only sure communication of Christian Doctrine in the
Articles of Faith; yea, the consent of the present age concerning
the former: (But how the consent of the whole Church shall
be certainly known to every man and woman, when no writ-
ing can certainly make known any mans mind, is hard to tell
a man that expecteth reason.) And that you may see how
much the subject of this Treatise is concerned in such dis-
courses, he addeth, that *if the Church had at any time been*
small, its testimony had been doubtful; but (saith he) *it testifieth*
of it self that Christians were never few, and therefore it is to

Be believed. But we will have no such prevailing defence
of Christianity. The major is the Infidel's enormous evil;
the minor is a false defence of the faith. The Church never
said that Christians were *never* few; it hath ever confessed
the contrary, *that once they were few*; and yet it hath proved
against the Infidel, *that its testimony was not dishonest*, having
better evidence of their veracity than numbers.

You may perceive by these strictures upon this one dis-
course, what an endless task it would be to write confuta-
tions, of every man that hath leisure to publish to the world
his opinions, which are injurious to the Christian verity. And
therefore no sober Reader will expect, that I or he must be
so tired, before he can be satisfied and settled in the Truth.



FINIS.

